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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
SUSSEX

VOLUME II

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
SUSSEX



PUBLISHED FOR
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1907
BY
DAWSONS OF PALL MALL
FOLKESTONE & LONDON
1973

*Issued by
Archibald Constable and Company Limited
in 1907*

*Reprinted for the University of London
Institute of Historical Research
by
Dawsons of Pall Mall
Cannon House
Folkestone, Kent, England
1973*

ISBN: 0 7129 0586 3



Originally printed in Great Britain by
Eyre & Spottiswoode, London
Reprinted in Belgium by Jos Adam, Brussels

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



W. H. de

Lewis

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editor wishes to express his thanks to Mr. J. H. Round, M.A., LL.D., for kind assistance in the revision of proofs; to the Proprietors of the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* for access to the files of their newspaper, and to the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. W. Heneage Legge, and Messrs. Bemrose & Son for illustrations.

A HISTORY OF
SUSSEX

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

THAT the district which subsequently formed the county of Sussex was, in common with all other parts of the Roman Empire, brought more or less under christianizing influence can hardly be doubted, but such hold as Christianity may have obtained here was completely lost when Elle's Saxon hordes poured into the country and established the South Saxon kingdom. Cut off by dense forest from the neighbouring kingdoms, the South Saxons were long untouched by the religious revolution proceeding all round them, and it was not till 681 that their conversion was begun. It is true that for some years previously their king, Ethelwold, had been nominally a Christian, having been baptized by the persuasion of the Mercian King Wulfhere¹ about 661; his wife Ebba, also, was a daughter of the Christian king of the Hwiccas, Eanfrid. There was also a Scottish or Irish monk of the name of Dicul seated at Bosham with five or six brethren, but they seem to have been unenterprising, or at least unsuccessful, missionaries, and had made but little impression upon the natives.²

At last, in 681, St. Wilfrid, bishop of Northumbria, exiled from his own diocese, found his way into the land of the South Saxons.³ It was the first time he had set foot there, though some fifteen years earlier he had had an unpleasant experience when his ship was stranded for a while on the shore and defended with difficulty from the hostile attacks of the natives. His reception was now far different, Ethelwold receiving him with all honour, and encouraging him to preach to the people. His success was rapid and complete, and seems to have been assisted by his ability to show the natives improved methods of fishing, whereby he mitigated the severities of a famine that was at this time driving the people to despair. The chief officers and several of the priests of the country were baptized, and the king presented Wilfrid with 87 hides of land in the neighbourhood of Selsey, on which were 250 slaves, all of whom were given their freedom by the bishop.

While St. Wilfrid was in Sussex he received a visit from Cadwalla, then exiled from Wessex and apparently wandering in the Forest of Andred, who in 685 as king of Wessex conquered the still heathen Isle of Wight and made over a quarter of the island to Wilfrid. Cadwalla also, during the short time that he had power over the South Saxon kingdom, gave the bishop a large estate at Pagham, which Wilfrid, on his reconciliation to Archbishop Theodore in 686, presented to the see of Canterbury, of which it long formed a peculiar.

¹ *Hen. of Hunt.* (Rolls Ser.), 61.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, c. 13.

³ See article on 'The Introduction of Christianity into Sussex' in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxiii, 105-28.

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When Wilfrid returned to his northern diocese in 686, the South Saxon see was united with that of the West Saxons, of which the seat was at Winchester; but in 711 the see was revived, and Eadberht, abbot of Selsey, was appointed bishop.⁴ He was succeeded by Eolla, after whose death the see of Selsey was vacant till 733, when Sigga was consecrated. Then followed a succession of bishops,⁵ of whom nothing more than their names is known, with the exception of Ethelgar, who had been abbot of Winchester, and was the first of the many occupants of the Sussex see who passed thence to the primacy of Canterbury.

Possibly the poverty and insignificance of the cathedral abbey of Selsey saved its inmates from martyrdom during the period of the Danish ravages. The only Saxon martyr of whom Sussex can boast is St. Lewinna, said to have been one of St. Wilfrid's first converts, and to have suffered during the primacy of Theodore, who died in 690. Of her life nothing is known, but of the 'translation' of her relics in 1058 we have a singularly interesting contemporary account.⁶ Balger, a monk of Bergue in Flanders—who had several times visited England—on Easter Eve, 1058, was driven by stress of weather into the harbour of Seaford; next day he desired to hear mass, and was directed to the monastery or church of St. Andrew, some three leagues from the port. After service the priest of the church expatiated to him on the great merits of St. Lewinna, whose body lay there, and translated various parchments fastened on the walls containing an account of the miraculous cures that she had wrought. Balger became so excited that he endeavoured to bribe the priest to give him a bone of the saint, but his offer being indignantly rejected, he had to pretend that it was made in jest. He remained praying before the shrine, and took the opportunity of tampering with the chest containing the body, and at last managed to open it. The sacristan, being obliged to go away next day, left the church to the care of Balger, who seized the golden opportunity to steal the whole of the saint's relics, with the exception of a few small bones which fell out of the sheet in which he had wrapped the body, and were evidently intended by the saint to be left in 'the place where she had finished her life with the palm of martyrdom.' The relics were safely conveyed to Bergue, where they were received with delight and placed in a worthy shrine securely fastened, 'lest any fraud might possibly be practised and any portion of the relics taken away.'

The only other South Saxon saint of whom we have any record is St. Cuthman, who appears to have flourished in the ninth century.⁷ He was the child of Christian parents, and when left destitute by his father's death, set out on his travels, taking with him his aged and infirm mother, in a sort of wheelbarrow. This primitive vehicle breaking down at Steyning, he determined to stay there, and set about the building of a church, which was accompanied by a number of miracles amply sufficient to justify his inclusion in the calendar of saints. Another church-building saint connected with Sussex was the holy Archbishop Dunstan, who erected a wooden church at Mayfield, and finding that the orientation was incorrect, placed his shoulder against the wall and adjusted it.⁸ It was at Mayfield also that St. Dunstan

⁴ Bede, *op. cit.* lib. v, c. 18.

⁵ See list in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii.

⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 46-54.

⁷ Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. ii, 197.

⁸ *Mem. of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Ser.), 204, 342.

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had his famous encounter with the Devil, and seized him by the nose with his tongs, which tongs are still shown for the convincing of the sceptic.

The building of churches was not, however, confined to saints. A number of charters of the eighth century refer to the foundation of 'minsters' at Ferring,⁹ Bexhill,¹⁰ and Wittering,¹¹ and mention the church of St. Peter at Henfield¹² and the 'minster' of 'Bedinghommes,' to which land in 'Deanton' was said to belong;¹³ these two places may be Beddingham and Denton in the Ouse valley, or Beeding and the 'Dentun' of Domesday, which lay between Coombes and Sompting. These charters are almost, if not quite, all forgeries, but may well be founded on facts. Another certainly forged charter records the gift of Bertuald, duke of the South Saxons, to the abbey of St. Denis of the vill of Rotherfield, and the use of the ports of Hastings and Pevensey. This appears to record an actual transaction, and the church of Rotherfield, which is still dedicated to St. Denis, was probably founded about the time of this grant, which is dated 790.¹⁴

As far as the ecclesiastical history of Sussex is concerned, the most important grants made during this period were those to the see of Canterbury. St. Wilfrid's gift of Pagham has already been mentioned; at the council of Kingston in 838 the archbishop made good his claim to the great manor of South Malling,¹⁵ where, apparently, there was already a monastery dedicated to St. Michael which Aldwulf, duke of the South Saxons, had founded, or at least endowed with lands in Stanmer, Lindfield, and Burleigh, about 760.¹⁶ Further grants were made of land at West Tarring by King Ethelstan in 940,¹⁷ and of land at Patching by Wulfric, a thegn, in 947.¹⁸ As a result of these gifts the church of Canterbury possessed extensive peculiars in Sussex, forming in later times the three deaneries of South Malling, Tarring, and Pagham.

When Edward the Confessor came to the throne the bishopric of Selsey was held by Grimketel, who had formerly obtained the East Anglian see by simony, but being ejected therefrom had bought his appointment to the southern see.¹⁹ On his death in 1048 the king's chaplain Hecca succeeded, dying about the end of 1057; Ethelric the next bishop appears to have been irregularly appointed, as he was deposed in 1070, at the same time as Archbishop Stigand and Ethelmaer, bishop of Elmham, and imprisoned at Marlborough. He was, however, recognized as one of the leading experts in English law, and was accordingly brought to the council on Penenden Heath in 1076 to give the assembly the benefit of his learning.²⁰

The Confessor was liberal of Sussex lands to his ecclesiastical friends; the richly endowed collegiate church which had sprung up where Dicul had first lit the lamp of Christianity at Bosham was granted to the Norman chaplain Osbern, and the valuable manors and ports of Steyning and Hastings with Rye and Winchelsea fell to the share of the Norman abbey of Fécamp, while on his own foundation of Westminster he bestowed the manor of Parham. To the church of 'St. John,' possibly in Lewes, Queen Edith gave lands in Frog-Firle and elsewhere, some of which Harold took away and kept in his own hand. Harold also seized the manor of Steyning towards the end

⁹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 198.

¹² Ibid. 206.

¹⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 421.

¹⁸ Ibid. 823.

¹³ Ibid. 302, 387.

¹⁶ Ibid. 197.

¹⁹ Will. Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 205.

¹⁰ Ibid. 207.

¹⁴ *Arch. Journal*, lii, 355-70; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xli, 49.

¹⁷ Ibid. 766.

¹¹ Ibid. 211.

²⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 37-8.

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of Edward's reign, and Godwin appears to have obtained partial, if not complete, possession of the lands of Bosham which lay near Lewes. Whether these confiscations were due to rapacity, contempt of the church, or patriotic dislike of the foreign clergy cannot now be decided.

The Norman conquest wrought great changes in the religious life of Sussex, the most noticeable in some ways, though by no means the most important, being the removal of the bishop's see from Selsey to Chichester in accordance with the recommendation of the Council of 1075 that episcopal seats should be transferred from villages to towns. This removal took place during the episcopate of Stigand, who had been consecrated bishop in 1070, and probably in or very shortly after 1075.²¹ At the time of the Domesday Survey the bishopric was endowed with lands valued at £150 5s., a total quite insignificant compared with that of the archbishop's peculiars, referred to above, which totalled £274 10s.

The abbey of Fécamp, to which William had restored Steyning and added the manor of Bury, held lands worth £176 4s.; and Bosham, still in the hands of Osbern, now bishop of Exeter, reached the total of £55 5s., though this was a tremendous downfall from its original value of £329.

It was as builders and founders of religious houses that the Normans wrought the greatest change. At the time of the conquest there seem to have been few monastic establishments in Sussex; besides the houses of Selsey and Bosham and St. Michael of South Malling we hear of a nunnery of St. Peter at Chichester which was dissolved and its church converted into the cathedral upon the removal of the see hither,²² a church of St. John, already mentioned, and the clerks, or secular canons, of St. Nicholas, Arundel. The clerks of Boxgrove, Singleton, and St. Pancras, Lewes, were probably introduced between the dates of the Conquest and the Domesday Survey in which they appear.

The foundation by William of the great abbey of St. Martin of the Place of Battle as a votive offering for his victory, and of the priory of Lewes by William de Warenne and his wife, as well as of such lesser houses as Boxgrove, Sele, Wilmington, and the nunnery of Lyminster, rapidly resulted in the accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the monastic clergy of the diocese; while the intimate connexion of most of these monasteries with French houses must have assisted the Normanization of the county, though it probably also led to the isolation of the clerical population from the laity.

The Norman period, including not only the years of the conquest and settlement of England, but also the period of the Norman influence in the reign of the Confessor, was noteworthy for multiplication of parish churches; and this process is particularly evident in Sussex. Domesday, whose mention or omission of churches is notoriously arbitrary, mentions ninety-eight churches, nine chapels and four priests (implying the existence of churches) in this county. Nor is this a complete list by any means; several that are known to have existed are passed over,²³ and no fewer than nineteen churches which still contain features of pre-conquest, or very early Norman, architecture²⁴ are also omitted, so that at a moderate computation there must have

²¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 87-108.

²² See *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 369.

²³ Will. Malmes. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 205.

²⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 155.

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been one hundred and fifty churches standing before the death of William I. As the total number in the diocese in 1291 was only about two hundred and sixty-seven it follows that more than half had been built at this early date. Not content with erecting new churches where required the Normans also enlarged and improved those that existed ; thus William de Warenne replaced the wooden church of St. Pancras at Lewes with one of stone,²⁶ destined itself in later years to give place to the magnificent priory church whose measurements alone now remain to testify to its former glories.

It is probable that every church possessed a certain portion of glebe land, but its amount is not usually stated in the Domesday Survey. At Filsham one virgate of land went with the church, at Playden three virgates, and at Walberton two ; the churches of Compton and Mundham had half a hide each, those of Aldingbourne and Elsted one hide, Stoughton a hide and a half, and Amberley as much as three hides. Probably from thirty to a hundred acres would constitute the average endowment. Two cases of the foundation of a church at a somewhat later date may be introduced here as bearing upon this point. In the first of these William de Warenne (II ?) confirms the gift of one acre of land in Kingston-by-Lewes made by Peter the sheriff for the erection of a church there and orders Hugh the sheriff (of Lewes) to cause the church to be built.²⁶ The other instance concerns the church of Hellingly, and is as follows :—

I Nicholas de Brade, when Bishop Seffrid (1180–1204) consecrated the church of Helling, endowed it with twelve denariates of land . . . because there was not anyone else who would endow it, and the bishop earnestly sought for an endowment for the church lest so excellent a work should in any way be hindered.

Richard de Helling further gave a croft near the church and six perches of moorland to enlarge the churchyard.²⁷

Stigand, the first bishop of Chichester, died in 1087, and the identity of his immediate successor is involved in considerable mystery. According to Bishop William Reade's list *Willelmus Primus* followed Stigand,²⁸ and William of Malmesbury also says of Stigand, *huic successit Willelmus*. A charter already printed in the article on the Sussex Domesday²⁹ would prove the existence of Bishop William if it could be relied upon, and another charter of Bishop Ralph refers to his predecessors, Bishops Stigand and William.³⁰ On the other hand, Godfrey is said by several good authorities to have been consecrated by Lanfranc in 1087, and to have died in 1088, and his body was found and identified in 1829.³¹ It would seem, therefore, that William was Stigand's successor, but that he died the same year that he was appointed, and that his place was at once filled by Godfrey. A further element of confusion is introduced by the latter being called in Bishop Reade's list *Lelaught*, and in the series of bishops painted in Chichester Cathedral in the sixteenth century *Leluaught*. This appears to admit of no explanation, though it was probably a nickname.³²

William Rufus, caring less for the spiritual welfare of the Church than for its temporal wealth, kept the see of Chichester vacant for three years

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, i.

²⁶ Lewes Chartul.; Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 20.

²⁷ Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 103, from chartul. of Bayham Abbey.

²⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 15.

²⁹ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 372.

³⁰ Cott. MS. Vitel. E, x.

³¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 15.

³² *Ibid.*

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after the death of Bishop Godfrey. Ralph Luffa, the next bishop, was consecrated in 1091 by Thomas, archbishop of York, the see of Canterbury being still vacant. He was a man of commanding presence and courageous spirit, and supported the cause of his primate, Anselm, against Rufus with intrepidity. When Henry I put forward his claim to be allowed to exact fines from married priests Bishop Ralph boldly resisted his demands, and even went so far as to close all the churches in the diocese until the king yielded. His courage was appreciated by Henry, who not only released the diocese from the tax, but assisted in the rebuilding of the cathedral, which had been damaged by fire in 1114. Ralph displayed equal energy in the performance of his pastoral duties, making a circuit of his diocese thrice in the year, preaching and reforming abuses, and died like a good Christian in 1123, causing all his goods to be distributed to the poor. His successor Seffrid I, nicknamed Pelochin, was abbot of Glastonbury at the time of his election to Chichester, over which see he ruled till 1145, when he was deposed and retired to his former home at Glastonbury.

Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen and bishop of Winchester, had made an endeavour while at Rome in 1143 to have his see of Winchester raised to the rank of an archbishopric, and to have Chichester subjected thereto.³³ This had come to nothing, but it was probably through Henry's influence that the bishopric was bestowed in 1147 upon Hilary, a man of considerable learning and a fiery eloquence, and devoted to the crown. During his episcopate the struggle between the abbey of Battle and the cathedral of Chichester, which had begun under Stigand, but had been adjusted by Ralph Luffa's good sense and tact only to revive under Seffrid, reached its crisis. A prolonged and undignified wrangle ended in the complete victory of the abbot, who established the exemption of his church from episcopal control beyond challenge.³⁴ A more important contest in which Hilary played a leading part was that between Henry II and Becket. At the Council of Westminster in 1163 Hilary alone of the bishops urged the acceptance of the king's proposal for dealing with criminal clergy by the secular power; he was also one of the leading men by whose influence Becket was induced to agree to the Constitutions of the Council at Clarendon in 1164. In October of this latter year the archbishop was cited before the council at Northampton for the secular offence of not paying certain dues to John the Marshall, arising from his Sussex manor of Pagham. Becket, in violation of the Constitutions which he had signed at Clarendon, inhibited the bishops from proceeding against him, whereupon Hilary as spokesman for all declared him perjured, and refused to yield him obedience.

The outcome of this suit in connexion with the manor of Pagham was the murder of Becket before the altar of his cathedral church in 1170, followed by his beatification and promotion to the position of practically the patron saint of England; nor was this the limit of his promotion, if we may believe the story of a monk of Lewes Priory, to whom a brother who had recently died appeared in a vision, and declared that the archbishop had been exalted above all other martyrs to the ranks of the Apostles, because the others had died for their own cause, and at the hands of pagans, but he for

³³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 53.

³⁴ See *Chron. of Battle Abbey*, trans. by M. A. Lower, *passim*.

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the cause of the whole Church, and at the hands of his own sons.³⁵ Becket's secretary and friend, Herbert of Bosham, himself a native of Sussex, and other writers have left on record long lists of miracles done by Saint Thomas, some of which relate to persons and places in Sussex, such as Sir Amfrey de Ferring, Richard canon of Chichester, and dwellers at Aldrington, Ifield, Pevensey, Rye, Shoreham, Warbleton, and Winchelsea; but the tales for the most part are of little interest and no historical value: the best known relates how the murderers rested at the archbishop's manor of South Malling, where the table thrice threw down their armour which they had put upon it.³⁶

Bishop Hilary had died in July, 1169, but his successor, John I, dean of Chichester, was not elected till 1173, being consecrated the following year. Upon his death in 1180, Seffrid II, who had been archdeacon and dean, became bishop of Chichester, which see he held for twenty-four years. His episcopate was a period of great importance in the history of the diocese, not only because he restored and added to the cathedral church after the disastrous fire of 1187, but still more because from this time we may date the beginning of the ordination of vicarages, which is in some ways the most important feature of English church life during the first half of the thirteenth century.

The rapid accumulation of the patronage and endowments of parish churches in the hands of the monasteries led to many abuses; the churches were treated as sources of revenue, and only served perfunctorily by one of the monks, or by a chaplain chosen rather for his willingness to accept a low salary than for his fitness to minister, and liable to be removed at any time. To remedy this state of affairs the Lateran Council of 1179 and the Westminster Council of 1200 ordered the appointment of perpetual vicarages. That the need of such had already made itself evident may be seen from the fact that when Bishop John I, about 1177, allowed the priory of Boxgrove to appropriate the churches of Boxgrove, Hampnett, Walberton, Barnham, and Hunston to their own uses he did so conditionally on their appointing perpetual vicars with a sufficient portion for their support.³⁷ A similar stipulation was made by Seffrid II, probably about 1190, when appropriating the church of Hellingly to the Premonstratensian abbey of Otham.³⁸

The first vicarages of whose regular ordination we have any notice are those of the churches of Kingston-by-Lewes, Iford, and Rottingdean, appropriated to Lewes Priory by Seffrid II in 1200.³⁹ In the case of Rottingdean the vicar was to have a specified virgate of land with all its tithes, the obventions of the altar and of the chapel of Balsdean, and all small tithes except those from the demesne of Earl Warenne. At Iford he had the obventions of the altar and of the chapel of Swanborough, the small tithes, and the fourth sheaf of the monks' tithe corn. At Kingston, besides the obventions, specified lands, and measures of corn, mention is made of a manse or dwelling-house. The vicarage appointed at Henfield in 1209 is of a nature similar to the above, but is given in greater detail;⁴⁰ by it the vicar was to receive all oblations made in the church and all legacies, all the tithes of certain lands and of any land newly brought under cultivation in the future, and the tithes

³⁵ *Mat. for Hist. of Abp. Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 31.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 285.

³⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 92, from chartul. of Boxgrove Priory.

³⁸ Add. MSS. 6037.

³⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 80.

⁴⁰ Dallaway, *Hist. of West Suss.* ii (2), 270; from copy in Chich. Epis. Reg. 'B' fol. ult.

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of calves, lambs, wool, pigs, chickens, geese, ducks, eggs, honey and wax, mills, fisheries, venison, hemp and flax, gardens, garlick, onions, leeks, and all pot-herbs (defined in 1409 as 'cabbages and leeks and other herbs of which broth is made by the custom of the county'⁴¹), apples, pears, corn in the sheaf or blade, and produce of orchards or gardens, and tithes of merchants' wares, fish, profits of brewers, and all artificers. In return the vicar should perform divine service on Sundays and holidays, and find bread, wine, and candles for mass, and pay 18*d.* for synodals. When the church of Willingdon was appropriated to the abbey of Grestain, in 1204, the vicar's portion was a messuage and a third part of the issues.⁴²

Another benefice early affected by this movement was Wilmington, to which vicarage King John presented in 1209.⁴³ Icklesham,⁴⁴ Oving,⁴⁵ Medlers (or Madehurst), and 'Islesham,'⁴⁶ were all ordained about 1220; Portslade⁴⁷ in 1222; Horsham⁴⁸ in 1231; and West Dean,⁴⁹ near Chichester, in 1237. The form in most cases is very similar, the vicar usually receiving a house, a piece of land, all the obventions of the altar, mortuaries, and other dues, and all the small tithes, and in return usually paying the fees due to the diocesan officials for procurage, &c. At Horsham, on account of the size and populousness of the parish, the vicar was bound to maintain another chaplain and two assistants—a deacon and a sub-deacon.

Probably many more vicarages were appointed during the episcopate of the saintly Richard de Wych, but only seven are now known—Ifield and Warnham⁵⁰ 1247, Donnington⁵¹ 1249, Cuckfield⁵² 1250, Westfield⁵³ 1251, Piddinghoe and Brighton⁵⁴ 1252. Sele and New Shoreham⁵⁵ were ordained in 1261, Mayfield⁵⁶ 1262, Framfield⁵⁷ 1266, and Glynde⁵⁸ in 1279. No more are recorded previous to the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291, at which time there were about 254 benefices in the county, to 107 of which vicarages had already been appointed. Between 1291 and 1535 another twenty were ordained, bringing the total up to 127, or just half the number of the churches, a most unusually high proportion.

The first vicarage recorded as instituted after the Taxation, and one of the most interesting because of the elaborate nature of the details, is that of Hailsham, ordained by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1296.⁵⁹ After setting out at great length the particular tithes, lands, &c., to be assigned to the vicar the instrument stipulates that the abbey and convent of Bayham, to whom the rectory was impropriate, should maintain the rectory barns and cause their own great tithes to be stored therein and threshed there, and should also keep in repair the chancel and provide the necessary books and ornaments. The vicar, on the other hand, was to maintain a second priest skilled in singing and reading, to provide bread and wine for mass, and incense and wax for the lights of the high altar; he was also to provide rushes for the floor of the church in the summer, but in the winter the convent should provide straw.

⁴¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 86.

⁴³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iv, 54.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 86.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 71.

⁵⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 72.

⁵³ Add. MSS. 5706, fol. 38.

⁵⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 120.

⁵⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 190; printed in full in Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 100-2.

⁴² Add. MSS. 5706, fol. 345.

⁴⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 82.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Sherborn, fol. 72.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 84.

⁴⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 145.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 63.

⁵² *Ibid.* fol. 81.

⁵⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 81.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* xxvi, 65.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 49.

MAP SHOWING THE CHURCHES
IN THE COUNTY OF SVSSEX
WHICH WERE AT SOME PERIOD IN THE
PATRONAGE OF A RELIGIOUS HOUSE



Peculiars of the Archbishopric of Canterbury . . . RINGMER
Churches in the patronage of the Bishop or the
Cathedral clergy of Chichester . . . *During*
Churches in the patronage of the Priory of Lewes . . . CUCKFIELD
other Sussex Houses . . . Fletching
religious houses . . . Rye
outside the County . . .

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A dispute arising between the rector and vicar of Lancing as to the division of the tithes, the bishop re-ordained⁶⁰ the vicarage there in 1334. Vicarages were appointed at Felpham⁶¹ in 1345, Rustington⁶² 1354, and Mid Lavant⁶³ in 1358. In 1360 the bishop, finding that although perpetual vicars had been presented for a long time previous to the church of East Grinstead, appropriated to Lewes Priory, no fixed endowment appeared to be on record, appointed a manse, land, and certain tithes and dues to the vicar's use.⁶⁴ Portions were also appointed to vicars upon the appropriation of the churches of Rye⁶⁵ 1363, Alfriston and Fletching⁶⁶ 1398, Up Marden and Compton⁶⁷ 1414. The changed conditions due to the Black Death, the scarcity of labour and increased cost of living, made many of the old endowments inadequate; consequently vicarages were re-appointed or augmented by a money payment at Goring⁶⁸ 1424; Walberton, Barnham, Hampnett,⁶⁹ and Eastbourne⁷⁰ 1440; Bishopstone⁷¹ 1486; Alciston and Lullington⁷² 1520; Slinfold⁷³ 1521; Eartham⁷⁴ 1522; Ifield, Udimore and Amberley⁷⁵ 1524; and finally at Wilmington⁷⁶ in 1541.

In two cases during Bishop Praty's episcopate it was found necessary to re-unite poorly endowed vicarages with their rectories, these being Sullington⁷⁷ in 1441, and Storrington⁷⁸ in 1443. About the same time the archbishop's peculiar of Cliffe, which had always been accounted a vicarage, was converted into a rectory.⁷⁹

Returning now to the general history of the diocese during the thirteenth century, we find Seffrid II succeeded in 1204 by Simon, archdeacon of Wells, who died in 1207. Next year the interdict was declared by the papal commissioners, and for six years the churches throughout the county remained closed. It has been asserted⁸⁰ that the see of Chichester remained vacant during this period, but there is little doubt that the chronicles of Dunstaple and Osney are correct in recording the election of Nicholas of L'Aigle in 1209,⁸¹ in which year the pope ordered the chapter to elect a bishop in spite of the king's prohibition.⁸² Nicholas was dean of Chichester and a member of one of the leading Sussex families, his nephew being at this time lord of Pevensey; he is spoken of as bishop in the instrument of ordination of Henfield vicarage in 1209, but how long he held the see is not known; it was, however, vacant in 1214 when the interdict was removed, and it is possible that he had resigned his bishopric and retired abroad, as he appears in 1220 as dean of Avranches.⁸³

Richard Poore, who was appointed bishop in January, 1215, is best known as the founder of the glorious cathedral of Salisbury, to which see he was translated in 1217. Nor does Ranulph of Wareham call for more than passing notice; but in Ralph de Neville, who held the see from 1224 to 1244, the diocese had a distinguished and worthy head. A man of good family and

⁶⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 74.

⁶² Ibid. 24.

⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 78.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Reade, fol. 61.

⁷⁰ Ibid. fol. 99.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 92.

⁷⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iv, 58.

⁷⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxvi, 24.

⁸¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 31; iv, 54.

⁸³ Muniments of Magd. Coll. Oxf. box 'Thakeham,' No. 2.

⁶¹ Dallaway, *Hist. of West Suss.* ii (1), 7.

⁶³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 68.

⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 76.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Praty, fol. 86.

⁷¹ Ibid. Story, fol. 78.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 97b.

⁸⁰ Stephens, *Mem. of See of Chich.* 72.

⁸² *Cal. Pap. Let.* i, 32.

⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 70.

⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 88.

⁷² Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 83.

⁷⁵ Ibid. pt. ii, fol. 86.

⁷⁸ Ibid. fol. 93.

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outstanding capacity, he held the office of chancellor for sixteen years from 1226, and steadfastly upheld the rights of the English Church alike against the king, who endeavoured to remove him from office, and the pope, who in 1231 quashed his election to the primacy, and in 1238 similarly annulled his election to the see of Winchester. Beyond caring for his cathedral church and increasing its endowment and privileges it is probable that his public duties left him little time for the management of his diocese. Bishop Ralph dying in February, 1244, in his London house which has given its name to Chancery Lane, the subservient chapter, wishing to secure the king's favour, elected the archdeacon of Lewes,⁸⁴ Robert de Passelewe. He was a member of an East Sussex family and a courtier of the worst type, possessing all the worldliness of Ralph de Neville with little of his ability, and less of his honesty. The archbishop of Canterbury, in council with his suffragans, refused to accept Robert de Passelewe, and appointed in his stead the saintly Richard de Wych.

Bishop Richard ⁸⁵ was a native of Droitwich, whose learning and devotion had early attracted the attention of St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was made chancellor of Canterbury. When the archbishop sought rest in the seclusion of the monastery of Pontigny, Richard accompanied him and remained with him, on terms of loving intimacy, till his death. Being thus elected to the see of Chichester, Richard vainly endeavoured to appease the anger of the king, who refused to give up the temporalities. Pope Innocent IV supported the bishop's cause and consecrated him, but Henry still remained unappeased, and for two years Richard went up and down throughout his diocese discharging the spiritual duties of his office though deprived of its temporal advantages. During this period he made his home principally with Simon, rector of West Tarring, in whose garden he is recorded to have spent much of his leisure, planting, grafting, and caring for the fig-trees and other plants there growing. When at last the king, menaced by the pope with excommunication, released the temporalities of the see, Richard, unspoilt by prosperity as by poverty, made use of this accession of wealth only to increase his alms to the poor. Ascetic and unflinchingly severe to himself, he was lenient to others, and if when he rose with the earliest dawn for prayer he found his clerks still sleeping he would not rouse them, but perform the office by himself. Yet where the honour of the Church was concerned he could be terribly severe; thus at Lewes a certain knight who had arrested and put into the stocks one of the parochial clergy was made to go to the church in the garb of a penitent and wearing the same stocks about his neck; while the burgesses of that town, who had broken sanctuary by dragging a thief out of a church and hanging him, were compelled to exhume his body and carry it on their shoulders to the church. The married clergy were the object of his sternest decrees, they being deprived of their benefices, and their 'concubines' denied the privileges of the Church. Plurality and non-residence were forbidden by Bishop Richard, and directions issued to ensure the decent performance of divine service, special injunctions being issued against the clipping and slurring of words, and the use of improper dress.

⁸⁴ He obtained the archdeaconry in this year by the king's gift during the vacancy of the see: Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁸⁵ See a paper by Canon Cooper in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 184-202.

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At last, in 1253, the pope, anxious to make a final effort for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem, commissioned Richard to preach a crusade. This task he willingly undertook and passed through his own diocese along the south coast as far as Dover, preaching as he went. At Dover, where he was to consecrate a church to the honour of his beloved and now canonized master St. Edmund, he lodged in the hospital, and was there taken ill, and rapidly becoming worse, passed quietly away the next day, in the presence of his old friend Simon of Tarring, to whom almost his last words were addressed.

The purity of his life and the cheerful benevolence and sympathy of his nature justifiably caused the populace to regard Richard as a true saint, and the miracles the report of which resulted from or accompanied this belief were at last considered by the papal court to afford undeniable grounds for his canonization, which was formally enacted at Viterbo on 26 January, 1262. The next scene in the saint's history took place on 16 June, 1276, when in the presence of King Edward I and a vast multitude, the primate with many assistant bishops translated the body of St. Richard to his new shrine.⁸⁶ The archbishop at this time took the opportunity of securing a relic for his church by appropriating an arm of the saint⁸⁷: it was possibly the memory of this action that encouraged the bishop of Chichester in 1444 to write to the chapter of Canterbury and ask for a limb of St. Wilfrid, the founder of his see, to be enshrined with the relics of St. Richard; a request with which the chapter obligingly complied.⁸⁸ The shrine of St. Richard rapidly attained a more than local fame and became a great pilgrimage centre, drawing the stream of pilgrims westward through the county as that of St. Thomas at Canterbury drew them eastward. His name retains its place even yet in the Anglican calendar, and his fame travelled so far that for some mysterious reason he was chosen by the Coachmen's Guild of Milan as their patron saint.⁸⁹ The only other Sussex church that appears to have been a regular centre of pilgrimage was that of St. Mary in the castle of Hastings,⁹⁰ where a certain holy rood was the object of adoration. Temporary local pilgrimages, however, were often encouraged for the assistance of a church needing repairs or otherwise impoverished; thus in 1399 indulgence was granted to all who should visit and give alms to the parish church of Chiddingly⁹¹ on certain feast days, and a similar privilege was offered in 1405 to those who would bestow alms upon the hermit of St. Cyriac's chapel at Chichester,⁹² while in 1413 relaxation of penance was promised to all who visited the altar of St. Catherine in the parish church of St. Swithun of East Grinstead at certain times.⁹³

The great Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 is important as giving us a valuation of the benefices and a statement of the spiritualities and temporalities in the hands of the clergy at this time.⁹⁴ The total value of the spiritualities in the county was returned as £4,708 16s. 8d., and that of the temporalities £2,102 9s. 11½d.; there was a further sum of £118 14s. 2d. for annual pensions arising from churches, bringing the total up to £6,948 19s. 9½d.

⁸⁶ *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 47.

⁸⁸ *Litt. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 187.

⁹⁰ See below in the account of the college of Hastings.

⁹² *Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade*, fol. 14a.

⁹⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 134-42.

⁸⁷ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 47.

⁸⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 185.

⁹¹ *Cal. Pap. Let.* v, 278.

⁹³ *Cal. Pap. Let.* vi, 446.

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The ecclesiastical tenants included the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Chichester, Exeter, and London, and thirty-six monastic establishments, of which seventeen were situated outside the county.

Exclusive of the archbishop's peculiars there were in the county 236 churches, the value of which ranged from £1 at Hardham to £53 6s. 8d., which sum was attained by the rectories of Goring, East Grinstead, and Rotherfield, those of Broadwater and Petworth reaching £46 13s. 4d., while few others passed the limit of £20. The vicarages varied from £4 6s. 8d. up to £16 13s. 4d., but the greater number were not above £6 13s. 4d. In the archbishop's churches the range was still greater, the vicarage of Cliffe being only £2 13s. 4d., and the rectory of Mayfield £60, that of Tarring £66 13s. 4d., and that of Pagham as much as £110.

So rich a benefice as Pagham was almost inevitably destined to fall into the hands of court favourites or members of the hierarchy ; accordingly it is no surprise to find that in 1294 it was granted to Theobald brother of Henry, count of Bar,⁹⁵ while later rectors were Gaucelin cardinal of St. Marcellinus in 1318⁹⁶ and the cardinal bishop of Albano in 1337.⁹⁷ At this latter date the cardinal bishop of Tusculum held the living of East Grinstead with the prebend of Fittleworth, and the cardinal of St. Lucy in Silice was precentor of Chichester,⁹⁸ which post he still held twenty years later,⁹⁹ when West Tarring was also in the hands of an alien, one John de Flisco. It was in connexion with this church of Tarring that one of the most flagrant instances of papal interference occurred. Tedisius de Camilla, a relative of the late Pope Adrian and of the cardinal legate, Ottobon, was presented by the pope, in or previous to 1275, to the churches of Wingham in Kent and Tarring, and was at the same time dispensed from residence.¹⁰⁰ In 1281 Archbishop Peckham being contumeliously refused admission to the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, of which Camilla was dean, deprived him of his deanery and benefices ; the archbishop notes indignantly that although Camilla had held the church of Tarring for seven years he did not know in what diocese it was. After prolonged dispute the papal court decided, as might be expected, in favour of its own *protégée*, and Camilla was confirmed in the possession of his benefices of Wingham and Tarring in 1286.¹⁰¹

Other instances of the bestowal of rich livings in Sussex upon aliens, cardinals, and courtiers could easily be cited, and the prebends of the collegiate churches of Chichester, South Malling, Bosham, and Hastings appear to have been regarded by the pope as existing solely for the augmentation of the income of the Italian clergy. Benefices so held were, of course, put under the management of a proctor or rector, upon whom the ill-feeling of the parishioners appears to have been occasionally wreaked. Thus in 1283 the farmer of Rotherfield church, under that notorious pluralist, Bogo de Clare, was unable to render his accounts fully, as he had been assaulted by certain men who had robbed him and destroyed his tallies ;¹⁰² and in 1299 the proctor of Theobald de Bar, rector of Pagham, complained that certain persons were besieging the church and rectory buildings 'with banners displayed,' and would not permit him, or his men, to have access thereto.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 8 d.

⁹⁷ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Reg. Epis. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i, 387.

¹⁰² Mins. Accts. bdle. 1028, No. 7.

⁹⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Chanc. Misc. bdle. 18, No. 3.

¹⁰¹ *Cal. Pap. Let.* i, 489.

¹⁰³ Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 8 d.

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It was indeed a time of general lawlessness even in things ecclesiastical, as is well shown in the case of the great dispute between the priory of Michelham and the abbey of Bayham, over the church of Hailsham, when each party alternately seized the church by force and violently ejected the other, while bishop and primate thundered unregarded decrees of excommunication.¹⁰⁴ In this instance the question in dispute was whether Hailsham was a parish church or, as was eventually decided, a chapel to the church of Hellingly. That many parish churches originated in this way from dependent chapels is clear, and there is occasionally documentary record of the formation of new parishes in this way, as in the case of the severance of Patching from Tarring in 1287.¹⁰⁵ The number of chapels that existed at this time was very large. Of these some were manorial, some were attached to religious houses, and many served as chapels of ease to scattered parishes. Of the last class a good example is found in 1292, when the rector of Buxted complained that his parishioners living in the hamlet of Gilderigge were unable in winter to come to the mother church of Buxted, and consequently often went to that of Withyham, whereby he lost the benefit of their alms; the archbishop accordingly gave him leave to erect a chapel at Gilderigge.¹⁰⁶ The privileges of these chapels were usually sharply defined to prevent their encroaching upon the rights of the parish church, the use of a font or bell being sometimes noted as not permitted, and the privilege of burial, with the attendant fees and perquisites, being most jealously reserved.

Another class of chapel consists of those built expressly for the use of a chantry priest. These were not numerous, but one example is mentioned in 1400 as having been built by the late Walter Burgess, in the churchyard of Horsham,¹⁰⁷ and possibly other chapels in churchyards at Arlington, Glynde, and elsewhere may have had a similar origin. As a rule, however, the numerous chantries which were founded after the passing of the Act of Mortmain in 1279 were established in churches, either parochial or monastic, and chapels that were already in existence.

In Gilbert de Sancto Leofardo, who was bishop of Chichester from 1288 to 1305, the see appears to have had a worthy successor to the saintly Richard; his synodal constitutions of 1289 closely resemble those of his beatified predecessor, and he himself was described by Matthew of Westminster as 'the father of orphans, the comforter of mourning widows, the pious visitor of the sick, and the generous benefactor of the poor.' From 1305 to 1362 the see was held by John Langton and Robert Stratford, who each resembled Bishop Ralph de Neville in holding the chancellorship of the realm and fulfilling the duties of that office with honesty and ability. Of their diocesan administration we know little or nothing, but Bishop Stratford contrived to come into collision with his cathedral clergy by ignoring the jurisdictionary rights of the dean within the city of Chichester. Accordingly, in 1342, when he sent messengers to the chapter and also to the city authorities ordering them to celebrate masses and hold processions for the safety and success of the king and his army in France, eighteen of the cathedral clergy, with four of the city rectors, the chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital, and many laymen, combined to destroy the

¹⁰⁴ See below, s.v. Bayham.

¹⁰⁶ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 984-7.

¹⁰⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv (1), 73.

¹⁰⁷ *Cal. Pap. Let.* v, 271.

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bishop's letters and illtreat their bearers.¹⁰⁸ Also, when the bishop desired to visit his cathedral they assaulted him while he was in the suburbs, and shut the gates of the city and church against him.¹⁰⁹ The dispute was settled by appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop's brother, who decided that the jurisdiction of the city and suburbs belonged of right to the dean except during the period of an episcopal visitation, when it was temporarily transferred to the bishop.

It was during Robert de Stratford's episcopate that the terrible scourge of the Great Pestilence, or Black Death, devastated the whole country. Travelling across Europe from the East the plague reached England in the autumn of 1348 and rapidly filled the land with death. The bishop's registers for this period being lost it is difficult to estimate, with any certainty, the losses amongst the Sussex clergy, but there is no reason to believe that the ravages of the pestilence were less felt here than elsewhere, and various incidental notices bear out what we know of the extent of the disaster. Thus, in 1349, the king presented to no less than twenty-six livings in the county; the abbots of Battle and Boxgrove and the prior, sub-prior, and third prior of Lewes were all dead;¹¹⁰ to these may probably be added the heads of the monasteries of Hastings, Michelham, Rusper, Bayham, and Arundel; and the number of brethren in the priory of Michelham in 1353 was only five instead of thirteen.¹¹¹ The results of the Black Death were manifold; both the temporal and spiritual efficiency of the clergy were lowered. On the one hand the servants and labourers being killed off, the monastic estates could with difficulty be cultivated and their harvests gathered; on the other hand the necessity of filling up vacancies in the ranks alike of regulars and seculars inevitably led to the acceptance of many candidates who would otherwise have been rejected as unfit. Of each of these aspects some traces will be found in the history of the religious houses, in their petitions for the augmentation of their endowment and in the unfavourable notice made of many of their inmates. The check dealt to church building is also occasionally noticeable, especially in the case of the noble unfinished church of Winchelsea, while the subsequent foundation of chantries, in gratitude for preservation, or for the good of the souls of those who had died during this terrible visitation, is also observable, though not to so great an extent in Sussex as in some other counties.

Of the ecclesiastical history of Sussex during the last half of the fourteenth century there is little to be said. Bishop William Reade, who held the see from 1369 to 1385, was a man of profound learning with a special bent for astronomy, and probably of an antiquarian tone of mind, as he desired to be buried in the parish church of Selsey as the original seat of the see. His successor Thomas Rushook, the king's confessor, was one of the 'evil counsellors' of Richard II, and as such was banished to Ireland in 1388, his temporalities being seized and devoted to the payment of the debts of the king's household.¹¹²

About the beginning of the fifteenth century the whole English Church was shaken by the preaching of Wycliffe and his disciples, the Lollards; and

¹⁰⁸ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39 d.

¹¹⁰ Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 115.

¹¹² Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Assize R. 941, m. 11.

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in 1397 the king wrote to Robert Reade, who had just been made bishop of Chichester, ordering him to arrest and punish all Lollards and other heretics who preached either openly or in secret in his diocese.¹¹³ Although no record is found of any proceedings taken in consequence of this order Reade was probably not idle, as he was one of the bishops who assisted at the condemnation of John Badby, the Evesham tailor, who was the first to suffer death under the statute of 1402.¹¹⁴ His successor Stephen Patrington, who was appointed to Chichester in 1417, but died before institution, was one of the most vigorous opponents of the Wycliffites,¹¹⁵ and Richard Praty, who became bishop in 1438, zealously performed the commission given him in 1440 by the bishop of Winchester to suppress heresy, especially amongst the country people, who had taken to reading pernicious books in the English tongue.¹¹⁶ In accordance with this commission Bishop Praty caused the arrest of one John Boreham, formerly priest of Selhurst in Surrey, on a charge of heresy.¹¹⁷ Boreham confessed to having used exorcism to expel demons from people, having made charms and incantations for the cure of fevers, and possessing the four Gospels in English, and some books of magic, but denied consorting with heretics and disparaging the sacrament of confession. Upon swearing to cease from these and all other errors contrary to the Church's teaching he was absolved. The only person in this county who was put to death for his religious opinions seems to have been Thomas Bageley, clerk, who was burnt as a Lollard in 1432.¹¹⁸

Heresy reached its highest point in Sussex in 1457 when Reginald Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, the brilliant but erratic writer of *The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, and other English theological treatises of daring but inconsistent originality, was arraigned as a heretic. Being condemned on the evidence of his own writings he was offered the choice of a public abjuration of his errors or death by fire. Choosing the former alternative he was brought to St. Paul's Cross on Sunday, 27 November, and there before the primate and other clergy, and a vast concourse of spectators, made a public and humble confession of heresy, and then, 'in the prechyng tyme were many bokes of eryses of hys makynge, that cost moche goodes, damnyd and brent before hys face.'¹¹⁹ For the remainder of his life the deposed bishop dwelt, a secluded prisoner, in the abbey of Thorney, cut off from the society of men and books.

The ever-increasing cost of living during the fifteenth century, together with the poverty and diminished numbers of the populace, told heavily upon the clergy, both monastic and secular, and the lists of religious houses and benefices exempted from taxation on the score of poverty grew yearly longer, while many churches are noted as unserved because of the smallness of their income.¹²⁰ Attempts to remedy this state of affairs were sometimes made by the uniting two adjacent parishes; thus in 1528 the decayed and depopulated parish of Exceit was united with Westdean¹²¹; in 1439 the churches of Compton and Up Marden, with the chapel of West Marden, having few parishioners and small endowments, were united, Compton being

¹¹³ Trevelyan, *The Peasants' Rising and the Lollards*, 53.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 135-6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 46, summarized in Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 141-2.

¹¹⁸ Inq. p. m. 10 Hen. VI, No. 26; he held property in Midhurst and Chichester.

¹¹⁹ *Mon. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 175.

¹¹⁴ Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 134.

¹¹⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 45.

¹²⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. *passim*.

¹²¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iv. 46.

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made the parish church, but Up Marden retaining its rights of baptism and burial.¹²³ East Itchenor was joined to Bridham in 1441,¹²³ Lordington to Racton in 1445,¹²⁴ and Treyford to Elsted in 1485.¹²⁵ Another instance that may be given occurred in 1465 when the vicar of Bersted complained that the living was so impoverished as to be worth scarce 5 marks; this was enough when he had the chapel of Bognor as well, 'but then he sange twyse uppon the day, which was ageynst conscience,' and now the dean of Pagham had divided the chapel between him and the chantry priest of Pagham; he therefore appealed for an increase of the living of Bersted that he might 'leave the laboure to Bognor.' The chapter of Canterbury, the patrons, decided to unite the vicarage of Bognor with that of Bersted to be served by one priest.¹²⁶

A natural result of this widespread poverty was that the better class of men would not take Holy Orders. The episcopal visitations of Sussex during the fifteenth century show that the smaller monasteries were in a deplorable state; the great houses of Battle, Lewes, and Robertsbridge being exempt from episcopal visitation may be given the benefit of the doubt and be assumed to have been in good order. The condition of the secular clergy may be gathered from the foundation by Bishop Story of the prebendal school 'on account of the ignorance of the priests and the scarcity of ministers in our diocese.'¹²⁷ That the general depression was greatly felt by the smaller religious establishments is evident from the suppression in 1526 of the decayed hospitals of Windham and Seaford, and the free chapel of Bargham, and their absorption into the new prebends founded in that year by Bishop Sherborn.¹²⁸

The long episcopate of Robert Sherborn (1508-36) covers an important period, and brings us to the critical era of the Reformation. He was a good example of the less prominent bishops of this time, doing his duty quietly and conscientiously, content to leave the 'making of history' to others more ambitious; a man of considerable learning, kindly, generous, and fond of elaborate ritual, very solicitous of his own soul's welfare, but not forgetful of the souls or bodies of his flock. He adorned the fabric of his cathedral with carved stalls and paintings by the Italian Bernardi, and its services by founding four additional prebends and four lay clerks, one of whom was to have a bass voice, and all were to be good singers.¹²⁹ Under his care the spiritual condition of the diocese appears to have improved, and although the injunctions issued in 1518 to the priors of Boxgrove and other houses show that things were far from satisfactory, later visitations present a pleasing contrast to those of the fifteenth century, to which reference has already been made.

Bishop Sherborn appears to have been on friendly terms with Cardinal Wolsey, and when the latter, at the zenith of his power, in 1525, founded his great college at Oxford, to which were appropriated the revenues of the two Sussex monasteries of Bayham and Pynham, suppressed with others for that purpose by papal permission, Sherborn visited the cardinal's magnificent building, and on his return to Chichester wrote thanking Wolsey for showing it to him and saying that he had looked out some books which he hoped

¹²³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 87.

¹²⁵ Ibid. Story, fol. 76.

¹²⁷ Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 182.

¹²⁹ For details of these and his other benefactions, see Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 188-202.

¹²³ Ibid. fol. 97.

¹²¹ Ibid. fol. 104.

¹²⁶ *Litt. Cantuar.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 240-2.

¹²⁸ Ibid. 194.



JOHN LANGTON, 1305-37



ROBERT SHERBORN, 1508-36



CHICHESTER, DEAN AND CHAPTER



WILLIAM READE, 1369-85



CHICHESTER, DEAN AND CHAPTER
ad causas

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might be considered worthy of the college library, and desired him to accept them.¹³⁰ The fall of Wolsey made way for the more violent anti-papal measures of the unscrupulous Cromwell, in whose wake our bishop followed with clearly sorrowful loyalty. On Sunday 13 June, 1535, he preached in his cathedral church at Chichester setting forth the union of the supreme headship of the Church of England with the Imperial Crown, and the abolition of the pope's authority; at the same time he sent his suffragan to publish the same, and caused every abbot, prior, dean, parson, and other minister to receive similar orders.¹³¹ But beyond this point Sherborn would not move, or at least not fast enough to suit the royal reformers, and accordingly in May, 1536, tendered his resignation to Cromwell, who accepted it and assigned to him a pension of £400, which he did not live long to enjoy, dying in August of the same year.

The campaign against the monasteries was opened in Sussex by the visitation of Dr. Richard Layton in the autumn of 1535. The flippant tone of this man's reports¹³² and the excessive profusion of his foul accusations renders his evidence, when unfavourable, almost worthless; though the evidence of corruption at Shulbred, taken with the general tone of popular opinion at the time so far as it is now recoverable, warns us against rushing to the other extreme and denying that there was any foundation at all for the charges thus recklessly brought. A letter from Richard Gwent of the Court of Arches to Cromwell in August, 1535, appears to give a very fair and sane view of the unhappy state of many of the lesser houses. He reports after a visit to the diocese of Chichester that on the whole the king's orders are being obeyed well, though there is some slackness in the razing (of the names of the pope and St. Thomas of Canterbury) out of the service books. Priests who are absent for a great part, and religious houses where there are not more than three, six, or nine inmates, cannot execute the king's command for preaching and declaring as commanded, much less their duty to God. Such unlearned persons should not in future be admitted to holy orders, nor bear rule in any house. It were better that such small houses should be united and the master be bound to teach the others. 'It would pity your heart to know, as I do, in some covent nother brother nor master that can constre his rule, nor understand verba sacramentalia, yet being priests.'¹³³ Had the dissolution of the lesser houses proceeded on these lines, the uniting of their members and revenues, under scholarly and religious heads, a fresh lease of life would no doubt have been given to the monastic system in England, but such was not the king's intention, and in rapid succession the small houses and the great fell, their buildings were cast down, their inmates scattered to starve on scanty pensions, and their revenues diverted to the courtiers and the king, through whose greedy fingers a few drops were let fall for the causes of charity and education in whose name the dissolution had been wrought.

In Sussex the dissolution appears to have provoked no rioting or armed opposition; though when the abbey of Bayham was suppressed in 1525 the local inhabitants had forcibly restored the canons for a brief period. Precedents could be found for the dissolution, not only in the suppression of Bayham and Pynham already noted, but in that of Sele at the end of the fifteenth

¹³⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, No. 1708.

¹³² See the accounts of particular monasteries below.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* viii, No. 941.

¹³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix, No. 25.

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century and of the alien houses early in the same century; and it must be remembered that the parochial worship of the people was still untouched; if on the one hand Dr. Richard Boorde had to flee from Sussex for having said he 'wuld rather be toren with wyeld horsses than to assent or consent to the diminissinge of any one iote of the bishopp of Rome his auctorite, of old tyme and all wayes holden and kept in this realme,'¹³⁴ on the other hand Nicholas White of Winchelsea and eight men of Rye were arrested for holding heretical opinions¹³⁵ in the denying of purgatory and on other points which were destined by the end of Henry's reign to become the accepted orthodox views.

It was a period of great and rapid change and one of great difficulty for those in authority. The abolition of the pope's authority had been acquiesced in with comparatively little opposition, but a large mass of the people still held with the old form of worship, while a few, out of honest opinion or for their own convenience, outstripped the royal authorities in the simplification of ceremony and ritual. Thus, as early as February, 1536, the rector of Graffham gave up the making of holy bread and holy water on Sundays, and allowed his hair to grow so that there was no trace of his tonsure, which provoked much murmuring amongst his parishioners.¹³⁶ A storm-centre at this period was Rye, where William Inold, priest and curate of the absentee vicar, was the head of what we may term the reactionary party. He had been imprisoned in 1536 as 'a very unthrift priest and a great reveller' and a causer of riot,¹³⁷ but returning to his cure next year was informed against for railing upon many honest men, calling them heretics, boasting that the old fashions should survive, keeping certain 'idle holy days late abrogated,' such as the feast of the Name of Jesus, with solemn ringing, singing, procession, and decking of the church. He had further said that they that have the New Testament in their hands have a sword and are clean gone out of the way.¹³⁸ However, he had the support of the mayor and jurats and at least seventy-five honest men of Rye who wrote a letter to Cromwell in his favour,¹³⁹ but apparently unavailing, as he seems to have been arrested, the mayor in June, 1538, sending up a list of all books and bills found in his house; at the same time the parishioners set out that he had not preached against the bishop of Rome, nor read the Gospel or Epistle in English, and when he reads the Bishops' Book he 'readeth scant a piece of tytyle, and even that may not be understood, for he cannot rede the rethoryck wordes.' He also, 'as a witch,' gave a child drink three times of the chalice for the 'chyne cough' (i.e. whooping cough).¹⁴⁰ The bishop, Richard Sampson, appears to have put one Mr. Welles in charge of Rye, as he writes to him in August, 1538:—

I am glad you did not enterprise to sing any service openly in English, and pray you for the common quietness to forbear such novelties till it shall please the king to declare his pleasure. . . . The king is content that the book lately put out by the prelates should be obeyed and taught till he shall otherwise order after more mature counsel. Meantime no person ought to reprove the book, for in things concerning religion I suppose the doctrine is true. In other ceremonies when it shall please the king to order them otherwise the people shall be taught accordingly.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix, No. 1066.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* No. 365.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* xiii (1), No. 1150

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* xi, No. 1424.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* xii (2), No. 505.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* (2), No. 147.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* x, No. 277.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

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This is the language of a half-hearted supporter of the extreme views which the reform party at court were now adopting, and Bishop Sampson rapidly lost favour and was suddenly arrested in 1540, cast into the Tower, accused, which was the equivalent to being convicted, of high treason,¹⁴² his crime being the sending some relief to one Abell, a papist, who was 'almost eaten up by vermin in a filthy prison.'¹⁴³ The sudden fall of Cromwell in June, 1540, saved the bishop's life and restored him to liberty.

Particular opposition seems to have been offered to the use of English translations of the Bible and service books. In 1535 Thomas Netter complained that the rector of Brede had taken from him a psalter in English and put him in the stocks two days for heresy, and when he pleaded that the book was printed 'cum privilegio regali,' the rector replied that 'the king's grace did grant many such things, the which is little regarded and less shall be.'¹⁴⁴ William Hoo, also, vicar of Eastbourne and suffragan of Chichester, in 1536 took much the same line, saying that the preachers of the New Testament not truly but after the new sect called themselves children of Christ, but were the children of the Devil, adding, when it was suggested that the king would not allow them to preach if their words were not true, 'they that rule about the king make him great banquets and give him sweet wines and make him drunk, and then they bring him bills and he putteth his sign to them.'¹⁴⁵ The most violent antagonists of the reform movement were, naturally, the ignorant country clergy. The vicar of Ticehurst, Thomas Cowley, continued to preach upon miracles and images in spite of the king's injunctions, and rebuked those who had Testaments. He quoted the case of a sick man healed by St. Martin, who complained of the miracle wrought on him because henceforth he would have to work for his living; 'But I trust,' he said, 'our sovereign lord the king shall be that Martin and take away that disease from you, which is the Testament. You botchers, bunglers, and cobblers, which have the Testament in your keeping, ye shall deliver it to us gentlemen which have studied therefor.' In four years all would be as before, therefore they should do as they had done—offer a candle to St. Lowye for their horses and to St. Anthony for their cattle. On Candlemas Day he came to the chancel door between mattins and mass and declared a ballad of Our Lady, saying to the people, 'Law, Law, Masters, I said we should have the old fashion again, ye may see it comes a little and a little.' The bishop in a letter decreeing what penance he is to do, remarks, not unjustifiably, that Cowley 'seems to be a very fool.'¹⁴⁶

After the fall of the monasteries came the decree against shrines, images, and relics. In 1538 the great pilgrimage shrine of St. Richard in Chichester Cathedral was plundered and destroyed;¹⁴⁷ nor did the parish churches escape this time: from the one church of Wisborough Green were brought up a crucifix of crystal and silver containing some of Our Lady's milk, relics of the blood, vestments, and tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury, portions of the rochet of St. Edmund, the stones with which St. Stephen was stoned, the Mount of Olives, the Holy Sepulchre, the hair shirt of St. James, the beard of St. Peter, St. James's comb, and relics of SS. Giles, Silvester, and Sebastian.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, No. 217.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* xi, No. 300.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (2), No. 1049.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* xvi, No. 578.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* xiii (1), No. 1199.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* No. 101.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ix, No. 1130.

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The churchwardens' accounts of this period show that in many parishes there was a tendency to convert the church ornaments into money,¹⁴⁹ evidently in anticipation of their seizure by the crown, which must have been foreseen by many.

The great blow at the ritual side of popular worship was struck by the suppression of chantries in 1548, followed by the seizure of the treasures of all parish churches in 1553. Although the primary object in the foundation of a chantry was to maintain a priest to pray for the soul of the founder, the priest thus maintained did as a rule act as an assistant to the parish priest, helping him both in the celebration of divine service and in parochial duties. In many counties, also, the chantry priest is found acting as school-master, but this does not seem to have been the case in Sussex in any instance; indeed the injury wrought to education and the religious welfare of the populace by this abolition of chantries appears to have been far less serious in Sussex than in most counties. In only three cases do the Chantry Commissioners¹⁵⁰ express an opinion that the parish would suffer by the withdrawal of the chantry priest. The first instance is at Horsham, where there were about 900 'housling people' with only one priest, 'which is very slender to serve so great a parish'; here, however, of the two chantries one was held by a priest who had not been resident for the past five years, and had resigned his interest to a layman, John Caryll, while the incumbent of the other had not resided since 1536, and had disposed of his interest to Mr. Copley, so that their suppression did not affect the parish. At Eastbourne 'there is 600 houslyng people and hath no more priests to serve the cure but the vicar'; here also the only assistant mentioned, the chaplain of the Brotherhood of Jesus, had left his charge some seventeen months past. The third case was that of New Shoreham, where the chantry was filled by the parish priest himself, and is noted as necessary for the proper serving of the cure. In many cases the chantries had already ceased to exist, either through the negligence of their incumbents or through their patrons anticipating the royal commissioners and dissolving them for their own benefit. That of Brambletye had been dissolved by Lord Windsor some three years back, and that of Treyford by Mr. Goring about 1528; the free chapel in St. Leonard's Forest had been surrendered to the duke of Norfolk, and that of Maresfield had been vacant for four years, being in the king's hands. The incumbent's name was unknown in the case of the chantry of Broadhurst in Horsted Keynes, and no chantry priest had been in residence at Heene for the last ten years, at West Tarring for forty years, or at Broadwater within the memory of man. The chantry of Bignor was held by George Vaughan, 'a serving-man and no priest,' and that of Sullington by Thomas Sackville, 'being student at a grammar scole of thage of 13 years and hath the premises towards his exhibicon.'

With the chantries fell also the collegiate churches and gilds; of the former class the only representative in Sussex was the royal college of Bosham, those of South Malling, Arundel, and Hastings having been surrendered before this date. Five gilds, or brotherhoods, are mentioned in the commissioners' certificate, at Chichester, Steyning, Horsham, Eastbourne,

¹⁴⁹ As at Bolney, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 245; cf. Tarring, Cartwright, *Hist. of Rape of Bramber*, 14.

¹⁵⁰ Chant. Cert. 50.

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and East Grinstead; another certificate¹⁵¹ refers to gilds at Donnington and Selsey, but the list is probably incomplete, as mediaeval wills and other documents contain plentiful references to these religious associations as existing in even quite small country villages. At the end of the fifteenth century there were in Eastbourne alone six gilds,¹⁵² and others are mentioned in 1520 at Petworth,¹⁵³ Slindon,¹⁵⁴ and Southwick,¹⁵⁵ and in 1538 at Felpham,¹⁵⁶ while the fraternity of the Blessed Virgin of Comfort appears to have been founded at West Tarring in 1528, one of its objects being the support of a priest to assist the parish priest.¹⁵⁷

The reduction of the clerical staff of the parish churches was followed by a still more drastic reduction of their ornaments. Not only were the altar-stones with their carved reredoses cast out¹⁵⁸ and stained-glass windows defaced,¹⁵⁹ images cast down and vestments converted into carpets,¹⁶⁰ but in 1553 all church plate was seized for the king, leaving only the irreducible minimum of a chalice and paten for the service of God. The death of Edward VI and accession of Mary checked this process of spoliation where incomplete, and even in a few cases led to recovery of lost ornaments; but an idea of the full extent of the injury done to the services of the Church of England from the artistic point of view may be obtained by a comparison of the inventories of the 'furniture' of Rotherfield church (an exceptionally well-appointed country church) in 1509¹⁶¹ and 1558,¹⁶² or the similar inventories for St. Michael's, Lewes, in 1540¹⁶³ and 1590.¹⁶⁴ A sharp line was then set between art and religion, and a blow given to ceremonial splendour from which the services of the Church of England only began to recover in the middle of the nineteenth century.

George Day, who had succeeded Sampson as bishop of Chichester in 1543, was no great favourer of the more advanced school of Protestant reformers who obtained control of affairs upon the accession of Edward VI, and was one of the five bishops who dissented from the Book of Common Prayer issued in 1549.¹⁶⁵ In the following year his preaching was regarded by the Council with such ill-favour that they deemed it necessary to send Dr. Cox, the king's almoner, into Sussex to counteract it and teach the people aright,¹⁶⁶ while the bishop himself was summoned to give an account of what he had preached and defend his conduct.¹⁶⁷ The final break between the bishop and the Council was caused by the royal mandate sent in November, 1550, ordering him to cause all altars in every church and chapel throughout his diocese to be removed and a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel to serve for the ministration of the blessed Communion; and further ordering that, in order to avoid unnecessary offence, certain arguments which had been composed for that purpose should be set forth by himself in the cathedral, and also published in the market towns and other convenient places before the removal of the altars.¹⁶⁸ This he firmly refused to do, and at length, when argument and persuasion had proved

¹⁵¹ Formerly Chant. Cert. No. 49; this was lost in the fire at the Houses of Parliament, but an index to its contents remains in the P.R.O.

¹⁵² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlii, 104.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 109.

¹⁵⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 51.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* xli, 27-30.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 60.

¹⁵⁷ *Acts of P.C. (New Ser.)*, iii, 137.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* xii, 95.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 90.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 52.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 41.

¹⁶² Stephens, *See of Chich.* 227.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 154.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁶⁵ Lambeth Ct. R. 1052.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 53.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* xlv, 45.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 168-9.

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useless, he was committed to the Fleet prison on 11 December,¹⁶⁹ and deprived of his see in September, 1551,¹⁷⁰ John Scory being appointed in his place.

Upon the accession of Mary, Day was at once released from confinement and restored to his bishopric, being further honoured by being selected to preach at the funeral of King Edward and again at the queen's coronation.¹⁷¹ The churchwardens' accounts of this year¹⁷² show the immediate effect of the change of sovereign upon the ritual of the Church. Instead of the Bibles, Homilies, and Erasmus's 'Pharaphrase,' which occurred in the previous years, are payments for 'graylle bookes,' 'hime bookes,' and 'anty-fyners,' with outlays upon vestments, censers, and tapers, for painting roods, 'for making of Mary and John and Sent Aundero,' and mending defaced windows, and receipts from such ceremonies as 'crepyng to ye cros.' There was naturally a considerable section of the populace to whom these changes did not commend themselves, and in August, 1554, a letter was addressed to the justices of Sussex to be more diligent in punishing such 'evill disordered persones as use to raile uppon the mysteries of Christes Religion,'¹⁷³ which was followed in April, 1555, by a definite order for the arrest of one Holden of Withyham for seditious preaching,¹⁷⁴ and in June of the same year by writs for the burning, at Lewes, of Derrick Carver, a Flemish brewer of Brighton, and of two other heretics at Chichester and Steyning.¹⁷⁵ Early in June, 1556, four men were burned at Lewes, and later in the month two more, one of them being a minister; two men and a woman suffered at East Grinstead in July, and four more men at Mayfield in September.¹⁷⁶ The persecution culminated in June, 1557, when five men and five women were burnt in one fire in the market place of Lewes. Of these ten martyrs the most prominent was Richard Woodman, a wealthy ironfounder of Warbleton; he first attracted the attention of the authorities by publicly rebuking his rector, who in King Edward's days had been a vehement upholder of the Protestant religion, but had gone with the tide and become as vehement on the other side. Of Woodman's many examinations before the bishops of Chichester and Winchester, the rector of Buxted, James Gage and others, a long account written by himself has been preserved by Foxe;¹⁷⁷ from this it is clear that he was treated with great courtesy both by the sheriff, Sir Edward Gage, and by Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, who exhibits a spirit of kindness very far removed from the character of him drawn by Fuller, who represents him as having 'no meekness, mildness nor mercy, being wholly addicted to cruelty and destruction,' and declares that his burning of Protestants would speedily have thinned out the Sussex woods.¹⁷⁸ The names of eight more are known as having suffered in Sussex during Mary's reign, and Henry Adlington of Grinstead in this county died for his faith at Stratford-le-Bow in 1556, and Stephen Gratwick of Brighton, at Southwark, in the following year.¹⁷⁹

Again the wheel turns, and with the accession of Elizabeth the altar stones are once more cast out, the pictured windows once more defaced.¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁹ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), iii, 178.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 396.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* iv, 339.

¹⁷² See the accounts of West Tarring, Cartwright, *Rape of Bramber*, 15; also those of St. Michael, Lewes, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 56.

¹⁷³ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), v, 61.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 110.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 147.

¹⁷⁶ Lower, *The Sussex Martyrs*, 10-11.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 12-75.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 14, note.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 76.

¹⁸⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 56, 57.

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From Chichester Cathedral the crucifix was carried forth and burnt in the market place,¹⁸¹ typifying the downfall of the Roman Faith before the Protestant State Church of England, whose establishment is equally well shown in the purchase of 'a Bible, 3 books of Common Prayer, a book of the Acts of Parliament, and a book of injunctions in English.'¹⁸² Again the fallen party had to suffer for conscience, but Elizabeth's hold on the throne was yet insecure, and it did not need her incomparable powers of statecraft to see that the wisest course was to avoid alienating a powerful section of her subjects by acts of needless severity against the members of the dethroned church. Bishop Christopherson had died almost at the same time as Queen Mary, and his place was now filled by William Barlow, who had been ejected from the see of Bath and Wells by Mary; but beyond the removal of the archdeacons of Chichester and Lewes, five prebendaries, and fifteen incumbents¹⁸³ from their benefices, the clergy of Sussex do not appear to have been affected to any great extent by the changes.

The new order of things reversed the position of persecutors and persecuted, and gave those who had lately been oppressed the hope of vengeance or at least of recompense for their wrongs. But the loudest complainers are not always the greatest sufferers, and when we find John Trewe of Hellingly complaining of persecutions endured through the malice of Sir Edward Gage, 'an extreme persecutor of the Gospel,' who had unlawfully placed him in the pillory in the market towns of Hailsham and Lewes, and had caused his ears to be barbarously cut,¹⁸⁴ we may well doubt how far this fellow's sufferings were due to his zeal for religion. There was still a large body in Sussex to whom the changes were anything but welcome, and one sign of the ferment which must have existed throughout the county is to be found in the riot that occurred in March, 1559, when the church of Hailsham was wrecked and despoiled by the parishioners.¹⁸⁵

The year 1563 marked the beginning of the long-continued persecution of the adherents of the Roman Church in this country, the first of the Penal Acts being passed in that year. The extreme severity of the Act as drawn up was much modified by the restraint with which it was at first administered,¹⁸⁶ and no immediate traces of its effects are to be observed in Sussex. One consequence of the attacks upon the Roman Catholics was to encourage the party of extreme Protestants, whose antinomian vagaries threatened to reduce the English church services to chaos. Accordingly, in 1564, Archbishop Parker addressed a letter to his suffragans ordering them to suppress irregularities and make a list of those guilty thereof.¹⁸⁷ Of the Puritan element in Sussex at this date no record remains, but a letter of the bishop of Chichester to the Privy Council this year distinguishes the leading supporters of the English and Roman Churches within his diocese :—¹⁸⁸

William [Barlow], bishop of Chichester, writes :—

. . . . Firste, thankes be to almightie God, through the Quenes most gracious government assisted by your lordships providente circumspections, this countye of Sussex . . . is fre from all violent attemptes eyther to aflite the godlye or to distourbe the stablISHED good orders of this Realme. Notwithstanding I doubte of secrett practises which perhappes

¹⁸¹ Accts. of Dean and Chapter, 1 Eliz.; *ex inform.* Rev. Canon Deedes.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Gee, *The Eliz. Clergy*, 274-5; these figures are those of deprivations between 1558 and 1562.

¹⁸⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, 665.

¹⁸⁵ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), vii, 76.

¹⁸⁶ Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, 20.

¹⁸⁷ Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 254-6.

¹⁸⁸ Camden Soc. *Misc.* ix.

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myght breake oute into open violence, were yt not for feare of your Lordshippes vigilante Auctorite. It is to be wished that men of honour whyles they be resiante in the sheire, to have learned preachers of their own or others shewing themselves wyllinge to heare the worde of God, whose example draweth a nombre of people after them

The countye of Sussex very narrow in breadeth is about lx myles in Length and is devided into two partes east and west.

In the west parte :

Justices of peace which be favourers of religion and godlye orders :—Sir Thomas Palmer of Goudwode, knight (a fainte furtherer) ; Mr. Henry Goringe of Westburton ; Mr. John Apleye of Thacham (learned in the lawe) ; Mr. Henry Mervin of Rogate ; Mr. William Bartlett of Stopham.

Justices of peace which be myslykers of religion and godlye proceedings :—Mr. William Shelley of Michelgrove ; Mr. William Dautreya of Moore (very superstitious) ; Mr. Edmonde Forde of Chartinge (extremely perverse).

Gentlemen, being no Justices, favourers of godlie proceedings :—Mr. John Fennour of Amberley ; Mr. William Stanney of the Manwoode ; Mr. Richard Crulie^{188a} of Cackham.

Gentlemen beinge no Justices, myslykers of godlie orders :—Mr. Richard Lewknour of Trotton ; Mr. Thomas Stoughton of Stansted (a stoute scorner of godliness) ; Mr. Thomas Lewknour of Tangmer ; Mr. William Devenishe of Chichester ; Mr. William Stapleton of Ovinge (wickedly obstinate) ; Mr. Arthure Gunter of Rackton.

In the east parte :

Justices of peace which be favourers of Religion and godly proceedings :—Mr. George Goringe of Ovingdeane (learned in the lawe) ; Mr. Jeferye of Chittinglye (learned in the lawe) ; Mr. John Hussey of Cukfild ; Mr. Richard Elverton of Wiston ; Mr. John Lunnesford of Eastthothly.

Justices of Peace which be myslykers of religion and godly proceedings :—Sir Edward Gage of Ferle ; Mr. John Thatcher of Westham ; Mr. Richard Coverte of Slowham ; Mr. William Culpepper of Ardinglie ; Mr. Henry Poole of Dechellinge ; Mr. Edward Bellingham of Newtymber ; Mr. Thomas Parker of Wyllington ; Mr. Thomas Dorrell of Stackney ; ¹⁸⁹ Mr. Robertes.

Gentlemen, being no Justices, favourers of godly proceedings :—Mr. Anthony Pelham ; Mr. John Pelham of Lawghton ; Mr. John Selwyn of Friston ; Mr. Lawrence Ashburneham of Gestlinge ; Mr. William Morleye of Glyne ; Mr. Anthony Stapley of Franfeld ; Mr. Francis Spilman of Hartfeld.

Gentlemen, being no Justices, myslikers of godlie orders :—Mr. James Gage of Broyle (a common herborer of obstinates) ; Mr. Shelley of Patchinge ; Mr. Drewe Barrentyn of Horstidkaynes ; Mr. Scott of Edon.

The tounes in the west parte :

Lawrence Andreu, maior, Rafe Chantelor, steward (notorious obstinate adversary) ; Thomas Addams, Thomas Palmer, John Moyses, John Cooke, Thomas Faringdon (frowardly superstitious) ; of whom the last three be Justices of the peace within there Liberties by a late commission which were better for governmente of the poore citie to be revoked and the cittizens to be as they were before under some order of the Justices at Large.

The tounes of the east parte :

Rye, Hastinge, Lewes, and Brighthelmeston are governed with suche officers as be faythfull favourers of Goddes worde and earnestly given to mainteyn in godly orders.¹⁹⁰

A still better idea of the state of the county can be gathered from the visitation of the diocese by the archbishop in 1569, during the vacancy of the see of Chichester after Bishop Barlow's death. The details here given are of such interest as to merit transcription in full :—¹⁹¹

Many churches there have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not one in twelve years, as the parishes have declared to the preachers that of late have come thither to preach, as to Mr. T. Bluett and to John Igulden, preachers there the last year.

^{188a} Probably for 'Ernlie.'

¹⁸⁹ This should be Darell of Scotney.

¹⁹⁰ Compare the similar list of Justices in 1587, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 58-60.

¹⁹¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. ix, 71.

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Few churches have their quarter sermons according to the Queen's Majesty's injunctions.

There are very few preachers in the diocese, but only seventeen as might be learned in the synodals.¹⁹² There are some beneficed men there which did preach in Queen Mary's reign, and now do not nor will not, and yet keep their livings, as Mr. Graye, B.D., parson of Wythyham; Mr. Robert Parkhurst, B.D., vicar of Washington; William Foster, vicar of Billingham; Sir Davie Spencer, parson of Clapham; Nicholas Hicket, parson of Pulborough; Mr. Story, vicar of Findon.

These three are fostered in gentlemen's houses, and run between Sussex and Hants, and are hinderers of true religion, and do not minister: Mr. Stephen Hopkins, B.D., who resorteth unto my Lady Pooles, Mr. Cooperes, Sir Thomas Palmers, Mr. Gunteres and Mr. Temse; Mr. Davy Michell, and Mr. Thomas Cotesmore—these frequent Mr. James Gayges about Lewes.

These come not to their parish churches, nor receive the Holy Communion at Easter, but at that time get them out of the country until that feast be past,¹⁹³ and return not again until then: Lady Poole, Thomas Poole, &c., Arthur Gunter, &c., all of Racton. Mr. Leedes of Steyning and his brother-in-law. Mr. Lewkenor of Selsey, and Mrs. Busshoppe of Henfield.

In the parish of Racton they have no churchwardens, clerk, or collector for the poor, because of Mr. Arthur Gunter, who rules the whole parish.

They have many books that were made beyond the seas, and have them there with the first, for exhibition goeth out of that shire and diocese unto them beyond the seas, as to Mr. Stapleton,¹⁹⁴ who being excommunicated by the archbishop did avoid the realm, and these have his goods and send him money—William Ryman of Oving, Mr. Dolman, William Daves of Patching, Sir Davy Spencer; and to these doth this Stapleton send his letters.

In the church of Arundel certain altars do stand yet still to the offence of the godly, which murmur and speak much against the same, and preachers have also spoken against the standing thereof in their sermons of late.

They have yet in the diocese in many places images hidden up and other popish ornaments, ready to set up the mass again within 24 hours' warning; as in the town of Battell and in the parish of Lindfield, where they be yet very blind and superstitious.

There be schoolmasters who teach without licence and be not of a sound and good religion, as the schoolmaster in the town of Battell, the vicar of Findon, and the schoolmaster that teacheth in the Lodge at Stansted who teacheth Mr. Stoughton's children, being comptroller of my lord of Arundel's house.

In the town of Battell, when a preacher doth come and speak anything against the pope's doctrine they will not abide but get them out of the church. They say that they are of no jurisdiction, but free from any bishop's authority; the schoolmaster is the cause of their going out, who afterwards in corners among the people doth gainsay the preachers. It is the most popish town in all Sussex.

In some places because the Rood was taken away they painted there in that place a cross with chalk, and because that was washed away with painting and the number of crosses standing at graves in the churchyard taken also away,¹⁹⁵ they have since made crosses upon the church walls within and without, and upon the pulpit and Communion Table in despite of the preacher. This was done of very late in Patching since I preached there. And in the churches they have put crosses upon their stalls whom they favour, and upon my farmer's stall they have chalked a gibbet.

In many places they keep yet their chalices, looking for to have mass again, when as they were commanded to turn them into Communion cups after one fashion, keeping still weight for weight that the parish might not be charged with buying of one altogether new; and yet they have so charged their parishes, to keep their chalices, hoping for a day for the

¹⁹² Their names are given.

¹⁹³ In order to avoid the penalties for not receiving the sacrament at their parish church at that time.

¹⁹⁴ Not the 'wickedly obstinate' William Stapleton of Barlow's list, but Thomas Stapleton, prebendary of Chichester, denounced by the bishop in 1560 as 'trained up from childhood in papistry' (S.P. Dom. Eliz. xi, 25), and subsequently deprived of his prebend (Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, 274). He was a very able controversialist and had the reputation of being the most learned Roman Catholic of his time; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁹⁵ Many market and boundary crosses seem to have been destroyed as early as the period of the dissolution, and in 1538 some labourers got into trouble for digging up the cross at Willington. They had met in Henry Michelgrove's alehouse, when one of them said, 'There be many crosses digged up hereabouts, and men say there is much money under Willington cross, which if thou wilt be ruled by me we will have.' Their quest, however, was fruitless: *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 786.

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use of the same ; and some parishes say that their chalices were stolen away, and therefore they ministered in glasses and prophane goblets.

In many places the people cannot yet say the Commandments, and some not the articles of their belief, when they be examined before they come to the Communion, and yet they be of the age of forty and fifty years. The ministers there for the most part are very simple.

In the cathedral church very few preachers are resident ; only four out of thirty-one prebendaries—the dean, schoolmaster, lecturer, and one other—of the others some are laymen, some no preachers, and others far distant.

In the city of Chichester few of the aldermen are of good religion.

Many gentlemen at Easter receive Communion at home in their chapels, and choose priests from a distance, as Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Edward Gage, and James Gage.

They use in many places ringing between morning prayer and the litany, and all the night following All Saints' Day, as before in time of blind ignorance and superstition taught by the pope's clergy.

The collection for the poor is not made in many places according to the statute.

The chancel of the church of Steyning,¹⁹⁶ which is like a collegiate church, is in great decay, and the parish and the farmer there, Mr. Pellett, be at great contention for the same, but nothing is done, and the church is like to fall to ruin, which is in a great market town, and there is no more but that same there.

Certain parishes keep Dr. Sander's book called 'The Rock of the Church,' wherein he doth not account the bishops now to be any bishops—as Sir David Spencer, parson of Clapham, and Mr. Kinge, parson of Stanmer.

Except it be about Lewes and a little in Chichester, the whole diocese is very blind and superstitious for want of teaching ; except Mr. Coxe and one more, few go out of their own churches to preach.

There is one Father Moses, sometime a friar in Chichester, and he runneth about from one gentleman's house to another with news and letters, being much suspected in religion, and bearing a popish Latin primer about with him 'with Dirge and the Letanye praying to Saints,' and in certain houses he maintained the popish doctrine of purgatory and the praying to dead saints.

Many bring to church the old popish Latin primers, and use to pray upon them all the time when the lessons are being read and in the time of the litany.

In some places the rood lofts still stand, and those taken down still lie in the churches ready to be put up again.

Some old folks and women used to have beads in the churches, but those I took away from them, but they have some yet at home in their houses.

It is clear from this report that the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the diocese was largely owing to the disaffection of a few and the inefficiency of most of the clergy. The archbishop, therefore, displayed great judgement in nominating to the vacant see Richard Curteis, who was appointed in 1570, and proved himself a zealous and capable pastor. A notice of this bishop,¹⁹⁷ written in December 1576 and signed by five 'Preachers of the Diocese of Chichester' in the name of above thirty more, lauds his energy in going thrice throughout the whole county preaching at the larger towns, and making himself more acceptable to the people than any previous holder of the office :—

And whereas it was a rare thing before his time to heare a learned sermon in Sussex, now the pulpittes in most places sound continually with the voyce of learned and godly preachers. . . . We are assured that the rooting out of bad and unlearned curates and the planting of zealous and learned preachers hath been occasion to him of great expenses and charge. And so, within these six yeares, he hath brought into this diocese and preferred or been the meanes of prefferring of twenty preachers which be well able to preache in any learned audience in this realme. And by the diligent preaching and other exercising of himself and these in the scriptures hath trayned up a xl more in such sort that they be sufficient enough to preach to any ordinary audience.

¹⁹⁶ An inquiry made eight years later shows that the church had fallen still more into decay, and the recommendation was made to pull down part in order to rebuild the rest : Exch. Spec. Com. 2290.

¹⁹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 54-6.

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His zeal against the 'Machevils, Papists, Libertines, Atheists, and such other erroneous persons' caused him to incur the enmity of Sir Thomas Palmer and other disaffected gentry, who brought numerous accusations of unworthy conduct against him;¹⁹⁸ while the deprivation of his brother, vicar of Cuckfield, in 1581, on charges, probably much exaggerated, of insufficiency and ill-conduct,¹⁹⁹ must have been an additional trouble to the worthy bishop, who died in August, 1582, leaving his widow in great poverty.²⁰⁰

The year of Bishop Curteis's election, 1570, was also the year in which the pope hurled his decree of excommunication at Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, thereby justifying the queen and her council in considering adherence to the Roman Church as equivalent to treason. This told hard upon the many loyal Catholics, whose unpopularity was further increased by the news of the religious persecution in France which culminated in 1572 in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. One result of these persecutions was an influx of Huguenot families into this county, the chief port of entry being Rye, where some seven hundred foreigners, mostly from Dieppe and Rouen, landed during the month following St. Bartholomew.²⁰¹ Rye had for some time been associated with the French Protestants; it had been the port from which most of these religious refugees who had settled in London during Edward VI's reign had left the country upon Mary's accession,²⁰² and in 1569 there were resident there five French ministers, six persons from Rouen, sixty-three from Dieppe, and ten Walloons and Flemings. All the alien residents were not of the reformed faith, for in 1569 two foreigners were fined for bringing into the town certain 'idolatorius idoleteres,' and two others ordered to depart 'for theyr mysbelevyes contrarie to christian relegian.'²⁰³ In 1571 there were in Rye twelve families of the French Church, and seven 'of no church that is known'; all being of honest conversation.²⁰⁴ Of those that landed in 1572 many passed on to London and elsewhere, but about fifty families remained at Rye,²⁰⁵ and this number continued to increase, so that in 1586 the heads of the French Church in London were called in to consult with their compatriots and the town authorities at Rye as to the removal of the strangers, of whom there were then fifteen hundred,²⁰⁶ and next year the conference of the French churches was held there.²⁰⁷

In the history of the Sussex recusants, or adherents of the Roman Church, the names of Gage and Shelley stand out pre-eminent, followed by those of Copley, Darrell, Leedes, Thatcher, Lewknor, and Caryll, to name a few of the more prominent families. John Gage, with many of his co-religionists, retired to Antwerp in 1573,²⁰⁸ but three years later returned to England, leaving behind his brother-in-law Thomas Copley, who, being a priest, could not return without abandoning his faith. In August, 1580, John Gage was committed to the Fleet prison with William Shelley of Mitchelgrove, for 'obstinacy in Popery,' Edward Gage of Bentley and Richard Shelley of Warminghurst being at the same time sent to the Marshalsea.²⁰⁹

¹⁹⁸ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxii, Nos. 9, 13, 29-44, 49, 50.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. x, 58.

²⁰² *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), iv, 349.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. 6.

²⁰⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clxxxvii, No. 1.

²⁰⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* Add. xxiii, No. 11.

¹⁹⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 15-20.

²⁰¹ Ibid. xiii, 194.

²⁰³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii (4), 1.

²⁰⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 200.

²⁰⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 200.

²⁰⁹ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), xii, 152.

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John Gage was released in the following June,²¹⁰ and Edward Gage was given temporary freedom during the end of 1581 and beginning of the next year that he might act as executor of the earl of Southampton's will,²¹¹ but was apparently soon afterwards re-imprisoned, as there is a petition by his wife begging for his release in 1583.²¹²

The rumours of the approaching attempt to bring back England under the papal power by means of the Spanish fleet caused still stricter measures to be taken against suspected papists, and especially against seminary priests. John Paine was appointed in 1586 to search for and arrest seminaries and other suspected persons on the coasts of Sussex and Hampshire,²¹³ Arundel and Portsmouth being the ports which they most favoured; ²¹⁴ possibly as a result of his energy one Phippes, a seminary priest, who may have been the Nicholas Smith *alias* Phelps noted as frequenting Lady Copley's and Edward Gage's,²¹⁵ was sent to Horsham Gaol and thence to Southwark.²¹⁶ Three other suspected priests, Vaughan, Standishe, and Meryman, are noted about the same time as haunting the old papists' houses in Sussex. So far the recusants, though harassed with fine and levies for the supply of light horsemen, continually spied upon, and often imprisoned, had not paid for their faith with their lives; but in August, 1588, Mr. Edward Shelley, of Sussex, was executed at Tyburn with five others,²¹⁷ and one month later four priests were brought up for trial at Chichester; ²¹⁸ Ralph Crockett and Edward James had been arrested at Littlehampton, John Oven at Battle, and Francis Edwards at Chichester. They were brought before Sir Thomas Palmer, Richard Lewknor, Walter Covert, Henry and George Goring, and John Shirley, and accused by Thomas Bowyer of being seminary priests, which they admitted, and guilty of treason, which they denied, saying that they came only to do their duty in preaching and converting to the Roman faith. Upon their being found guilty and condemned to suffer the usual penalty Oven's courage failed him, and he agreed to take the oath of supremacy and to renounce the pope and his doctrine. The other three were drawn on one hurdle to the Broyle Heath, where Crockett and James gave each other absolution. Crockett then ascended the ladder, and turning to the assembled crowd gave them his blessing, at which they cried out against him, as they did also when he recited certain Latin prayers. When James followed him to the scaffold he commended his soul to God in English, whereat the people applauded him, but when he also began to pray in Latin they again called out angry protests. Meanwhile the terrors of the scene had so worked upon Edwards that he showed himself amenable to the arguments of the Protestant ministers present, and was respited in charge of Mr. Henry Blackston, one of the residentiaries, under whose care he apparently became at least a temporary convert.

Although this was the only Roman Catholic blood shed in Sussex the priests continued to be hunted down and arrested till the end of Elizabeth's reign. Information was given in 1592 that there were three priests always residing at Edward Gage's house at Bentley, and another at Mr. Shelley's at Mitchel-

²¹⁰ *Acts of P.C. (New Ser.)*, xiii, 94.

²¹² *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clxix, No. 59.

²¹⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxvi, No. 18.

²¹⁶ *Acts of P.C. (New Ser.)* xiv, 225.

²¹⁸ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxvii, No. 1.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* xiii, 296, 377.

²¹³ *Acts of P.C. (New Ser.)* xiv, 220.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* xciii, No. 24.

²¹⁷ *Rec. of Engl. Prov. of Soc. of Jesus*, xii, 788.

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grove,²¹⁹ and Nicholas Beard in 1594 stated²²⁰ that Thomas Leedes kept one Norton, a priest, in his house at Wappingthorne,

near to which lies Washington house, where Nicholas Woolfe,²²¹ a gentleman and great companion of Leedes, lives ; these houses are receptacles for priests, and have great convenience for hiding them ; in Wolfe's house in a little gallery there is a place for an altar, and the massing stuff, and a cover of boards over a great cupboard which can be taken off. John Bamford has a son a priest ; the father is a recusant and lives with Mr. Bishop, a justice of the peace, at Henfield.

These hiding-places were not uncommon in the houses of the Roman Catholic gentry ; there was one in Slindon House,²²² and the three houses owned by the Caryll family in West Sussex were similarly provided,²²³ and there were at least two in Scotney Castle, the seat of the Darrells in Lamberhurst. Scotney was twice searched by priest hunters ; on the first occasion, in 1597, Father Richard Blount and his man Bray lay for some days in a secret place under the stairs, until they could remain no longer, when Bray went out and gave himself up, showing his captors another hiding-place where he said he had been lying ; the priest was thus enabled to escape. A year later a sudden raid was made on the house and Blount and Bray had barely time to escape half clad into a cell concealed by a stone, which formed part of the walls of a courtyard. Part of Blount's girdle caught in the stone as it shut, but Mrs. Darrell passing by observed it and cut it off, calling to them to drag in the rest of the cord ; this they did, but her movements had excited suspicion, and a careful search was made in the courtyard, but just as the searchers had come to the movable stone, and were even battering at it, the rain became so heavy that they abandoned their labour for the night and went indoors. Issuing from their shelter Blount and Bray went round the house to a ruined tower, when the father plunged into the moat, on which ice was beginning to form, and swam across, but was too numb with cold to assist his servant ; the latter, who could not swim, escaped by raising an alarm of thieves in the stable and taking advantage of the commotion to ford the moat in a shallow part. The two fugitives thus got safely away to the house of a friendly neighbour and saved their lives and liberty, though at the expense of their health.²²⁴

While the Church of England was thus successfully waging war upon that of Rome there was rising within her own borders an enemy, perhaps less obvious, but not less dangerous to that autocratic control of the national religion at which she aimed. Definite evidence of the early growth of Puritan nonconformity in Sussex is hard to find, one of the earliest references being in 1576 when the bishop suspended David Thickpeny, curate of Brighton, on suspicion of being a member of the sect known as the Family of Love. The curate, appealing to Archbishop Grindal and protesting his innocence of the charge, was restored by him to his cure, but at once showed his contempt for the Church's authority by ministering without the surplice, neglecting the order of prayer set forth in the Prayer Book, and in other

²¹⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxli, No. 35.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* ccxlviii, No. 116.

²²¹ Woolfe had been involved in Somerville's plot, and Leedes was expected to favour the Spaniards in the event of their landing in 1588 : see *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 519.

²²² Described in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 213.

²²³ Described in *Rec. of Engl. Prov. of Soc. of Jesus*, iii, 538.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* 482-8.

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ways.²²⁵ In 1583 eight of the Sussex clergy refused to sign the articles in favour of the Book of Common Prayer, and were accordingly temporarily suspended, but subsequently they all subscribed.²²⁶ The increase of nonconformity was assisted not only by the actual disaffection of the clergy, but even more by the slackness and bad example of those that professed to be loyal representatives of the Church. Some returns made from the various parishes throughout the county in 1588-9 show a most undesirable state of affairs.²²⁷ The parish churches themselves were in many cases in bad order; at Alfriston the windows were unglazed, at Pevensey the church was 'very much in decay for lack of timber and glass and other reparations,' at Falmer the chancel and rectory had both fallen down, and at Northiam the slighter fault is presented that 'the walls of our church be not beautified with sentences of scripture.' The parishioners of Brightling complain, 'we have no service on the week days, nor homily read on Sundays; we have no catechising of children.' At Arlington, 'we have none that doth read service and administer sacraments, save that there was a child baptised by Mr. Turner, by reason whereof divers have not received the Communion'; at Clayton, 'we have had no sermons in our parish church since Christmas two years by default of the parson.' From Ticehurst comes a long complaint:—

We have a great parish and our minister doth not minister the Communion not in six weeks sometimes. Our children are grown out of all good order by means of the negligence of our minister for that he doth not catechise them. Some of our children have been like to die without baptism our minister hath been so long from us, which maketh the simple men to murmur much at it. Our minister doth not minister the Communion at marryings, he readeth not the commination against sinners, he instructeth no youth, he doth not stir up his parishioners by reading the exhortation used at the administration of the Lord's Supper.

The parishioners of Hooe were more concise in their charges: 'We present our vicar to be a liar and a quarreller and a brawler amongst his neighbours.'

In such circumstances it is hardly surprising that some earnest persons should begin to look askance upon the Church and all that belonged thereto, and should form religious communities of their own, with possibly some ostentation of righteousness. The first instance of the use of the term Puritan in any Sussex document appears to be in 1591, when the mayor of Rye states that 'now of late a smale secte of purytanes, more holy in shewe than in dede, is sprong up amongst us,' and further refers to 'certeine mutynous fellowes of this towne who professe to be more pure than others, and be indede much worse than in show.'²²⁸ Some particulars of these Rye Puritans are given in another letter:—

Francis Godfrey said that my Lord of Canterbury is but the Pope of Englande, and that the Booke of Comon Prayer . . . is but masse translated and dumdogs to reade it, for those ministers that do not preache they call dumdogs; . . . and when they have bin to sermon and be com hom will they say on to another 'Have you bin at chourche?' 'Yea,' sayth the other, 'Then you have harde mingle mangle, compair; as Latemor sayd in his sermon—as they call hogs to trof in his cuntry.' 'Yea,' cothe the other, 'I harde what a good peace of worke he made like a proude felo.' Also they say that it is impossible for an innozent to be saved from damnation because he hathe not the gift of prayer.²²⁹

²²⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 190-95.

²²⁷ MS. of the Archdeaonry Court of Lewes.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* xii, 260.

²²⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii (4), 99.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

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The accession of James I in 1603 was made the occasion for the presentation of addresses by the gentry and commons of Sussex ;²³⁰ that of the gentry, which is signed by Lord La Warre, Sir Walter Covert, Sir Nicholas Parker, and representatives of most of the leading county families, desired—

That ye preachinge of subscription, otherwise than to your Matye's supremace and those articles which concerne ye true fayth, doctrine and sacraments commanded in ye xiiiith yeare of her late Matye's raygne, and ye hott urginge of ceremonyes not approved of in ye iudgemt. (as we are persuaded) of many godly and learned ministers . . . maye nowe quite cease or bee accounted indifferent, for ye ministers to retayne or omitt without trouble or beinge reputed obstinat for not submittinge themselves unto them. Lastly : that an uniforme government of ye church in all poynts accordinge to ye prescript of God's word maye bee established.

The petition of the commonalty was mainly directed against the two evils of insufficient ministers and the ecclesiastical courts. Some information concerning the origin of the latter petition is afforded by a letter of Bishop Watson to the lord treasurer, relating that one Pearson, 'a lay puritan,' and others of that sort had passed with great diligence throughout the shire, and in some places by means of schismatical ministers have called together multitudes of the meaner sort of people, and moved them by false reports to subscribe a petition against insufficient ministers and the ecclesiastical courts.²³¹ Shortly after the presentation of these petitions was held the Hampton Court Conference, at which Bishop Watson was one of the nine bishops, while the county was represented by four ministers, Messrs. Erburie, Norden, Frawell, and Goldsmith.²³² The result of the conference was the king's emphatic decision in favour of the episcopacy.

Besides the conference another product of the first year of 'the British Solomon' was the statute by which the death penalty was decreed for witchcraft. Under this Act, in 1608, Ann Taylor of Rye was condemned to die, but, being with child, was respited, and apparently eventually escaped the extreme penalty.²³³ Her offence was the aiding one Susan Snapper, who was condemned under the same statute, in her converse with spirits, and very full depositions made by these two women of their many dealings with certain remarkably unspiritual spirits exist in the British Museum.²³⁴ Three other instances of witchcraft are recorded in the Rye muniments, each illustrating a popular superstition on the subject. In the first case,²³⁵ about 1560, an old woman occupying a room in the almshouses was driven from the town for certain offences 'such as any Christian harte wold abhorre to here spoken of much less to be used,' her crime being the hiding up of raw beef to the intent that as it decayed so should the bodies of her enemies waste away. In the second case²³⁶ the mother of the bewitched child, by advice of 'a connyng man,' drew blood from the suspected witch, with beneficial results to the child; and the third instance²³⁷ gives an example of the use of red cloth, needles, and pins for a charm. At a considerably later date, about 1660, a curious case of what would now be called 'poltergeist' haunting occurred at Brightling;²³⁸ knives, horse-shoes,

²³⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 45-8.

²³² *Ibid.* 1900, p. 23.

²³⁴ *Harl. MSS.* 358, fol. 188; printed in full in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 25-34.

²³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii (4), 5.

²³⁷ *Ibid.* 145.

²³¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, 52.

²³³ *Ibid.* xiii (4), 136-40.

Suss. Arch. Coll. xiv, 25-34.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* 108.

²³⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 111-13.

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pewter dishes, and other objects flying about mysteriously, and fire being raised to such effect that the house was burnt down. As usual in such cases there was a young girl in the house, but suspicion fell not on her but on an old woman reputed to be a witch, though at the same time there was a suspicion that the powers of evil were not given a free hand without cause, and upon strict examination the man whose house had suffered confessed that he had been a thief, and that under the colour of religion upon the Sabbath day. Whatever the cause of the haunting, success appears to have attended the efforts of four ministers who 'kept a Fast.' It was as much a feature of the early Puritans under James I as it was of the next generation under Cromwell to be always on the look-out for 'judgements,' especially upon Sabbath-breakers, and the parish registers not infrequently contain such entries as that at Hastings in 1620 of the burial of a man 'slain by the hauling up of his father's ship upon Sunday,' or that at Hailsham of one who 'fell down dead as he was playing a match at football upon the Sabbath day.' It is also worth noting that the Cromwellian Puritans did not assume their characteristic Christian names, as the French revolutionists assumed classical names, but had been duly baptized therewith; for the registers of many Sussex churches during the first half of the seventeenth century yield a plentiful supply of such baptismal names as Desire, Zealous, Repent, Be-thankful, Free-gift, More-fruit, Much-mercy, Perform-thy-vows, and Standfast-on-high.²³⁹

While ignorant superstition still flourished and Calvinistic non-conformity continued to gain ground there were signs of a revival within the Church. The learned and saintly Lancelot Andrewes, who had held the see of Chichester from 1605 to 1609, had been succeeded by Samuel Harsnett and George Carleton, both of whom were able and pious men, and in 1628 Richard Montagu was raised to the see. This appointment was a deliberate rebuff to the Calvinistic party, who had been calling upon King Charles to censure Montagu for his famous tract *Apello Caesarem*; but the king subsequently yielded to the pressure brought upon him and allowed the book to be suppressed. Montagu held views of the 'high church' type, which are particularly associated with the name of Laud, and we find him in 1632 writing to the latter²⁴⁰ to complain of Mr. Hickes, a canon of Chichester, who absents himself from duty and sends as substitutes 'whom he can get, sometimes good, sometimes bad, any riff-raff whom he can light upon, shifters, unconformists, curates, young boys, puritans, as the whole city hath often spoken against it.'

After Laud had become archbishop he reported to the king in 1634 in his annual account of the clergy:—

The bishop of Chichester certifies all well in his diocese save only in the east part which is far from him he finds some Puritan Justices of the Peace have awed some of the clergy into like opinion with themselves, which yet of late have not broken out into any public nonconformity.²⁴¹

For the next four years the bishop reports all well, but in 1639 there was 'some little disorder in the east parts of the diocese about Lewes,' and it is

²³⁹ For examples, see Chiddingly registers, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 146; and Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 49, 50. The earliest example seems to be Feregod Edwardes who was married in 1589; and can therefore hardly have been baptized later than 1570, *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i, 1.

²⁴⁰ *Cal. of S.P. Dom. Chas. I*, ccx, 36.

²⁴¹ Laud, *Autobiog.* 534.

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noted that the diocese is 'not so much troubled with Puritan ministers as with Puritan Justices of the Peace.'²⁴²

The metropolitical visitation held in the summer of 1635 by Dr. Nathaniel Brent, as vicar-general of the archbishop,²⁴³ is interesting, and contains two delightful little bits of humour well worth recording. It began on 27 June at Chichester Cathedral, where orders were given that all should remove their hats during divine service, and that there should be no walking about or talking at that time: it then proceeds:—

Mr. Speed of St. Pancras confessed his error in being too popular in the pulpit, and is very willing the gallery in his parish church should be pulled down which was built to receive strangers, and at their charges, and to remove the seats which stand even with the altar. The mayor and his brethren . . . are puritanically addicted, which caused me to admonish one of the aldermen for putting his hat on during the service. Arundel, July 1: Mr. Nye, rector of Clapham, Mr. Salisbury, curate of Warningcamp, Mr. Hill, vicar of Felpham, are so vehemently suspected to be nonconformitants that although nothing was proved against them I thought fit to inhibit them to preach until I could be better satisfied of them. . . . Mr. Hill in the pulpit spake unto four of his neighbours who sat before him in one seat that he was certain three of them should be damned. The fourth was his friend and therefore he saved him. John Alberry churchwarden of Arundel having heard my charge in the morning, at night before he went to bed made a violent extemporary prayer and pronounced it so loud that divers in the street did hear him;—the effect was, to be delivered from the persecution that was now coming upon them. The parish church of Arundel, the choir and Lady chapel are always kept locked up, so the altar has to be in an aisle.²⁴⁴ Lewes, 3 July:—Mr. Bunyard, Maynard, Russell and Gyles refused to bow at the blessed name of Jesus. After long conference, and late at night, they all submitted, confessing that they were convinced in their opinions and would hereafter observe the law of the church. . . . I inhibited one Mr. Jennings to preach any more for particularising in the pulpit. He called one of his parishioners 'arch-knave' and being questioned by me answered that it was but a lively application. The man abused did think he had been called 'notched knave' and fell out with his barber who had lately trimmed him.

The visitation at Lewes was held in the church of St. Thomas in the Cliffe, a peculiar of the archbishop, and at it injunctions were given that²⁴⁵:—

Henceforth the Communion Table in every parish church shall be decently placed at the upper end of the chancel and shall stand north and south, and it shall be railed in with a decent rail to keep off dogs and to free it from other pollutions. 'And he willed all churchwardens to looke upon the rayle which incompassed the Communion table in the sayd church of St. Thomas in the Cliffe where they were and to take that for their pattern telling them that it was very comely and decent.' It was also ordered that all clergy should 'When they go from their houses abroad alwaies weare canonically habits commonly called priests coats viz. Coats made with sleeves like unto a Gowne'; and further that all afternoon sermons were to be turned into Catechizing, and that the Communion was not to be administered except to those who kneel.

The Act Books of the Archdeaconry Court of Lewes²⁴⁶ contain a number of cases pointing to the disregard and even dislike of any form of ritual prevalent among a growing section of the clergy at this time. The rector of Westmeston was presented in 1605 'for that he doth not say the letany, nor ten commandments; neither doth hee in baptisme signe with the signe of the Crosse, but with the signe of the Covenant; neither doth hee

²⁴² Laud, *Autobiog.* 534.

²⁴³ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* 1635, pref. xliii.

²⁴⁴ The choir, as belonging to the college of Arundel, became the private chapel of the lords of Arundel and still is so; see 'The Arundel Chancel Case' in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxx, 31–51.

²⁴⁵ For this quotation from the 'Visitation Book of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, 1628–37,' fol. 73, I am indebted to W. C. Renshaw, esq. K.C.

²⁴⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlix, 47–65.

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weare the surplice.' In the same year the vicar of Cuckfield was accused of not wearing the surplice and not using the sign of the cross in baptism, while in 1610 Herbert Pelham alleged, but apparently untruly, that the minister at Catsfield had said 'that hee had as leefe see a sowe weare a saddell as see a minister weare a surplice.' At Rye the curate was presented in 1629 'for that he doth in his collations impugn the ceremonies of the Church; and doth not constantly weare the vestments as injoynd by the book of common prayer.' The laity also naturally took their part in the movement; Elizabeth Godman at Wivelsfield in 1634 pulled down 'the May boughes, in a rude scornfull manner, which were brought into the church to adorn it'; Joseph Benbricke of Rye refused to bow at the name of Jesus; and one of the churchwardens of St. Michael's, Lewes, in 1637 altered the communion table from standing north and south to east and west. The view of the ecclesiastical courts was wide, and they presented with equal impartiality Elizabeth Collins of Chalvington for washing clothes upon Easter Day or Lambert Combent of Slaugham 'for beating his wife on the 29 June last, being sabbath day, in tyme of divine service'; Thomas Brett of Cuckfield because he 'usethe commonly to slepe in the sermon tyme,' or William Barker of Bexhill for being 'vehemently supposed to deale in sorcerye in helpinge the people to thinges lost'; Bridget Barrett of Wivelsfield 'for thrusting of pinnes in the wife of John Dumbrell in the church in tyme of divine service,' or Ann Clarke of Sedlescombe 'for calling Gathole's daughter Beggar's Bratt in the church, and for living contentiously and maliciously with her neighbours.'

Some idea of the slovenly disregard for ceremonial decency at this time existing in the churches of the diocese, which had its origin in reaction from the semi-superstitious abuses of the ritualism of Rome, and which it was the mission of the Laudian revival to combat, may be gathered from the question in Bishop Montagu's visitation of his diocese: ²⁴⁷—'whether the Communion Table is profaned at any time by sitting on it, casting hats or cloaks upon it, writing or casting up accounts or any other indecent usage.' This is borne out by the questions addressed by his successor, the learned and pious Brian Duppa, to the churchwardens in 1638; ²⁴⁸ one of these being—'Have there been kept in the church, chapel or churchyard, any plays, feasts, suppers, church ales, temporal courts, or Leet day juries, musters or meetings for rates and taxations, especially at the Communion table?' Other questions concerned the conduct of the ministers, their use of comely and decent apparel—long hair and deep ruffles being singled out for reprobation—their zeal for reclaiming recusants, either of the Church of Rome or those 'who having perversely relinquished our Communion find nothing to adhere to but their own private fancies,' their preaching in gown and cassock, not in riding or ambulatory cloaks, and their use of the prescribed form of prayer before the sermon 'to prevent the indiscreet flying out of some in their extemporary prayers.'

The Laudian revival, however, came too late, and was carried out with too little tact to stem the tide of nonconformity, and by 1640 Dr. Edward Burton writing from Westham ²⁴⁹ laments that the Puritan faction had grown so strong among the justices of the peace upon the bench for the eastern part

²⁴⁷ Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 275.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 278–80.

²⁴⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* ccccxlii, 137.

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of the county that the moderate party were not able to withstand it. Stapely, Rivers, Baker, and Hayes were the ringleaders, and Stapely at the Michaelmas session declared that the altering of the Communion table otherwise was an innovation detracting from God's glory, and that some prelates in the kingdom did not approve of it. Early in 1642 a petition was sent up from this county desiring the reformation of the Church in accordance with the views of the Puritan section ; but before the end of the year the country was in the throes of civil war. As already shown the eastern portion of the county was strongly Puritan, while the west, being the seat of the cathedral and of several families of loyal members of the English and Roman Churches, took the other side. An account of the siege of Chichester in December, 1642, has already been given,²⁵⁰ and the havoc wrought in the cathedral by Waller's victorious soldiers, who defaced the monuments, broke down the organs, and despoiled the treasury, was described by the dean of that unhappy church in a well-known passage which has often been reprinted.²⁵¹

When the Parliament, in accordance with their promise to the Scotch Covenanters, set up the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1642 for the reformation of the English Church in accordance with Presbyterian ideas, Sussex was represented thereat by Dr. Francis Cheynell, rector of Petworth and practically bishop of the diocese, Benjamin Pickering of East Hoathly, and Henry Nye of Clapham, who apparently died shortly after his appointment, his place being taken by John Maynard of Mayfield.²⁵² Amongst their duties was the consideration of the fitness or otherwise of the clergy holding benefices, and as a result of their decisions a very large proportion of the old incumbents were ejected from their livings.²⁵³ That some of these ejected ministers fully deserved their fate and were a scandal to their profession is clear, and this seems to be the case, allowing for considerable exaggeration, as regards the incumbents of Little Horsted, Dallington, Ardingly, Arundel, Cliffe, Storrington, East Grinstead, and Arlington, who were included by Col. John White in his *Century of Malignant Priests*.²⁵⁴ But in a considerable number of instances there is no doubt that the action of the examiners was harsh and prejudiced. Thus Randall Apsley, in spite of acquitting himself well when questioned by Dr. Cheynell and his associates, was ejected from his living of Pulborough on the accusation, which he was not allowed to answer, of having been seen in a tavern. The particulars, also, relative to the ejection of John Large, rector of Rotherfield, make it seem very probable that he was turned out 'not on account of his bad living but because of his good living' (Rotherfield being worth £300), and as the result of a conspiracy between Dr. Cheynell and a certain Mr. Winter of Cowfold, who might have served as a model for the vicar of Bray, being 'once a zealous ordaining Presbyterian, next warmly Congregational, then as vehemently Episcopal, and in Charles II's time found there was much to be said in favour of Popery.'²⁵⁵ John Large's defence, which he was not suffered to deliver, shows that he was not neglectful of his duty, as he always preached twice on

²⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 522.

²⁵¹ The fullest reprint is in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 205-8.

²⁵² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 170.

²⁵³ The documents relative to the 'Plundered Ministers' in Sussex were treated with great fulness by Mr. F. E. Sawyer in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, xxxii, from which articles the following details are drawn, unless otherwise noted.

²⁵⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxiii, 269 ; xxxvi, 156.

²⁵⁵ Calamy, *Life of Baxter*, ii, 686.

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Sundays except during the winter, when to suit his parishioners' convenience he preached only in the morning, but then he combined both sermons and never preached less than two hours. One of the accusations brought against him was superstition for keeping up the custom, which he defended as inoffensive, of breaking a cake over the bride's head at weddings.

Occasionally the charge of 'insufficiency' could not be upheld by even the most prejudiced, and once at least it recoiled upon the accusers, for when three 'triers' called upon the aged Aquila Cruso, rector of Sutton, to give an account of his faith he at once wrote it in Greek and Hebrew to the confusion of his less learned adversaries; he was therefore—or rather in consideration of his age—allowed to retain his living, though he lost his prebend, as did all the cathedral dignitaries, who were, naturally, the special objects of the Puritans' enmity and suffered greatly at their hands.

That care for the parishioners that moved the authorities to sequester the living of Bexhill for its vicar's non-residence and employment of 'scandalous and unworthy' curates seems to be contradicted by the fate of Wivelsfield, where the pulpit was filled during the Commonwealth by 'a Presbyterian jack-maker, a drummer, and a maltman' in turn; but such an example was exceptional, and as a whole the control exercised over the religious life of the county was honest and efficient though far from broad-minded. Preaching, which had been discouraged under Elizabeth and neglected under her successors, had now become of paramount importance. For some time before the Civil War it had been customary to appoint 'lecturers' to the larger towns, a course which sometimes led to ill-feeling on the part of the local minister, as for instance at Rye in 1623 when the curate refused to allow the lecturer to have the use of the church in spite of the corporation's express desire for the lecture to be continued.²⁵⁶ Under the Puritan government many of these lecturers appear to have been appointed to livings, and in December, 1642, the inhabitants of Horsham petitioned that their vacant vicarage might be bestowed not upon the archbishop's nominee, but upon Mr. John Chatfield, who had been lecturer there for six months.²⁵⁷

The Parliament, moreover, took good care that the ministers they supplied should have a sufficient stipend to live upon, the funds for the payment or augmentation of these stipends being usually drawn from the forfeited estates of royalists. In 1645 the citizens of Chichester sent up a petition stating that they then had a learned and godly ministry to their great comfort, but were like to lose the same for want of maintenance, and begging that three houses and £600 yearly might be set apart out of the revenues of the cathedral for the support of three ministers.²⁵⁸ Similarly the inhabitants of East and West Dean, Singleton, Binderton, and Didling petitioned in 1647 that £80 might be allowed them out of the estate of John Lewkenor, who held the great tithes of those parishes, for the support of a preacher, as they had been impoverished by the plundering of the king's forces;²⁵⁹ and in 1654 a similar request was made for the payment of 'the young man Nehemiah Beaton, eminently qualified for the work of the gospel,' minister of Wiston, whose stipend was withheld by the earl of Thanet.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Jas. I.* cliii, 91; clxxiii, 67.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.* vi, 45.

²⁵⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* dxv, 146.

²⁵⁷ *House of Lords MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. v), 61.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid. Interregnum*, lxvi, 59.

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A very large number of small livings were augmented at this period ; thus between 1656 and 1658, to take a few instances, £16 was granted to the minister of Pagham²⁶¹ (subsequently increased by an additional £24),²⁶² £20 each to those of Fishbourne,²⁶³ East Grinstead (with another £50 for his assistant minister),²⁶⁴ Brighton,²⁶⁵ Madehurst,²⁶⁶ Wisborough Green,²⁶⁷ West Hampnett,²⁶⁸ and Selsey ;²⁶⁹ £23 to Beddingham,²⁷⁰ £30 to Framfield and New Shoreham,²⁷¹ £40 to Patcham,²⁷² £50 to Singleton²⁷³, £70 to Rye,²⁷⁴ and £80 (in addition to a former sum of £90) granted to William Speed, who had succeeded John Corbett as minister at Chichester.²⁷⁵ Another method of increasing the value of a benefice was by the union of two adjacent livings. Thus on the death of Mr. Whetstone, minister of Patching, and in accordance with his dying request, the cure of Patching was united with that of Clapham, the parishioners of the latter certifying that their minister, Samuel Wilmer, had been ‘zealous in gathering the scattered saints into one body to enjoy gospel ordinances,’ but was overwhelmed with expenses.²⁷⁶ In the same way the parishes of St. Peter-the-Less, St. Pancras, and St. Martin were united with St. Andrew’s, Chichester, that of Earnley with East Wittering, and that of Climping with Ford²⁷⁷; St. Peter-the-Great, All Saints, St. Bartholomew’s, and St. Olave’s in Chichester were formed into one parish,²⁷⁸ Ovingdean joined to Brighton,²⁷⁹ Goring and Ferring to Kingston (the chapelry of East Preston being detached from Ferring and included in Rustington),²⁸⁰ Tortington to Arundel,²⁸¹ and Tangmere to Boxgrove.²⁸²

Under the Commonwealth religious toleration existed nominally, but practically the toleration was confined within narrow limits, quite outside which lay the ‘papists.’ The unfortunate adherents of the Church of Rome, after the persecutions of Elizabeth’s reign, had during the rule of her two successors been subject to a less rigorous, but scarcely less harassing, course of fines, surveillance, domiciliary visits, and occasional imprisonment ; a new and irritating feature being introduced by James I, who caused the penalties exacted for nonconformity to be paid, not to the crown, but to private persons to whom he assigned the ‘benefit of the recusancy’ of individual Catholics. When the Parliament emerged victorious from the Civil War they became the special objects of oppression on account alike of their religious and political opinions, for they were naturally royalists almost to a man ; heavy fines crippled their estates and imprisonment did the same for the bodies of some, though on the whole their injuries were pecuniary rather than personal in Sussex.

The most remarkable instance of intolerance, however, is seen in the conduct of the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, towards the sect of the ‘Friends,’ or Quakers. A full account of their coming into Sussex and of their sufferings there has been preserved,²⁸³ and no reader can refuse them the tribute of admiration for their courage and constancy, even if he regret their

²⁶¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, cxxvi, 66.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* cxxix, 47.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* clvi, 89.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* clxxx, 163.

²⁷² *Ibid.* cxxvi, 66.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.* cxxxi, 52.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 16.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* 105.

²⁸³ Partly printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 65–125.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* cxxx, 122.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* clviii, 100.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* clviii, 100.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* lxx, 44.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* cliv, 12.

²⁸² *Ibid.* clxxx, 163.

²⁶² *Ibid.* clviii, 4.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* cxxxi, 15.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* clviii, 100.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* cliv, 114.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* clvii, 85.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* cxxx, 5.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* clvi, 54.

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occasional tactlessness and provocation of insults. The peculiar tenets professed by the followers of George Fox were 'first preached in the north side of this county of Sussex about the third month in the yeare 1655, at the Towne of Horsham, by John Slee, Thomas Lawson, and Thomas Lawcock,' who spoke in the market place and met with much mocking and some little violence. These missionaries passed on the same day to the house of Bryan Wilkason at Sedgewick Lodge, who was possibly already known to them, having only recently come from the north, and was the first person in the county to receive them. Meetings were then held at Ifield, where Richard Bonwick, a weaver, received them, and at Twineham; and about the same time Thomas Robinson addressed a meeting in Southover, a suburb of Lewes, at which Ambrose Galloway, a Lewes tradesman of good position, and subsequently the most prominent of the sufferers in that town, was convinced. Shortly after this George Fox himself came to Bryan Wilkason's house, where he held a meeting at which he was opposed by Matthew Caffyn, a Baptist preacher;²⁸⁴ he also spoke with such success at Ifield that a weekly meeting was established there, 'which was the first meeting that was Gathered in this County to Sitt Downe together in Silence to wait upon the Lord.' Fox and his companion, Alexander Parker, afterwards visited Steyning, Lewes, and Warbleton, and their missionary work was continued by Ambrose Rigge and Joseph Fuce, with the result that Quakerism obtained a firm hold in many parts of Sussex, which was increased rather than weakened by the persecution its professors had to endure.

Part of the unpopularity of the Quakers was due to their habit of entering churches and interrupting the service by questioning, contradicting, or admonishing the preacher. Occasionally they were silenced by the tact of the minister, as in the case of the Quaker who came into Burwash church and said to the vicar, Thomas Goldham, 'I am sent with a message from God to thee,' to whom the vicar, seeing that he was a stranger, said, 'Dost thou know my name?' Upon his answering, 'I know it not,' Goldham said, 'If God sent thee to me He could surely have told thee my name,' and pointed out that he might be mistaken as to the recipient of his message, with such effect that he withdrew in confusion.²⁸⁵ Far more often, however, the intruder was seized, dragged before the nearest magistrate, and committed to gaol, as happened to Thomas Lawcock at Horsham in 1655,²⁸⁶ to John Pellatt at Westmeston in 1657,²⁸⁷ and in several other cases. The refusal to swear or to remove their hats in court brought them into frequent collision with the magistracy, as their refusal to pay tithes did with the clergy. For this latter offence they suffered severely, especially at the hands of such ministers as William Snatt of Lewes, and Leonard Letchford of Hurstpierpoint, the churchwardens usually seizing goods to the value of two or three times the amounts due.²⁸⁸ This religious intolerance, into the details of which there is no space here to go, was due to the action of the local authorities and was discouraged by the Protector himself and his associates. Consequently, when in the autumn of 1656 a petition was sent up to Oliver

²⁸⁴ This Caffyn was a great opponent of the Quakers, and published in 1656 an address which he had delivered in Horsham church, called *The deceived and deceiving Quakers discovered*, a denunciation which at least does not lack vigour.

²⁸⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 34.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 77.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* xvi, 76.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 68, 69.

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Cromwell from the Quakers lying in Horsham gaol—namely, Thomas Patching, Bryan Wilkason, and John Fursby, committed for having certain books written by Quakers; Ninian Brockett, imprisoned for not swearing at the county sessions; Nicholas Rickman, committed by the mayor of Arundel for writing a copy of a certain paper, and Rickman's wife—the commissioners, Methuselah Turner, Richard Eccleston, and John Fenton, appointed to inquire into the matter declared the commitments to be contrary to law, especially 'because the whole process seemeth to be a prejudice received for matter of opinion in worship.'²⁸⁹

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660, though it brought no relief to the Quakers,²⁹⁰ caused many of their late oppressors to suffer in their turn. The number of Sussex ministers who were ejected or resigned their livings on or before St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, rather than accept the Act of Uniformity was very large, being over sixty, or something like a quarter of the beneficed clergy in the county.²⁹¹ Noteworthy amongst them was Dr. Cheynell, who has been already mentioned as head of the Sussex Puritan ministry, and who obtained an unpleasant notoriety by his uncharitable and insulting words at the funeral of his great opponent William Chillingworth, when the latter died at Chichester as the result of privations suffered during the siege of Arundel; Cheynell's behaviour on this occasion may probably be attributed to one of the fits of mental aberration to which he was subject.²⁹² John Stonestreet, ejected from Lindfield, was one of the Congregational ministers who met at the Savoy in 1658 to draw up their 'confession of Faith'; another Congregational was Walter Postlethwayt, of St. Michael's, Lewes, who 'was in the fifth Monarchy notion,' but conformed in 1660.²⁹³ Many of the ministers on losing their livings started schools, as William Wilson of Billingshurst, Edmund Thorp of Sedlescombe, who had the education of the sons of three conforming clergy—one of his pupils subsequently attaining notoriety as the infamous Titus Oates—and Joseph Bennet of Brightling, who so gained the goodwill of the people by standing by them in 1665 during the outbreak of the Plague, when the incumbent fled from the parish, that no one would execute upon him the Act requiring ejected ministers to live not less than five miles from their old cures.

The above-mentioned Thorp and Bennet appear to have been the first persons²⁹⁴ in Sussex to avail themselves of the Act of 1672 by which penalties for nonconformity were suspended, and meetings for divine service permitted in houses for which licences had been obtained. A considerable number of these licences were applied for in this county, nineteen being for Presbyterians, eleven for Congregationalists and Independents, and four for Baptists.²⁹⁵ The Quakers, not considering it lawful to apply to the State for permission to worship, did not profit by this Act, which was repealed in 1673 under pressure from the orthodox clergy.

²⁸⁹ *S. P. Dom. Interregnum*, cliii, 11–16.

²⁹⁰ One of the best known, the celebrated William Penn, who married a Sussex woman and lived for some time at Warminghurst, had to invoke the earl of Dorset's protection against two justices, Henry Goring and Col. Alford, who were trying to make his living in Sussex uneasy, in 1671; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, 298.

²⁹¹ For list and particulars see Calamy, *Life of Baxter*, ii, 673 et seq.

²⁹² See *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 184.

²⁹³ Calamy, *op. cit.* 675.

²⁹⁴ They applied for licences in April, 1672: *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1672, p. 319.

²⁹⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1672–3, pref. xliii, xlv.

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The attempt of James II to secure the repeal of the Penal and Test Acts, nominally in the interest of all nonconformitants but actually for the benefit of the Roman Catholics,²⁹⁶ has already been referred to,²⁹⁷ mention being made of the unfavourable attitude towards this question taken up by the justices of the county. The diocese of Chichester has good reason to be proud that her bishop, John Lake, was one of the seven bishops whose firm stand for their Church against the king's arbitrary authority has been immortalized by Macaulay in one of the finest passages of his history.²⁹⁸ Though Bishop Lake had thus resisted King James, yet he was thoroughly loyal to that monarch, and having once taken the oath of allegiance to him could not reconcile it with his conscience to transfer his allegiance to William of Orange, and was consequently suspended and would have been deprived of his see had he not died on 30 August, 1689.²⁹⁹ The other Sussex clergy who lost their benefices at this time were the precentor of Chichester, and the incumbents of Cuckfield, Folkington, Jevington, Icklesham, Rustington, Seaford, Ferring, Firle, Sompting, Blatchington, and Chiddingly,³⁰⁰ the last-named proudly causing it to be written in his epitaph that he was 'suspended in the Dutchman's days.'

The history of the Church in Sussex during the eighteenth century differs little from that in any other county. It was a period of neglect and religious deadness, churches fell into disrepair and services were slackly conducted. A visitation³⁰¹ made in 1724 shows that there were some bright exceptions; at East Grinstead and Hurstpierpoint there was service twice every Sunday and in the morning on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days, and the communion was administered on the first Sunday of the month; at Burwash there were prayers every holy day and twice a week in Lent; the church of Shermanbury was 'more than commonly decent,' and all its appointments in the best order, that of Withyham had a very handsome black cloth surrounded with silver lace for the communion table, and that of Hurstpierpoint a clock with chimes. On the other hand, at Crawley the church was much out of repair, there was divine service held only occasionally by the neighbouring clergy, the rector having been disabled for two years by palsy, and the communion was administered only three times a year; there was no chancel at Southover, St. John-sub-Castro in Lewes, or Falmer, and in the last-named church the windows were so filthy as to darken the church, and the table and the place where it stood were in bad condition, with no rails or carpet. At Hangleton also the table was without rails and stood under the north wall, and here there was service only once a fortnight by the rector of Southwick and no communion within the memory of man; at Ovingdean also there was no communion and service only once a month, while at Telscombe there was no communion table at all. Most of the churches lay between these two groups, but approached rather to the second, the usual state of affairs being considerable defects in the fabric, especially of the chancel, service weekly and communion some eight times a year.

²⁹⁶ A long list of nearly a hundred recusants against whom proceedings under the Penal Acts were suspended in Sussex is given in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv (9), 275; they were for the most part resident in West Sussex, many near Harting, the seat of John Caryll, who accompanied James II in his exile and was created Baron Dureford by him.

²⁹⁷ *V. C. H. Suss.* i, 530.

²⁹⁹ Stephens, *See of Chichester*, 306.

²⁹⁸ *Hist. of Engl.* ii, ch. 8.

³⁰⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvi, 111, note.

³⁰¹ At the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, for access to the records of which the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Nicholson.

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The influence of Wesley was comparatively little felt in Sussex; he himself never entered the county except for several short visits to Rye³⁰² and Winchelsea, between 1773 and 1790; and Heath's description of Sussex dissent³⁰³ in 1874 holds good for the century preceding that date, and is still to a certain extent true:—

Throughout Sussex the hyper-Calvinists are the most numerous body. Their churches were no doubt founded to maintain the same creed as that once held by the greater number of Baptist churches, a creed of which particular salvation was a distinctive point; but while the greater part of the denomination have become so affected by the modern evangelical revival as to sink or almost lose sight of this doctrine, the Baptists of East Sussex, coming under the influence of Huntingtonism, have continued more and more to magnify its importance until, like Aaron's rod, it seems to have swallowed up everything else.

Although William Huntington,³⁰⁴ 'the converted coal-heaver,' was a native of the neighbouring county of Kent and obtained his most startling and almost unparalleled success in London, his influence, as just noted, was very great in Sussex, in which county he seems first to have preached at Petworth and Horsham in 1776, some three years after his conversion at Sunbury; and when he died in July, 1813, his body was brought from Tunbridge Wells to Lewes on a hearse drawn by six horses, followed by a procession of mourners a mile in length, the most remarkable funeral this county can ever have witnessed.

While on the subject of dissent in Sussex it is worth noticing that John Darby, founder of the sect of Plymouth Brethren, who since their start in 1845 have obtained a moderate footing in Sussex, was a member of a family long settled at Markly in Warbleton, though he himself had practically no connexion with the county. Nor should mention be omitted of the curious local sect of 'Cokelers,' recently described by Viscount Turnour.³⁰⁵ They were founded in 1850 by John Sirgood, a London shoemaker, who settled at Loxwood in Wisborough, and rapidly attracted a congregation by his remarkable preaching. In spite of considerable opposition the Society of Independents, or 'Cokelers' as for some unknown reason they are usually called, increased, branches being established at North Chapel, Warnham, Kirdford, Upper Norwood, and Chichester before the death of their founder in 1885. Their creed is pronouncedly Antinomian, and they are remarkable for not using the Lord's Prayer and for rejecting (in theory rather than in practice) the use of marriage, and also for their great business abilities, which have resulted in an intelligent system of co-operative stores and the almost complete capture of the local trade in the neighbourhood of Wisborough and Kirdford.

The revival of the Church of England in our county during the nineteenth century, helped on by the influence of such men as Bishop Otter and Archdeacon Hare (to name but two) and by the Oxford Movement, with the passing of Henry Manning, rector of Woollavington, into the Roman Church, and the anti-ritualistic reaction, are matters of too recent a date and too nearly approaching the realm of controversy to be touched upon. Here we are concerned only with the history of religious life within the county, and whatever may be our personal views on dogmatic questions we must all, when we trace this history through the past centuries, feel thankful that we have at last reached an age when there is at least religious toleration for all.

³⁰² Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 544-5.

³⁰⁴ See *ibid.* 320-58.

³⁰³ *The English Peasant*, 199, 200.

³⁰⁵ *Nat. Rev.* Sept. 1904.

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APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

The diocese of Chichester, coterminous with the county of Sussex, was divided from a very early period into the two archdeaconries of Chichester and Lewes, which included the whole of the county with the exception of certain peculiar jurisdictions. Of these the most important were the archbishop of Canterbury's peculiars of South Malling deanery (stretching from Wadhurst to Stanmer), West Tarring, Pagham, and the Pallant at Chichester. The independence of these districts was emphasized shortly after the Conquest, when Lanfranc forbade bishop Stigand to summon the clergy of the archiepiscopal peculiars to his synods, they being completely exempt from his authority, except that they might receive the chrism from him and pay the usual fees therefor.³⁰⁶ The bishop of London's lands at Lodsworth formed another exempt jurisdiction, as did the royal chapelry of Bosham of which the bishop of Exeter was dean. The lowey, or liberty, of Battle Abbey was also a peculiar under its own dean, a title still borne by the incumbent of Battle. Finally there was the decanal church of Steyning; this belonged to the Norman abbey of Fécamp, who gave up to the bishop of Chichester their claims in the churches of Bury, Slinfold, and Nut-hurst to secure that the church of Steyning with its appurtenances should be entirely free of episcopal control.³⁰⁷ Accordingly we find, in 1423 and 1426, presentations to Steyning vicarage directed to the guardian of the spirituality of the peculiar and exempt jurisdiction of Steyning.³⁰⁸

When the further division of the diocese into rural deaneries took place is not known, but it must have been as early as the middle of the twelfth century, as in 1157 the abbot of Battle refers to the bishop of Chichester's deans of Lewes and Hastings.³⁰⁹ By 1291 the archdeaconry of Chichester was divided into the deaneries of Chichester, Arundel, Boxgrove, Midhurst, and Storrington, and that of Lewes into Lewes, Dallington, Hastings, and Pevensey; the archbishop's peculiars were also grouped under the deaneries of South Malling, Tarring, and Pagham, the two latter being, apparently, usually held together. The occasional references to deans with other titles than these, as a dean of Folkington³¹⁰ (in 1236), of Selmeston³¹¹ (c. 1225), and of Ewhurst³¹² (c. 1190), probably only imply that although the boundaries of the deaneries were already settled, the title of the rural dean himself was taken sometimes from the parish in which he was beneficed instead of from that parish which usually gave its name to the deanery. That the titles of the deaneries were the same from the time of their formation is probable, as a dean of Dallington occurs about 1200,³¹³ and again in 1220,³¹⁴ and reference is made in 1236 to certain proceedings in the (rural) chapter of Midhurst.³¹⁵

After the Reformation rural deans for some reason ceased to be appointed in most dioceses, but as late as 1568 there was still a rural dean of Hastings,³¹⁶ though it would seem that by 1636 these ecclesiastical officials were no longer in existence in the diocese.³¹⁷ There is a remarkable instance of an appointment to the post of dean of the peculiars of South Malling, Pagham, and Tarring in 1695,³¹⁸ but it is questionable if this can be counted as an instance of a genuine rural dean. The office was revived in the diocese of Chichester at an unusually early date, apparently by Bishop Buckner in 1812,³¹⁹ the revival of the rural chapter being due to Bishop Otter about 1840.³²⁰

The following table will show the distribution of the (ecclesiastical) parishes amongst the several deaneries as given in the Taxatio of 1291 and at present :—

ARCHDEACONRY OF CHICHESTER

DEANERY OF ARUNDEL, 1291 : Amberley, Arundel, Bargham, Barnham, Binsted, Burpham, Bury, Clapham, Climping, Cudlow, East Angmering, Eastergate, Felpham, Ford, Houghton, Littlehampton, Lymminster, Madehurst, Middleton, North Stoke, Poling, Rustington, South Stoke, Tortington, Walberton, West Angmering, Yapton.

³⁰⁶ Eadmer, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 21.

³⁰⁷ P.R.O. Transcripts, vol. 1404, fol. 350.

³⁰⁸ Pat. 1 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 27; 4 Hen. VI, pt. ii, mm. 22, 9.

³⁰⁹ 'Duo decani vestri, Lewensis scilicet et Hastingensis.' *Mat. for Hist. of Abp. Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 253. In 1368 the rural dean of Hastings distinguished himself from the dean of the college of Hastings by attesting as 'Stephen, dean of the deanery of Hastings.' *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 497.

³¹⁰ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 310.

³¹¹ Witness, with Joscelin dean of Lewes, to a charter; Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 48.

³¹² *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 18.

³¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 168.

³¹⁴ *Cal. Pap. Let.* 1, 74.

³¹⁵ Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 154.

³¹⁶ Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales*, ii, 388.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 389, 390.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 391.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* 392-403.

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- DEANERY OF ARUNDEL, 1906 (2 Divisions): The same, omitting Amberley, Bargham, Bury, Clapham, Cudlow, East Angmering, Houghton, West Angmering, and adding Bognor, Merston, North Mundham with Hunston, Pagham, South Bersted.
- DEANERY OF BOXGROVE, 1291: Aldingbourne, Almodington, Appledram, Birdham, Bosham, Boxgrove, Bracklesham, Chidham, Compton, Donnington, Earnley, Eartham, East Dean, East Itchenor, East Marden, East Wittering, Funtington, Hunston, Lordington, Merston, Mundham, North Marden, Oving, Racton, Selsey, Sidlesham, Singleton, Stoughton, Up Marden, Waltham, Westbourne, West Dean, West Hampnett, West Itchenor, West Stoke, West Thorney, West Wittering.
- DEANERY OF BOXGROVE, 1906 (3 Divisions): The same, omitting Bracklesham, East Itchenor, Hunston, Merston, Mundham, and adding Lavant, Portfield, Rumboldswyke, Slindon, Tangmere, Southbourne, Stanstead and Fishbourne.
- DEANERY OF CHICHESTER, 1291: The cathedral and its prebends; St. Peter the Great and St. Pancras, Chichester,³²¹ Fishbourne, and Rumboldswyke.
- DEANERY OF CHICHESTER, 1906: The same, omitting Fishbourne and Rumboldswyke, and including St. Andrew, St. Bartholomew, St. John, St. Martin with St. Olave, St. Paul, and St. Peter the Less, Chichester.
- DEANERY OF MIDHURST, 1291: Barlavington, Bepton, Bignor, Burton, Coates, Cocking, Easebourne, Egdean, Elsted, Graffham, Hardham, Harting, Iping, Kirdford, Linch, Linchmere, Lurgashall, Petworth, Rogate, Selham, Stedham,³²² Stopham, Sutton, Tillington, Treyford, Trotton, Waltham, Woolbeding, Woollavington.
- DEANERY OF MIDHURST, 1906 (3 Divisions): The same, with addition of Fernhurst, Midhurst, Milland, Terwick, Bury, Dunton, Lodswoth, Ebernoe, and North Chapel.
- DEANERY OF STORRINGTON, 1291: Ashington, Billingshurst, Bramber, Broadwater, Chiltington (West), Coombes, Findon, Goring, Horsham, Itchingfield, Lancing, Nuthurst, Parham, Pulborough, Rusper, Rudgwick, Slinfold, Sompting, Steyning, Storrington, Sullington, Thakeham, Warnham, Washington, West Grinstead, Wisborough Green, Wiston.
- DEANERY OF STORRINGTON, 1906 (4 Divisions): The same, with addition of Greatham, Loxwood, North Stoke, Roffey, Shipley, Southwater, Ashurst, Warminghurst, Angmering, Clapham with Patching, Ferring with East Preston and Kingston, Worthing with Heene and West Tarring.

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- DEANERY OF BRIGHTON, 1906: Brighton (21 churches), Hove (6 churches), Preston (3 churches), Prestonville, West Blatchington.
- DEANERY OF DALLINGTON, 1291: Ashburnham, Battle, Beckley, Bodiam, Brede, Burwash, Catsfield, Crowhurst, Dallington, Etchingham, Ewhurst, Heathfield, Herstmonceux, Hooe, Iden, Mountfield, Ninfield, Northiam, Peasmarsch, Penhurst, Playden, Salehurst, Sedlescombe, Ticehurst, Udimore, Warbleton, Wartling, Westfield, Whatlington.
- DEANERY OF DALLINGTON, 1906: The same, omitting Battle, Beckley, Brede, Catsfield, Crowhurst, Ewhurst, Ninfield, Northiam, Peasmarsch, Playden, Sedlescombe, Udimore, Wartling and Westfield, and adding Bodlestreet Green, Flimwell, Mayfield, Stonegate, and Waldron.
- DEANERY OF HASTINGS, 1291: Bexhill, Fairlight, Guestling, Hastings (St. Margaret, St. Michael, and St. Peter, St. Andrew below the Castle, St. Clement, and All Saints), Hollington, Iham, Icklesham, Ore, Pett, Rye, St. Leonard's, Winchelsea (St. Thomas and St. Giles).
- DEANERY OF HASTINGS, 1906 (2 Divisions): The same, omitting Iham and including Battle, Catsfield, Crowhurst, Hove, Netherfield, Ninfield, Westfield, Beckley, Brede, Broomhill, Ewhurst, Iden, Northiam, Peasmarsch, Sedlescombe, and Udimore.
- DEANERY OF LEWES, 1291: Albourne, Aldrington, Ardingly, Balcombe, Barcombe, Blatchington, Bolney, Brighton, Chailey, Clayton, Cowfold, Cuckfield, Ditchling, East Grinstead, Falmer, Hamsey, Hangleton, Henfield, Hove, Hurstpierpoint, Ifield, Iford, Kingston-by-Lewes, Kingston-by-Sea, Lewes, Meeching or Newhaven, Newick, Newtimber, Ovingdean, Patcham, Piddinghoe, Pyecombe, Plumpton, Poynings, Portslade, Preston, Rodmell, Rottingdean, Sele or Beeding, Shelley, Shermanbury, Shoreham, Slaugham, Southease, Southover, Southwick, Street, Telscombe, Twineham, West Hoathly, Westmeston, Westout, Woodmancote, Worth.

³²¹ St. Andrew, St. Mary in the Market, St. Martin, St. Olave, and St. Peter by the Gildhall occur in the *Valor* of 1535, and were included in the deanery at the time of the *Taxatio* though not entered.

³²² With Heyshott.

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DEANERY OF LEWES, 1906 (4 Divisions): The same, omitting Barcombe, Blatchington, Brighton, Chailey, East Grinstead, Hove, Newick, Preston, Shelley, and including Ringmer, South Malling, Stanmer, Burgess Hill, Edburton, Copthorne, Crawley, Crawley Down, Highbrook, Lindfield, Staplefield, Wivelsfield, Colgate, and Lower Beeding.

DEANERY OF PEVENSEY, 1291: Alciston, Alfriston, Arlington, Beddingham, Berwick, Bishopstone, Blatchington, (Chalvington), Chiddingly, Denton, Eastbourne, Eastdean, East Hoathly, Eckington or Ripe, Exceit, Fletching, Folkington, Friston, Hailsham, Hartfield, Hellingly, (Horsted Keynes), Horsted Parva, Jevington, Laughton, Litlington, Lullington, Maresfield, Pevensey, Rotherfield with Frant, (Seaford), Selmeston, South Heighton, Sutton, Tarring Neville, Waldron, Westdean, West Firle, Westham, Willingdon, Wilmington, Withyham.

DEANERY OF PEVENSEY, 1906 (4 Divisions): The same, omitting Exceit (absorbed into Westdean), and Sutton (joined to Seaford), and adding Wartling, Dicker, Fairwarp, Glynde, Barcombe, Buxted, Chailey, Danehill, Framfield, Hadlow Down, High Hurst, Isfield, Newick, Nutley, Uckfield, Broadwater Down, East Grinstead, Eridge, Forest Row, Groombridge, Hammerwood, Mark Cross, Tidebrook, Wadhurst.

DEANERY OF SOUTH MALLING, 1291³²³: Buxted with Uckfield, Cliffe, Edburton, Framfield, Glynde, Isfield, Mayfield, Ringmer, South Malling, Stanmer, and Wadhurst.

³²³ Peculiar of Canterbury, united with Chichester diocese in 1845.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF SUSSEX

INTRODUCTION

Sussex, for its size, was well supplied with religious foundations, though for the most part these were small and not of more than local importance, the two chief exceptions being the abbey of Battle and the priory of Lewes, whose heads were constantly summoned to Parliament.

Besides the great abbey of Battle, the Benedictines had houses for monks at Boxgrove and Sele, both originally cells of alien monasteries. The nuns of the order had a settlement at Chichester previous to 1075, but were ejected when the cathedral was removed thither. They had also a short-lived convent at 'Ramestede,' and another at Rusper.

The Cluniacs had only one priory, but that was the greatest house of the order in England—the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, whose possessions extended almost all over the kingdom. The monks of Lewes held at one time or another no fewer than fifty-six churches in Sussex.

The only Cistercian abbey was that of Robertsbridge.

The Augustinian canons had six houses, all small; and there was a nunnery of the order at Easebourne.

An abbey of Premonstratensian canons was founded, about 1180, at Otham in Hailsham, but subsequently removed to Bayham on the borders of Kent and Sussex. The canons had also an abbey at Dureford on the borders of Sussex and Hampshire.

The Knights Hospitallers possessed a preceptory at Poling, and succeeded to the greater part of the possessions of the Knights Templars, who had preceptories at Shipley and Saddlescombe.

Chichester and Winchelsea had convents of both Dominican and Franciscan friars, and the former also settled at Arundel, and the Franciscans at Lewes. The Austin Friars had a house at Rye, and the Carmelites at Shoreham, the latter being subsequently removed to Sele in Beeding parish.

Of the many hospitals in this county the most important was that of St. Mary at Chichester, which still flourishes. In each of the Cinque Ports members, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, and Pevensey, there were hospitals under control of the town officers, serving the purpose of almshouses, and this was possibly also the case at Seaford and Shoreham. The two hospitals at Lewes were intimately connected with the Cluniac priory, as was that at Battle with the abbey, and the 'Maison Dieu' at Arundel with the neighbouring college.

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In some ways the collegiate churches may claim to be the most interesting class of religious establishments in Sussex. The canons of the cathedral of Chichester were the direct successors of those of Selsey, dating back almost to the foundation of Christianity in this district; the college of South Malling traced its pedigree back to the seventh or eighth century, and that of Bosham, though remodelled in the twelfth century, was the successor of one that flourished before the Conquest. At Hastings secular canons were introduced shortly after the Norman Conquest, and even at Arundel, where the college was only founded in 1392, there had been a similar establishment in Saxon times.

The alien houses present several remarkable features. The abbey of Fécamp acquired lands in Rye and Winchelsea and Steyning from Edward the Confessor. At the latter place they had control of a small college of, apparently, three canons under a dean or 'provost'; their principal agent, however, was the 'bailiff' of Warminghurst. A similar 'bailiff,' of Atherington, managed the estates of the Abbey of Séez, who had also a cell in the priory of St. Nicholas, Arundel. The abbey of Troarn had a small priory at Runcton, but soon made it over to its daughter priory of Bruton in Somerset. At Wilmington there was a priory whose head was in charge of all the English estates of the abbey of Grestein. Marmoutier, or rather its daughter, St. Mary of Mortain, had land at Withyham where there was a 'prior' resident. Finally, there was at Lyminster a small house of nuns under the abbey of Almenesches. The lands in Beddingham and Hooe belonging to the abbey of Bec-Hellouin do not seem ever to have constituted a priory, although so spoken of after the suppression of the alien houses;¹ and the claims of Tréport to the free chapel of Hastings are shadowy and appear never to have been acknowledged.² A mysterious 'prioress of Nonyngton' appears amongst the alien religious on the Pipe Rolls of 15-25 Edward III as paying for her temporalities in 'Nonyngton'; she may be the 'prioress of Novynton,' 'Noveton,' or 'Neweton,' who held 13s. 8d. of rent in 'New' according to the *Taxatio*.³ But unless this is a corruption of 'Nunminster' which was the early name for the nunnery of Lyminster, her identity remains undiscovered.

The two classes of 'solitaries,' namely hermits and anchorites, seem to have been numerous in this county and demand a passing note. The 'hermit' often had definite duties, such as the care of a bridge, ford, or causeway, as in the case of Simon Cotes, the site of whose hermitage is still known in Westbourne. This hermit by his will, made in 1527, left his house and the chapel which he had built 'in the honor of Almighty God and the Holy Confessor Saint Antony,' to be a dwelling for a professed hermit, who was to see to the 'maynteynence of the breggys and hyways' which he had made.⁴ Hermits seem also to have settled in abandoned chapels; thus in 1459 the former leper hospital at Arundel was occupied by a hermit,⁵ and in 1405 indulgence was given to those assisting Richard Petevyne hermit of the chapel of St. Cyriac in Chichester,⁶ which had belonged to the alien abbey of Troarn,⁷ and was occupied by a recluse in 1247.^{7a} In 1272 Peter

¹ Pat. 35 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 6.

³ *Taxatio Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 140.

⁵ Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 679.

⁷ *Cal. Doc. France*, 170.

² See article on the college of Hastings, below.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 80.

⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 14.

^{7a} Mun. of Dean and Chap. Chich. 'Liber Y,' fol. 135b.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the hermit of Seaford obtained royal protection for five years,⁸ and not long afterwards his cell was the scene of a tragedy, for in 1287 one William Potel hanged himself 'in the hermitage of Seford.'⁹ Certain caves at Buxted are traditionally ascribed to hermits, and there was certainly a hermitage near Winchelsea, for in December, 1536, 'the men of the admiral of Sluys burnt the hermitage of the Camber in despite and hewed an image of St. Anthony with their swords, bidding it call upon St. George for help.'¹⁰

Of the stricter order of anchorites or recluses a good many examples are found in Sussex. An inscription built into the wall of St. John's-sub-Castro in Lewes commemorates an early anchorite, Magnus by name, of noble Danish birth,¹¹ and there are considerable remains of an 'anker-hold' or recluse's cell in the south wall of Hardham church.¹² The Pipe Roll of 1 Richard I mentions the recluse of Stedham, and St. Richard in his will bequeathed money to the anchorites of Pagham and Hardham, and the female recluses of Houghton, Stopham and Westout.¹³ About 1402 one of the Dominican friars of Arundel had himself walled up as an anchorite in a cell of his priory,¹⁴ and in the same year Dom. William Bolle, rector of Aldrington, was allowed to retire from the world into a cell on the north side of the Lady Chapel of Chichester Cathedral;¹⁵ he was probably the 'Dom. William the recluse of Chichester' to whom William Neel left half a mark in 1414.¹⁶

THE CATHEDRAL OF CHICHESTER¹⁷

The history of the South Saxon cathedral establishment during the time that the bishop's seat was at Selsey is virtually a blank. A number of charters¹⁸ of doubtful authenticity record the gifts by Saxon nobles during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, by which the bishop and canons came to hold those possessions which are found in their hands at the time of the Domesday Survey.¹⁹ From these charters, moreover, we may gather that the Selsey foundation was originally one of monks following the Benedictine rule, under an abbot who was also bishop, but that subsequently the regulars were replaced by secular canons. As a result of the recommendations of the council of 1075, the South

Saxon cathedral was removed from the insignificant village of Selsey to the important town of Chichester, where the nuns of St. Peter's Church were displaced to accommodate the canons,²⁰ the memory of the old church being perpetuated by the circumstance that the nave of the cathedral church of Holy Trinity was considered to be the parochial church of St. Peter the Great.

The church begun by Bishop Stigand was either remodelled or entirely rebuilt by Ralph Luffa, who was consecrated in 1091; but hardly was the new building complete before it was seriously injured by a great fire in 1114. Bishop Ralph, however, with the king's assistance, at once restored the cathedral, as did Bishop Seffrid II when a similar disaster befell it in 1187. Nor did Ralph confine his attention to the fabric of his cathedral, for he is said to have established the offices of dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. These officials, however, do not seem to have possessed any definite endowments, or but slight ones, until the time of Hilary, nearly half a century later, for Pope Eugenius III, when he took the church of Chichester and its possessions under the papal protection, about 1150, confirmed Hilary's 'foundation' of a treasurer,²¹ and Alexander III, in 1163, similarly confirmed the chancellorship, here said to have been founded by the same bishop.²² Besides these four digni-

⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 144.

⁹ Assize R. 924, m. 52 d.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 718 (4). A seal of a preceptory of St. Anthony was discovered in Winchelsea, and may possibly have been connected with this chapel; Cooper's *Hist. of Winchelsea*.

¹¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 133.

¹² *Ibid.* xlv, 78. ¹³ *Ibid.* i, 167.

¹⁴ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 352.

¹⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 105.

¹⁶ Cant. Archiepisc. Reg. Chicheley, pt. i, fol. 316.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* viii, 1159-71; Stephens, *Mem. of the See of Chichester*; Swainson, *Hist. and Constitution of a Cath. of the Old Foundation*; Mackenzie Walcott, 'Statutes of Chich. Cath.' (in *Archæologia*, xlv, 143-235).

¹⁸ *Mon. Angl.* viii, 1163-70.

¹⁹ See *V.C.H. Suss.* i. 389-91.

²⁰ Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 205.

²¹ Swainson, No. 6.

²² *Ibid.* No. 8.

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taries there were prebends founded from time to time, and eventually attaining their present number of twenty-seven, inclusive of the four founded by Bishop Sherborn between 1520 and 1523. Of these prebends most appear to have been endowed by bishops, as that of Ferring by Hilary, that of Eartham by John (c. 1178), that of Seaford by Seffrid II (c. 1185), and that of Hove by Richard le Poor (1216), the last-named being divided into Hova Ecclesia and Hova Villa in 1353.²³ Marden prebend was founded by the family of Aguillon,²⁴ and that of Heathfield by Bishop John, in conjunction with Richard de Kaynes, who gave the church of Selmeston for that purpose.²⁵ About 1150 the abbot of Séez allowed Bishop Hilary to appropriate the churches of East and West Dean, which belonged to the abbey's cell of St. Nicholas at Arundel, to the prebend of Singleton;²⁶ and during the episcopate of Seffrid II (1180-1204) the abbot of Grestein gave the church of Firle to Chichester, on condition that the bishop should form a prebend out of the abbey's churches of Wilmington, Willingdon, and East Dean, to be held by the abbot and his successors, who were to appoint suitable vicars to reside on these cures.²⁷ Similarly, in 1346 the priory of Lewes proposed to grant their churches of Waldron and Horsted Keynes to form a prebend annexed to the see of Chichester in return for the formation of a second prebend out of their churches of West Hoathly, Ditchling, and Clayton, which should be assigned to the priory;²⁸ this, however, fell through. The prebend of Singleton was set aside by Hilary for the provision of the communal loaves,²⁹ that of Wittering was, at least from the time of Archbishop Boniface (1259), reserved for a canon capable of lecturing on theology,³⁰ and that of Highley was annexed to the mastership of the prebendal school in 1477.³¹

Of the officials the chief was, of course, the dean, who had control not only over the cathedral staff but also over the urban deanery, which comprised the whole of the city of Chichester, excepting the archbishop's peculiar of the Pallant, and the churches of Rumboldswyke and Fishbourne.³² Within these limits he had the rights of visitation and institution of incumbents, but the power of depriving clergy belonged to the bishop, who also had the right of holding periodic visitations, during which the dean's jurisdiction was suspended.³³ The right of electing the dean was originally vested in the chapter, but even in the mediaeval period it was often interfered with or reduced to a mere form. Thus in the last

years of the fourteenth century the pope gave the deanery to Cardinal Palosius, and on his death before possession, to Cardinal Marini, and complained of the intrusion of William Lullington, and of John Maydenhithe who had exchanged with him.³⁴ In this case, however, although Maydenhithe was compelled to resign temporarily, he made good his position against the papal nominee. But in 1551 the crown ordered the chapter to elect Traheron, and two years later presented Sampson to the dignity without even the form of an election. Queen Mary restored the privilege to the chapter, Elizabeth and Charles I issued mandates for the election of deans, but at the Restoration the appointment was definitely usurped by the crown.³⁵ Occasional references are found to the sub-dean, and the nave of the cathedral, which formed the parish church of St. Peter the Great, was known as the sub-deanery church.

To the precentor, who acted as president of the chapter in the dean's absence, belonged the control and conduct of the singing and services. The chancellor acted as librarian, secretary to the chapter, and schoolmaster, paying special attention to the instruction of the readers in elocution. The care of the church, its lights and ornaments, fell upon the treasurer, for whose direction elaborate instructions concerning the number, size, and position of candles to be used on various occasions were inserted in the statutes. Under him were the two sacrists, with a clerk, and servants to ring the bells, open and shut the doors, and clean the church—the weekly cleaning of the chapter-house, however, was undertaken by the inmates of St. Mary's Hospital.³⁶

The canons were supposed to be resident, absence for more than three weeks in a quarter entailing loss not only of the daily 'commons,' or allowance of food, but also of the extra perquisites of office, including their share of legacies, and of the prebends of deceased canons, which were bestowed half to the fabric of the church and half to canons in residence. As time went on, however, the common fund became too small for the support of a large number, and residence was discouraged by a rule compelling a canon entering on residence to pay 25 marks to the chapter, and the same to the fabric, and rendering compulsory attendance at every service for the whole year, a single omission necessitating a fresh start.³⁷ Finally, in 1574, the number of residentiaries was fixed at four, besides the dean, and their term of residence reduced to three months.³⁸

Every canon was required to provide a perpetual vicar, to whom he was to pay certain fixed 'stall wages,' and whom he was to feed at

²³ *Arch.* xlv, 149.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Curia Regis R.* 72, m. 25.

²⁶ Swainson, No. 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.* No. 26.

²⁸ *Pat.* 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33.

²⁹ Swainson, No. 7.

³⁰ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 190.

³¹ *Arch.* xlv, 149.

³² *Ibid.* 144

³³ Swainson, No. 115.

³⁴ *Cal. Papal Let.* v. 209.

³⁵ *Arch.* xlv, 221.

³⁶ Swainson, No. 85.

³⁷ *Arch.* xlv, 216.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 219.

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his own table. The vicars were also entitled to three pence a week from the common fund and two white loaves and one 'cob' loaf every day, provided they were present at mattins before the end of the last psalm.³⁹ Accordingly, when the dean and chapter leased the 'communa' in 1481, they stipulated⁴⁰ that the lessee should provide daily

sixty white loaves so leavened, cooked and well bolted with the bolting-sieve called a 'coket' as they have been of old, and of clean, dry, pure wheat without admixture of other grain, of which each loaf when baked should be of at least the weight of 55 shillings, and also thirty loaves called 'cobbes.'

The vicars choral were incorporated by charter of 30 December, 1465,⁴¹ by which they were given power to elect a principal and to possess a common seal, and also to hold lands, further licence to acquire lands to the value of 40 marks being granted in 1468.⁴² By the statutes of Bishop Sherborn, drawn up in 1534, the principal was ordered to preside in hall, and to see that the vicars observed the statutes, reporting offenders to the dean and chapter; regulations of the usual type for the maintenance of the decency and dignity of the life of the cathedral community were issued at the same time.⁴³ After the Reformation the vicars-choral were reduced to six or seven, and since 1660 there have been only four, each representing seven canons, and receiving annually £2 16s. 8d.⁴⁴

Although the vicars were chosen largely for their musical abilities, and formed the bulk of the choir, there were also from an early period ten boy choristers, and in 1481 there were twelve such boys, of whom eight were to have high, clear voices, the other four being bigger boys, whose duty it was to carry the censers.⁴⁵ Eight was apparently still their number in 1523, when Bishop Sherborn made arrangements that on his anniversary the chapter should provide the chorister boys with eight glass cups filled with egg and milk, coloured with saffron and sweetened with sugar, with which in one hand and a little loaf and a silver spoon in the other, they were to go to his tomb, and having finished their savoury mess, to say, 'May the soul of Bishop Robert, our benefactor, and the souls of all the faithful dead, by the mercy of God, rest in peace.'⁴⁶ Worthy Bishop Sherborn further augmented the musical staff of the cathedral by founding four lay clerkships, the holders of which were to have good voices, and at least one to be a bass.⁴⁷ Mention of organists is found in various accounts of the

sixteenth century, and 'the grete organs' are mentioned at least as early as 1479.⁴⁸ In 1611 the rather remarkable injunction was given that the organist should remain in the choir until the last psalm be sung, and then go up to the organs, and having done his duty return into the choir again;⁴⁹ and in 1685 the stipend of one of the Sherborn clerks was attached to the office of organist.⁵⁰

In addition to the regular staff of the cathedral there were a number of chaplains serving chantries at the various altars; at the time of the suppression of the chantries these numbered fifteen,⁵¹ but some were no doubt also vicars of the cathedral.

Like several other cathedrals Chichester had its own 'use' or form of service, and St. Richard in 1250 ordered that this use was to be followed throughout the diocese,⁵² but Archbishop Chicheley, who was appointed in 1414, abolished the local use in favour of that of Sarum.⁵³ No specimen of the Chichester use is known to have survived,⁵⁴ nor are any of its features known, except possibly the custom of censuring the host at the moment of elevation, which was done by two acolytes specially maintained by the abbey of Robertsbridge. There was also a curious local custom observed at the Epiphany, by which two vicars used to pass round the choir carrying the symbol of the Holy Spirit and offering it to the dean and then to the canons in turn until some one accepted it, the recipient being bound to present some ornament to the church during the following year.⁵⁵

The life of the cathedral centred mainly upon the shrine of its canonized bishop St. Richard. He was enrolled among the saints, as has already been noticed, in the spring of 1262, and at the same time permission was given to the chapter of Chichester to translate his body to a worthy shrine. Probably owing to the heavy expenses incurred in connexion with his canonization, and to the disturbed state of the realm, culminating soon afterwards in the civil war (in which Bishop Stephen took a prominent part on the side of the barons), no use was made of this permission until 1276, when on 16 June the body was removed from its humble grave by the archbishop, in the presence of the king and a great concourse of nobles and clergy, to the shrine prepared for it.⁵⁶ The head of the saint appears at this time to have been separated from the rest of his body and made an especial object of veneration, as gifts and bequests to 'the head of

³⁹ *Arch.* xlv, 179-89. ⁴⁰ Swainson, No. 188.

⁴¹ Pat. 5 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 24.

⁴² Pat. 8 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 21.

⁴³ Stephens, *Mem.* 333-6.

⁴⁴ Add. MSS. 30266, fol. 66.

⁴⁵ *Arch.* xlv, 183.

⁴⁶ Stephens, *Mem.* 192.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 195.

⁴⁸ Will of W. Jacob; P.C.C. Logge, 93.

⁴⁹ Add. MSS. 30266, fol. 66. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Chant. Cert. No. 50.

⁵² Swainson, No. 70.

⁵³ *Ibid.* No. 153.

⁵⁴ At the visitation in 1403 it was stated that the uses of the cathedral were not committed to writing.

⁵⁵ Swainson, No. 178.

⁵⁶ *Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 285.

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St. Richard' are as numerous as those to his shrine, while his mitre, chalice, and original tomb were also revered.⁵⁷ The shrine itself became an object of more than local fame and was one of the great pilgrimage centres in the south of England, the pilgrims being so numerous and eager on the day of the saint's anniversary, 3 April, that unseemly quarrels frequently arose, and in 1478 Bishop Story ordered that the pilgrims should carry crosses and banners instead of the painted staves which were too easily converted into weapons of offence, and further laid down the order of precedence to be observed by the several parishes.⁵⁸ So great was the fame of the shrine that the cathedral was sometimes called the church of St. Richard.⁵⁹ Its sanctity, however, could not protect the shrine from sacrilegious hands, and in 1280 a thief stole some of the jewels affixed to it, but being unable to smuggle them out of the church hid them under a chest, where they were discovered⁶⁰ by a chance which the pious king considered almost miraculous.⁶¹ Gifts of jewels⁶² and of money continued to flow in for 250 years, and when at last in 1538 Sir William Goring and William Ernely, by the king's orders,⁶³ destroyed this famous shrine, the plunder, if not to be compared with that from Canterbury, St. Albans, or Walsingham, was well worthy of the king's acceptance.⁶⁴

For details of the inner life of the cathedral establishment we are dependent upon such visitations as have survived to us, and these while revealing few offences of any gravity show a general air of laxity pervading the whole. Thus in 1403 chapters were held irregularly; the dean neglected to enforce the statutes; the chancellor was negligent in teaching the choristers and in his care of the cathedral books, and the vicars behaved irreverently during service.⁶⁵ In 1441 many of the vicars were given to not rising for mattins and being absent from other services, or if present not singing; the canons neglected to provide for their vicars, who had to get meals where they best could; the cloisters and graveyard were used for public traffic and a children's playground.⁶⁶ When Bishop Story visited the cathedral in 1478 he found that the dean was lax and neglectful; the revenues were insufficient for the support of the vicars, who consequently failed to attend the services, wandering about the city instead; even

the sacristans omitted to ring the bells and lock the doors.⁶⁷ This state of laxity was unfortunately not one of the abuses done away with at the Reformation, or it would hardly have been necessary for Bishop Harsnett in 1611 to give such orders as that no vicar or clerk should indulge in unseemly talking or gestures or leave the choir during service time, and that any vicar being a drunkard, gamester, or brawler should be deprived after three monitions.⁶⁸ After a visitation in 1616 the chapter issued orders for the better care of their church; the purging of the churchyard of hogs, dogs, and other trespassers; the verger was to clean the cloisters and to 'scourge out the ungracious boys with their tops,' and the principal of the vicars was to keep his subordinates in order.⁶⁹

When Laud's commissioner visited Chichester in June, 1635, he did not find much to correct in the cathedral staff; the choir was well furnished, and though there were no copes they were willing to buy some, only pleading poverty. The fabric was somewhat out of repair, and the churchyard not as well kept as it might be, but the chief failing was in the behaviour of the congregation, and orders were issued against walking and talking during divine service, and against the wearing of hats within the church, for which offence one of the aldermen had to be publicly rebuked.⁷⁰

The story of the wrecking of the cathedral by Waller's troops has already been related; not only was the fabric mutilated, the plate stolen, and the revenues of the bishop and prebendaries confiscated, but even the humbler officials—the vicars, lay and choral—lost their stipends and were driven to petition Parliament in 1643 for means of livelihood.⁷¹ With the Restoration the old state of affairs seems to have been resumed, and the visitations of the eighteenth century reveal the continuance of a slackness and disregard of decency and dignity, in outward matters at least, which was hardly reformed within the memory of many still living.

DEANS OF CHICHESTER ⁷²

Odo, 1115
Richard, 1115
Matthew, 1125
Richard, 1144
John de Greneford, 1150
Jordan de Meleburn, 1176
Seffrid, 1178
Matthew de Chichester, 1180
Nicholas de Aquila, 1190

⁵⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 151.

⁵⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 43b.

⁵⁹ Close, 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 51 d.

⁶⁰ Assize R. 924, m. 26. ⁶¹ Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 23.

⁶² e.g. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 139; xxviii, 55.

⁶³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1049.

⁶⁴ A list of objects obtained is preserved, but no valuation is given. *Ibid.* 1103.

⁶⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 28

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 73.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Story, fol. 68.

⁶⁸ Stephens, *Mem.* 343.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 344.

⁷⁰ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1635, p. xliii.

⁷¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 119.

⁷² From Hennessy, *Chich. Dioc. Clergy Lists*; prior to 1342 the dates are those of earliest occurrence, after that year the date of election is given.

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Seffrid, 1197
 Simon de Perigord, 1220
 Walter, 1230
 Thomas de Lichfield, 1232
 Geoffrey, 1248⁷³
 Walter de Glocestria, 1256
 William de Bracklesham, 1276
 Thomas de Berghstede, 1296
 William de Grenefeld, 1302
 John de Sancto Leopardo, 1307
 Henry de Garland, 1332
 Walter de Segrave, 1342
 William de Lenne, 1349⁷⁴
 Roger de Freton, 1369
 Richard le Scrope, 1383
 William de Lullyngton, 1389
 John de Maydenhithe, 1400
 John Haselee, 1407
 Henry Lovel, 1410
 Richard Talbot, 1415
 William Milton, 1420
 John Patten, or Waynflete, 1425
 John Crutchere, 1429
 John Waynflete, 1478
 John Cloos, 1481
 John Prychard, 1501
 Geoffrey Symson, 1504
 John Young, S.T.P. 1508
 William Fleshmonger, 1526
 Richard Caurden, 1541
 Giles Eyre, S.T.P. 1549
 Bartholomew Traheron, S.T.P. 1551
 Thomas Sampson, S.T.P. 1552
 William Pye, 1553
 Hugh Turnbull, 1558
 Richard Curteis, 1566
 Anthony Rushe, 1570
 Martin Culpepper, M.D. 1577
 William Thorne, 1601
 Francis Dee, 1630
 Richard Steward, 1634
 Bruno Ryves, 1646
 Joseph Henshaw, 1660
 Joseph Gulston, S.T.P. 1663
 Nathaniel, Lord Crew, LL.D. 1669
 Thomas Lambrook, 1671
 George Stradling, S.T.P. 1672
 Francis Hawkins, S.T.P. 1688
 William Hayley, S.T.P. 1699
 Thomas Sherlock, 1715
 John Newey, 1727
 Thomas Hayley, D.D. 1735
 James Hargraves, D.D. 1739
 Sir William Ashburnham, Bart. 1741
 Thomas Ball, A.M. 1754
 Charles Harward, 1770
 Combe Miller, 1790
 Christopher Bethell, 1814
 Samuel Slade, 1824
 George Chandler, D.C.L. 1830
 Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. 1859

⁷³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 43. ⁷⁴ *Cal. Papal Let.* iii, 340.

John William Burgon, D.D. 1875
 Francis Pigou, D.D. 1887
 Richard William Randall, D.D. 1892
 John Julius Hannah, 1902

The common seal of the Dean and Chapter⁷⁵ is of the twelfth century, and is an oblate pointed oval: a church, no doubt intended for the original cathedral; beneath it the inscription:—

TĒPLV̄ IYSTICIE.

In the field above two estoiles of eight points.
 Legend:—

+ SIGILLVM : SANCTE : CICESTRENSIS : ECCLESIE

Reverse. A smaller pointed oval counterseal. Our Saviour seated on a throne of Gothic style under a trefoiled canopy, and lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand an open book. Legend:—

EGO SVM VIA VERITAS ET VITA

The fourteenth-century seal of the Dean and Chapter *ad causas* is a pointed oval: our Saviour lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the mouth a sword; seated on an open throne, with His feet resting on an ornamental corbel. In the field the letters **AW**⁷⁶

S' DECANI . ET CAPITVLI . CICESTRENS'
 [AD CAV]SAS

The following seals of individual deans are known:—

WALTER A.D. 1230, or 1262

Pointed oval: the dean, full-length, holding a book, and standing in a Gothic niche with a canopy and tabernacle work at the sides.⁷⁷

SIGILL' . WALTER[I . DEC]ANI . CICESTRIE

GEOFFREY

Pointed oval: the dean, full-length, holding a book, and standing on a platform under a finely-carved Gothic canopy with tabernacle work at the sides.⁷⁸

SIGILLVM : GALFRIDI : DECANI : CICESTRIE

WILLIAM DE GRENEFELD, A.D. 1296–9

Pointed oval: our Saviour with nimbus, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a book; seated on a throne under an early Gothic canopy. In the field at the sides the heads of SS. Peter and Paul, couped at the neck; below them their respective emblems. In base, under arch, a figure of the dean.⁷⁹

. LL'I : DECANI : E :
 CICESTRENSIS

⁷⁵ Cott. Ch. xii, 80.

⁷⁶ Add. Ch. 18707.

⁷⁷ B.M. lvii, 38.

⁷⁸ Harl. Ch. 83 C. 32.

⁷⁹ B.M. lvii, 39.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

2. THE ABBEY OF BATTLE¹

When William, duke of Normandy, looked from the high ground of Telham Hill upon the forces of King Harold, he vowed that if God gave him the victory he would found a monastery upon the place of battle. Amongst those who heard this vow was a monk of Marmoutier, William called 'the smith,' who when William had obtained the crown of England urged him to fulfil his promise; the king willingly agreed and entrusted William with the execution of his design. The monk, therefore, brought over from Marmoutier four of his brethren, but as the actual site of the battle seemed to them unsuitable for a great monastery, they began to build on the lower ground to the west. When the Conqueror heard of this he angrily insisted that the foundations should rest upon the very spot where he had achieved his victory, and upon the monks pleading a scarcity of water he replied, 'If God spare my life I will so amply provide for this place that wine shall be more abundant here than water is in any other great abbey.'² The further complaint of lack of building stone was met by the king's undertaking to provide stone from Caen, but a quarry was actually found close to the site of the abbey. The Conqueror at the same time bestowed upon his new foundation all the land within a radius of a league (1½ miles), the valuable estate of Alciston in Sussex, the royal manor of Wye in Kent with its member of Dungenmarsh on the coast, Limpsfield in Surrey, Hoo in Essex, Brightwalton in Berkshire, Crowmarsh in Oxfordshire, churches in Reading, Cullompton (Devon), and St. Olave's, Exeter.³ For various reasons, however, building progressed slowly, and it was not until 1076 that things were sufficiently advanced for an abbot to be appointed.⁴ Robert Blancard, one of the four monks who had first come over, was elected, but on his way back from Marmoutier he was drowned. Accordingly William 'the smith' was sent to Marmoutier to fetch Gausbert, who came with four of his brethren and was consecrated abbot of St. Martin's of the place of Battle.⁵

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 233-58; Cott. MS. Domit. A, ii—translated by M. A. Lower and published in 1851 as *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*—this MS. is imperfect, but goes down to the year 1176. The splendid collection of original deeds relating to the abbey, now in the Philipps Library at Cheltenham, was catalogued by Thorpe in 1835. Two chartularies are in the P.R.O. and a third in Lincoln's Inn. *The Custumal of Battle Abbey*, published by the Camden Soc. is of great economic interest.

² Lower, *Chron. of Battle Abbey*, 10.

³ Ibid. 35. ⁴ Ibid. 11. ⁵ Ibid. 12.

At first Stigand, bishop of Chichester, endeavoured to compel Abbot Gausbert to come to Chichester for consecration, but the king commanded that the consecration should be in the abbey church, and further ordered that the bishop and his attendants should not even have lodging or food within the monastery that day, to show the complete exemption of the abbey from episcopal jurisdiction.⁶ The privileges granted to Battle⁷ were indeed more remarkable than the extent of its endowments: within the Lowey (a circle of 1½ miles radius round the abbey) the abbot was absolute; neither bishop nor royal officer could interfere there, danegeld and other dues were not levied. When the abbot was summoned to attend the king's court he was to have an allowance of food, wine, and wax candles for himself and two monks, and his attendance was further simplified by the grant of a residence in London and in Winchester; but perhaps the most striking privilege was that the abbot when passing through the king's forests might kill and take one or two beasts with his dogs.

The remoteness of the abbey's estates in Exeter and Cullompton necessitated one of the brethren residing there to manage them, and it was soon found advisable to convert St. Olave's into a cell (dedicated in honour of St. Nicholas),⁸ and the same course was followed with the church and estates given them in Brecknock.⁹

When the Conqueror died he bequeathed to his votive abbey his royal embroidered cloak, a splendid collection of relics, and a portable altar containing relics, probably the identical one on which Harold had sworn his famous oath.¹⁰ Rufus further added the monastery of Bromham in Wiltshire, and in February, 1095, when at last the abbey church was consecrated in the presence of the king, the primate, and seven bishops, gave nine churches and twelve dependent chapels in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.¹¹ Though the abbey had thus a considerable number of churches in its gift its Sussex patronage was surprisingly small, consisting only of Alciston with the chapel of Lullington, until in Henry I's reign Wening, by permission of William son of Wibert, added the church of Westfield with a wist of land and the remarkable accessory of a pit for the ordeal by water.¹² The church of Icklesham was given by Nicholas Haringod in 1226,¹³ and the chapel of Whatlington by Simon de Echingham.¹⁴

The temporalities of Battle were swollen by

⁶ Ibid. 30. ⁷ Ibid. 27, 28. ⁸ Ibid. 36. ⁹ Ibid. 38.

¹⁰ Ibid. 41.

¹¹ Ibid. 45.

¹² Ibid. 59.

¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxii, 106.

¹⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 18.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

gifts and still more by purchase, and also by exchange, for Henry I, wishing to found a monastery at Reading, gave the abbot of Battle in exchange for his Reading estate the manors of Funtington and Appledram near Chichester. By 1291 the property of the monks was valued at £528 10s., of which £211 came from Sussex.¹⁵ In 1535 the gross income of the abbey was £987, the clear value being £880 14s. 7½d.¹⁶

Abbot Gausbert having died in July, 1095, some four months after the consecration of the abbey church, the monks applied to the king for leave to elect a fresh head, who should be taken, in accordance with their foundation charter, from their own number.¹⁷ William, however, delayed for some time, and at last by the advice of Archbishop Anselm promoted Henry, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, to the abbacy in June, 1096. He, though a truly religious man, took the unfortunate step of allowing Bishop Ralph to compel him to go to Chichester for consecration.¹⁸ After the death of Abbot Henry in 1102 the abbey was put under the control of various clerks appointed by the king, the most important being Geoffrey, a monk of St. Carileff, an able business man though unlearned, and Gunter, formerly a monk of Battle but then abbot of Thorney.¹⁹ At last in 1107 King Henry appointed Ralph, a monk of Caen and prior of Rochester, to the long-vacant abbacy. He proved a ruler as prudent as pious, and under him the buildings of the abbey, its possessions, and its good fame alike grew, while excellent relations were established with his namesake the venerable bishop of Chichester, who expressly proclaimed the exemption of the abbey and parish church of Battle from episcopal control.²⁰ At last, in 1124, at the age of eighty-four, this most worthy abbot died,²¹ and was succeeded by Warner, a monk of Canterbury, who proved an able administrator, and duly upheld the privileges of his abbey against Seffrid, bishop of Chichester, even to the extent of refusing hospitality when it was demanded as a right instead of as a favour.²² Warner, however, offended King Stephen in some way, and found it prudent to resign his abbacy and retire to the priory of Lewes. In January, 1139, Walter, brother of the great Richard de Lucy, became abbot of Battle.²³ Thanks to his powerful connexions and his own ability he was able to advance the prosperity of his monastery, recovering much land that had been misappropriated, and obtaining from Henry II the confirmation of the abbey's charters though bitterly opposed by the archbishop of Canterbury and Hilary, bishop of Chichester.²⁴ Against the latter haughty prelate's claims he waged a deter-

mined and eventually successful battle.²⁵ Upon his death in 1171 his brother Richard de Lucy placed the control of the abbey in the hands of Sir Peter de Criel and Hugh de Beche, who managed its affairs with prudence during the four years' vacancy that ensued.²⁶

At last, in 1175, the king decided to fill up the vacant abbeys, and summoned a deputation of the monks of Battle to attend at Woodstock; neither of their nominees, however, proved acceptable, nor was the king willing to give them time to consult their convent; they therefore fixed upon Odo, prior of Canterbury, a man of great piety and learning, who chanced to be at the court for the purpose of examining the charters of Battle as precedents for the renewal of those of his own priory, which had lately been consumed by fire. The king and archbishop accepted this nomination, but Odo himself absolutely refused the honour, appealing to the pope and even offering to resign his priorship sooner than become abbot; but at last, fearing that he might be refusing the call of God, he unwillingly agreed, subject to the consent of his convent. Again the bishop of Chichester tried to interfere, but this time the consecration was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury at South Malling.²⁷ Odo soon proved that his reputation alike for sanctity and wisdom was well deserved, and in 1184 he was chosen for the vacant primacy of Canterbury, but was rejected by the king.²⁸ During the long and bitter struggle between Archbishop Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury, Odo played a prominent part, acting on the pope's behalf against the primate.²⁹ In March 1200 this saintly abbot died, leaving behind him two works, on the Psalms and the Book of Kings, which were still treasured in the library at the dissolution, when Leland noted their existence. Another monk of Canterbury, John of Dover, succeeded Odo. During his rule the abbey was four times visited by King John, who on one occasion gave to it a fragment of the Holy Sepulchre brought from Palestine by King Richard; he also granted a charter giving the monks the custody of the abbey during vacancy, and it was while here in 1213 that he annulled his previous sentences of outlawry against certain ecclesiastics and undertook never again to outlaw clerks.³⁰

When the English prelates made their protest to the king against the extortion of the pope in 1240, Ralph, abbot of Battle, was one of their spokesmen,³¹ but we hear little more of the abbey until 1264, when Henry III, on his way to meet the baronial troops, repaid the monks' hospitality

¹⁵ *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), *passim*.

¹⁶ *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 438.

¹⁷ Lower, *Chron. of Battle Abbey*, 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 48. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* 52-7. ²⁰ *Ibid.* 63.

²¹ *Ibid.* 66. ²² *Ibid.* 70. ²³ *Ibid.* 72. ²⁴ *Ibid.* 80-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 86-115.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 153.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 162-77.

²⁸ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 310.

²⁹ *Epist. Cantuar.* (Rolls Ser.), *passim*.

³⁰ Pat. 15 John, m. 11.

³¹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 17.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

with robbery and plunder; King Henry had visited the abbey in 1225, and his successor, Edward I, was there in 1276 and 1302, and Edward II in 1324. Licence was obtained in 1338 for the erection of an embattled wall round the abbey precincts,³² but whatever protection this may have afforded against more tangible enemies it could not keep out the terrible Black Death, which wrought great havoc here in 1350, the abbot falling a victim and the material prosperity of the house being greatly injured.³³

Hamo de Offynton, who was elected early in 1364, was a man of considerable character; one of his first acts appears to have been the exercise of one of the most remarkable privileges of his position, for, meeting on his way to London a felon condemned to death by the king's court, he liberated him, establishing from his charters his right to do so, though his action was much disapproved by the king and his nobles.³⁴ In 1375 he was appointed visitor of the Benedictine monasteries in the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, but was foiled in his attempt to visit the cathedral priory of Canterbury.³⁵ Two years later he gained immortal fame by his gallant defence of Winchelsea against the French,³⁶ so that upon the occasion of his sudden death while administering the mass in 1382, he is described as 'sub habitu monachico belliger insignis.'³⁷ Though the most distinguished, Hamo was not the first abbot to display a military patriotism, as in 1338 we find the abbot of Battle excused from finding men to guard the coast line from his manor of Wye because he had caused all his servants, and others as well, to be arrayed and patrol the coast near Winchelsea.³⁸

The Conqueror is said to have intended to place in his votive abbey at least sixty monks and further to increase their number up to seven score, but how far his intention was carried out is not known. In 1393 there appear to have been twenty-seven brethren,³⁹ exclusive of the officials, who were probably about six in number, and in 1404 after the death of Abbot Lydbury, the prior and thirty brethren (exclusive of the representatives of their cells of Exeter and Brecknock) took part in the election.⁴⁰ The numbers, however, seem to have been temporarily reduced not long after this by a devastating attack of plague, for at the Benedictine chapter at Northampton in 1423 the proctor of the abbey of Battle was a monk of Rochester, who explained that he had been appointed by them

to visit the houses of the order in Kent and Sussex, because, since the last chapter, at which the abbot of Battle was appointed visitor, very many of the monks at Battle had died, and those that remained were but newly professed and not suitable for the work of visitation.⁴¹ At the same time the abbot of Reading said that he had visited Battle and found the state of religion there satisfactory. Another visitation was made by Archbishop Warham, when nothing appears to have been found amiss. There were present on this occasion the abbot, prior, cellarer, preceptor (*sic*), sacrist, and sixteen brethren, one other was lying in the infirmary and another was on a pilgrimage to Rome.⁴² An election was held in 1490 by the prior and thirty brethren,⁴³ but at the time of the dissolution there were only seventeen monks and a novice besides the abbot. In accordance with the rules of the order, the abbey was obliged to support at least one of its members as a scholar at the university, and in 1393 we find £10 paid to a scholar studying at Oxford,⁴⁴ while in 1502 several small sums were expended in connexion with the two 'scholars of this monastery,' half a mark being given 'to the warden of Canterbury College in Oxford, to show his goodwill to our brethren studying there.'⁴⁵

During his visitation of the southern monasteries in October, 1535, Richard Layton came here and declared to Cromwell that the abbot and all but two or three of his monks were guilty of unnatural crimes and traitors, further terming the abbot 'the veriest hayne betle and buserde' and the arrantest churl, adding the sweeping condemnation, 'the black sort of devilish monks, I am sorry to know, are past amendment.'⁴⁶ His master, however, knew what value to attach to his words, and Battle continued its existence as one of the 'great solemn monasteries where (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed,' the abbot remaining undisturbed until 27 May, 1538, when he surrendered the house⁴⁷ on a pension of £100,⁴⁸ which he enjoyed for some years, making his last will in December, 1546.⁴⁹ Sir John Gage reported to Cromwell that the furniture and vestments were very poor,⁵⁰ his associate Layton expressing himself with more vigour in a letter to Wriothesley:—

So beggary a house I never see, nor so filthy stuff. I will not 20s. for all the hangings in this house, as the bearer can tell you. The revestry is the worst

³² Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28.

³³ *Cal. Papal Pet.* 202.

³⁴ *Chron. Anglie* (Rolls Ser.), 54.

³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 339.

³⁶ *Chron. Anglie* (Rolls Ser.), 167.

³⁷ Higden, *Polychron.* (Rolls Ser.), ix, 17.

³⁸ Close, 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 33.

³⁹ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1251, No. 1.

⁴⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 83.

⁴¹ Reyner, *Hist. Ord. S. Bened.* App. 173.

⁴² Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Warham, fol. 253.

⁴³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 87.

⁴⁴ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1251, No. 1.

⁴⁵ Mins. Accts. Hen. VII, No. 861.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 632.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* xiii (1), 1083.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 65.

⁵⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1084.



BOXGROVE PRIORY
(*Obverse*)



SELE PRIORY
(ELEVENTH CENTURY)



BOXGROVE PRIORY
(*Reverse*)



BATTLE ABBEY



JOHN (?),
ABBOT OF BATTLE



SELE PRIORY
(FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

and poorest that is. There is one cope of crimson velvet somewhat embroidered, one of green velvet embroidered, and two of blue rusty and soiled. If you wish any of these send me word and you shall have the best, but so many evil I never see, the stuff is like the persons.⁶¹

The plate was valued at 400 marks, and although no details are given, it no doubt resembled that fully catalogued in 1420,⁶² of which the most interesting items were the six 'magnifici Haraldi de mirra,' presumably once the property of the last Saxon king of England. The Conqueror's cloak is said to have been removed, with that most famous of genealogical frauds, 'the Battle Abbey Roll,' to Cowdray by Sir Anthony Browne, to whom the site of the abbey was granted in August, 1538.⁶³

The last scene in the history of the convent took place in 1557 when Thomas Twisden, *alias* Bede, did penance and sought rehabilitation because that after the dissolution of the abbey of Battle, where he had made his profession, he left his order without papal licence and assumed the status of a secular clerk, and, assenting to the pernicious schism, received houses and property belonging to the monastery. It was decreed that these goods so received should, after the death of Thomas, be applied to the use of the monastery of Battle or to some other religious use,⁶⁴ but before a year had passed Elizabeth had ascended the throne, and all chance of reviving the abbey of Battle had departed.

ABBOTS OF BATTLE

Robert Blancard, appointed 1076, drowned same year⁶⁵
 Gausbert, appointed 1076, died 1095⁶⁶
 Henry, elected 1096,⁶⁷ died 1102⁶⁸
 Ralph, elected 1107,⁶⁹ died 1124⁶⁰
 Warner, elected 1125,⁶¹ resigned 1138⁶²
 Walter de Lucy, elected 1139,⁶³ died 1171⁶⁴
 Odo, elected 1175,⁶⁵ died 1200⁶⁶
 John de Dubra, elected 1200⁶⁷
 Richard, elected 1215,⁶⁸ died 1235⁶⁹
 Ralph de Covintre, elected 1235⁶⁹
 Reginald, elected 1261,⁷⁰ resigned 1281⁷¹

⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1085.

⁶² Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon.* 11-13.

⁶³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 249 (8).

⁶⁴ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Pole, fol. 25.

⁶⁵ *Chron.* 12. ⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 46.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 47. ⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 52.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 57. ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 66.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 67. ⁶² *Ibid.* 71.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 72. ⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 151.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 162. ⁶⁶ *Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.)*, ii, 73.

⁶⁷ Pat. 16 John, m. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.)*, i, 99.

⁶⁹ Pat. 20 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁷⁰ Lower, *Chron.* 200.

⁷¹ Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 22.

Henry de Aylesford, elected 1281,⁷² died 1297⁷³

John de Taneto, elected 1298,⁷⁴ resigned 1308⁷⁵

John de Whatlington, elected 1308,⁷⁶ died 1311⁷⁷

John de Nortburne, elected 1311,⁷⁸ resigned 1318⁷⁹

John de Pevense, elected 1318,⁸⁰ died 1324⁸¹

Alan de Retlyng, elected 1324,⁸² died 1350.⁸³

Robert de Bello, elected 1351, died 1364

Hamo de Offynton, elected 1364, died 1383⁸⁴

John Crane, elected 1383⁸⁵

John Lydbury, elected 1398, died 1404⁸⁶

William Merssh, elected 1405,⁸⁷ died 1417

Thomas de Ludlow, elected 1417, resigned 1435

William Waller, elected 1435, died 1437

Richard Dertmouth, elected 1437, occurs 1462⁸⁸

John Newton, elected 1463,⁸⁹ died 1490⁹⁰

Richard Tovy, elected 1490,⁹¹ died 1503

William Westfield, elected 1503, died 1508⁹²

Lawrence Champion, elected 1508,⁹³ died 1529⁹⁴

John Hamond, elected 1529,⁹⁵ last abbot

The first seal depicts the abbey church from the north with central tower, chapels, and arcaded walls, the details of the roof and arches of the nave being clearly shown. Under the central arch the abbot seated, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand pastoral staff. In base an arcade.⁹⁶ Legend destroyed.

The second seal, of the early thirteenth century, also shows the abbey church, with central tower, four side towers, western doorway, and arcaded clerestories. On each of the two highest turrets a flag.⁹⁷ Legend:—

[S]IGILLVM : CONVENT[VS : SANCT]I : MARTINI : DE
 BEL[LO]

⁷² Pat. 9, Edw. I, m. 19.

⁷³ Pat. 26 Edw. I, m. 31.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* m. 30.

⁷⁵ Pat. 1 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* m. 24.

⁷⁷ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* m. 10.

⁷⁹ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 33.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* m. 28.

⁸¹ Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 4. Here called 'Roger.'

⁸² *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 25.

⁸³ This and the other dates without references are given on the authority of Lower's list at the end of the *Chron.*

⁸⁴ Pat. 6, Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* m. 7.

⁸⁶ Pat. 6. Hen. IV. pt. i, m. 18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* m. 16.

⁸⁸ Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 15.

⁸⁹ Pat. 3 Edw. IV. pt. i, m. 12.

⁹⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 87.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Thorpe, *Catal.* 133.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5934.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ L.F.C. vii, 4.

⁹⁷ L.F.C. xxvii, 6 ; cf. Dugdale, *Mon.* iii, 238.

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ABBOT ODO

A pointed oval counterseal. The abbot on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.⁹⁸

Legend :—

SIGILLVM . ODONIS . GRĀ . DEI . ABBATIS . SĪ .
MARTINI . DE . BELLO

ABBOT RICHARD

A small pointed oval counterseal. The abbot, full-length, on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.⁹⁹

Legend :—

. R A . A SĪ . MARTINI . DE .
BELLO

ABBOT REGINALD

A pointed oval counterseal. The abbot, on a corbel, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. The background diapered lozengy with a reticulated pattern.¹⁰⁰

Legend :—

. I A : ABB

ABBOT WALTER DE LUCY

Pointed oval. The abbot seated on a chair-like throne, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.¹⁰¹

Legend :—

. ILLV SĪ MAR BELLO.

3. THE PRIORY OF BOXGROVE¹⁰²

The priory of the Blessed Virgin and St. Blaise of Boxgrove was founded by Robert de Haye, to whom Henry I had granted the honour of Halnaker, and who in 1105 bestowed upon the abbey of Lessay the church of St. Mary of Boxgrove, with 2½ hides of land around it and tithes, timber, and pasture, in the parish, as well as the churches of St. Peter of West Hampnett, St. Leger of Hunston, Birdham, Walberton, St. Mary of Barnham, St. Catherine of 'Henitone' on the Thames, and Belton in Lincolnshire, the tithes of Todham in Easebourne, and the measure of corn called 'chorchet' or church scot from all his manors.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ L.F.C. vii, 4.

⁹⁹ L.F.C. xxvii, 2.

¹⁰⁰ L.F.C. xxiii, 16.

¹⁰¹ L.F.C. xxii, 13.

¹⁰² Cott. MS. Claud. A. vi, is a chartulary of this house; see also Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 641-50; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 183-222.

¹⁰³ *Cal. Doc. France*, 328-9; Chartul. fol. 16.

The mention in Domesday of 'the clerks of the church' may be taken to show the existence at that date of a small college of secular canons at Boxgrove. Upon the subordination of the church to Lessay they were doubtless replaced by monks, of whom there were at first only three, but whose numbers were increased to six upon the occasion of the marriage of Cecily, daughter and heiress of Robert de Haye, to Roger St. John. William son of Roger St. John increased the endowment of the priory sufficiently to allow of thirteen monks being maintained, and subsequently added a gift of tithes in Kipston and Strettington to raise the number to fifteen. He also confirmed his ancestor's gifts in 1187, and made agreement with the abbot and convent of Lessay that they should maintain the priory honourably, and not remove the prior so long as he should live honestly, and that the prior should have power to fill up vacancies by receiving monks, who should, however, make their profession to the abbot. The abbot retained the power of withdrawing from the priory any monk likely to be of use to the mother house, unless he held the office of sub-prior or cellarer.¹⁰⁴

Robert brother of William St. John granted to the priory lands in Barnham and Walberton to support a sixteenth monk, and arranged that one of the brethren should act as chaplain in his house of Halnaker, receiving his board in the house during Robert's residence there, and returning to the priory when he was absent. The number of monks continued to increase, and about 1230 William de Kainesham, canon of Chichester, added a nineteenth.¹⁰⁵ Many other local magnates and landowners made grants to the monastery, and in 1291 the temporalities of the prior of Boxgrove were valued at £23 16s. 5d., exclusive of £5 10s. for the manor of Merrow in Surrey,¹⁰⁶ which had been acquired of Simon de Seintlyz in the time of Richard I without royal licence, for which omission Edward III graciously pardoned the convent in 1345 on payment of 100 shillings.¹⁰⁷ By 1535 the priory's possessions were worth £185 19s. 8d. gross, and £145 10s. 2½d. clear.¹⁰⁸

Of the churches already mentioned as granted by Robert de Haye, those of St. Catherine and Belton do not appear in the confirmation charter of Hilary, bishop of Chichester (1145-69), which however mentions the church of St. Nicholas of Itchenor. Belton reappears in the charter of William St. John in 1187 but is not referred to again, and afterwards became the seat of a nunnery. William St. John added the church of Mundham to his other gifts, and in 1189

¹⁰⁴ *Cal. Doc. France*, 331-2.

¹⁰⁵ Chartul. fol. 110.

¹⁰⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 139, 207.

¹⁰⁷ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹⁰⁸ *Val. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 304.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

William earl of Arundel made a grant of the church of Bilsington in Kent, which was transferred by the priory to the canons of Bilsington in 1226, a rent of ten marks being reserved. In 1344 William de Langeton obtained leave to alienate to Boxgrove Priory lands in North Mundham on the condition that they should provide a chaplain to celebrate daily at the altar of St. Lawrence in Chichester Cathedral for the soul of John de Langeton, the late bishop.¹⁰⁹

As an alien house Boxgrove was liable to be seized into the king's hands during war with France, and in 1337 the prior was ordered to pay a fine of £60 as well as an annual payment of £30 for the custody of his house.¹¹⁰ The monks, however, obtained respite of these payments on the plea that they were all English and had always the right of electing one of their number to be prior, and that their priory had never been seized until the time of the present prior, who was an alien appointed by the pope, John XXII.¹¹¹ Upon inquiry it was found that the priory had only been seized once before, in 1324, and accordingly the king remitted the charges made and restored the temporalities to the prior. It was, however, again seized by Richard II, who at last in 1383 restored the temporalities and confirmed the decision of 1339 affirming the independence of Boxgrove,¹¹² which was further confirmed by the popes in 1402 and 1413. By the decree of the former date it was granted that the prior might in future receive the profession of all postulants in the priory, and that the convent might elect their prior and nominate him to their patron for presentation to the bishop, independently of the mother house of Lessay which was 'in the hands of schismatics and enemies of the realm.'¹¹³ The papal decree of 1413 simply repeats this concession and confirms the profession made by five monks to the prior.¹¹⁴

A letter exists from Seffrid, bishop of Chichester, to the abbot and convent of Lessay announcing that he had duly instituted their monk, Brother G., to the office of prior of Boxgrove as they had requested, and praying that his rule might be blessed.¹¹⁵ This was probably Seffrid I (1125-45), but if it was the second of that name (1180-1204) his benevolent hopes would seem to have been disappointed, for Bishop Simon (1204-7) after visiting the priory at the abbot's request sent no good report of the house. He found some of the brethren quarrelsome and contentious, others had been long in the priory and even held office without having made their profession, and some were under his sentence of

excommunication. With the assent of the prior, whom he believed to be an honest and faithful man, he had taken steps to remedy these faults, and to ensure the obedience of the monks to the abbey and the prior.¹¹⁶

At the end of the thirteenth century the abbey of Lessay endeavoured to interfere with the priory's right of election and sent a monk of their own, Ralph de Dumo, to occupy the post of prior. The bishop of Chichester refused to admit him, but confirmed the election of Robert, a monk of Boxgrove. Appeals were made to Popes John XXI (1276-7), Nicholas III (1277-81), Martin IV (1281-5), and in 1286 to Honorius IV,¹¹⁷ all of whom appointed persons to hear the case. Meanwhile Robert had resigned, as had his successor William. John of Winchester, the next prior elected by the monks of Boxgrove, was in 1283 found guilty of incontinency, and first fined by the bishop of Chichester, and then, on the protest of Archbishop Peckham that such punishment was both uncanonical and unjust to the convent, who would have to pay the fine, removed from office and sent to do penance at Battle Abbey, whence he returned in March, 1284.¹¹⁸ Thomas, who succeeded on John's deprivation, was prior when Pope Honorius appointed the prior of Arundel and dean of Chichester to hear the case between Lessay and Boxgrove in January, 1286, and still retained office at least as late as 1288.

Boxgrove was visited in 1275 by the archbishop, who as a result issued a series of injunctions. Several of these deal with the eating of flesh, which was only permitted under strict conditions, nor was any monk to give away part of his allowance of food to the boys or others. Discussions in the cloisters were to be abandoned except such as led to better life and knowledge, all frivolous and taunting words being set aside. Also the room next the refectory was not to be used for idle enjoyment lest that room which was called 'misericordia' should become 'judicium.' The use of brown robes and hoods was forbidden, and regulations as to the admission of women were given, great ladies with retainers being allowed to lodge in the priory, but other women being kept to the outer church, or, if admitted to offer at the high altar, obliged to dispatch their business quickly and not speak to the monks. Orders were given to avoid all cause of suspicion in connexion with the granary barn, and that the brother serving at Halnaker chapel should not turn aside on his way except for stress of weather. These injunctions were found to have been disregarded in 1299 and were restated with certain additions, the prior being further enjoined to fill up four vacancies amongst the brethren.¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

¹¹⁰ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 36.

¹¹¹ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 23 d.

¹¹² Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 14.

¹¹³ *Cal. Papal Let.* v, 471.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* vi, 441.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. Doc. France*, 332.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 332-3. ¹¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* i, 483.

¹¹⁸ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 553, 574, 682.

¹¹⁹ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey*, fol. 76b.

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In 1409 a dispute between the priory and the vicar of Boxgrove was settled by the bishop of Chichester, who decided that all oblations of the church not specially assigned to the vicarage by the deed of ordination belonged to the monks; that the vicar ought to advance the interest of the convent to the best of his ability, and to walk in procession with the monks, having a special place assigned him by the prior, and also to assist them in the performance of divine service, being given a stall in the choir as a mark of respect.

At this time the affairs of the convent would seem to have been in a bad state, as in 1410 the prior and brethren made over to the bishop and other trustees, including Thomas Chaworthe the prior's brother, all their movable goods with full power to dispose of them by gift or sale.¹²⁰ Presumably this assignment was made with the view either of avoiding distraint or of liquidating their debts. However this may be, when Bishop Story visited the priory in 1478 the prior and nine brethren then resident stated that the house and all things connected with it were in a good state, and had not been so satisfactory for the last forty years.¹²¹

As a result of a visitation held in July 1518, Bishop Sherborn issued a series of injunctions to the prior and convent of Boxgrove.¹²² The first thirteen heads of these appear to be general rules of conduct and were addressed also to the priories of Tortington, Hardham, Shulbred, Michelham, and Hastings. They enjoin the maintenance of the full number of monks; the appointment of a master of the novices; the regulation of dress, diet, and employment, an order being given that the brethren should have gardens in which to work and refresh themselves; the exercise of hospitality; behaviour in the refectory, the care of the dormitory, which should be well lighted and cleaned, and the custody of the common seal under three keys. The remaining injunctions seem to have been addressed to the particular prior of the time. He was ordered to keep his accounts more regularly, not to maintain unnecessary servants, and to see that the women employed in the laundry and dairy work were above suspicion. The prior was further enjoined that, whereas he was noted as an archer and wasted his time in shooting matches even outside the priory with laymen, he is in future not to indulge in such matches outside the priory, and if he desire such recreation to restrict it to the private grounds of the monastery; also as 'it is not good to take the bread of our children and give it to the dogs to eat' he shall not keep any dogs, birds, or hawks, but bestow the fragments upon the poor. Moreover he is to see that his brethren do not play

cards, dice, or hunt, and to prevent drinking and gossiping in the church or cemetery on the occasion of funerals. But that which most rouses the horror of the bishop, so that he can hardly believe it to be true, is a report that some of the monks wear boots with turned-down tops (*caligis diploidibus*) and tied with many laces. Finally he concludes with the stern words:—

Also, because it is ascertained that the honour of the order, its rules, constitutions, ceremonies, and other observances have long passed away into disuse among you, not without your great peril, my lord prior, we enjoin you by the bond of obedience, diligently and effectually to watch . . . so that in reward for your burdens you may be esteemed as a good shepherd in the sharp and terrible day of judgement.

Considerable improvement appears to have occurred in the state of the priory before the next visitation in 1524, when the only irregularities noted were the absence of an instructor in grammar and the fact that the cellarer was a layman.¹²³ At the last recorded visitation, that of 1527, the prior, six brethren, and five novices, appeared and reported that all was well, the priory in fair repair and free from debt, and the monks virtuous and religious.¹²⁴ Unless then the monks had perjured themselves, or their decadence was rapid, we may treat as a gross libel the suggestion in the letter which Layton, who visited the priory in the autumn of 1535, wrote to Cromwell¹²⁵:—'This bringer the prior of Boxgrave "habet tantum duas." He is a great husband and keepeth great hospitality. "Ejus monachi omnes sunt ejusdem farinae." His lands is £100.'

A letter written to Cromwell at the same time by Lord De La Warr,¹²⁶ patron of the priory, speaks in favour of the prior and sets out his great losses and expenses. Within the last four years the house had been robbed of jewels to the value of £80, and this very year not only had they had the expense of making five new bells for the church, but a novice had stolen 100 marks of the money for which the prior, as collector of the clerical subsidy, was responsible. Lord De La Warr wrote again to Cromwell in March, 1536, begging that the priory of Boxgrove, where many of his ancestors lay buried, and he himself had prepared 'a poor chapel to be buried in,' might be spared, or at least transformed into a college, but that if that might not be, he might at least have the farm of it. He further petitioned, when its dissolution had been definitely decided upon, that (1) the church might be left unspoiled as the parish church; this seems to have been so far granted that the choir, which formed the monastic church, was retained as the parish church, the parochial nave being pulled

¹²⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 52.

¹²¹ Ibid. Story, fol. 23.

¹²² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 61–6.

¹²³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 92.

¹²⁴ Ibid. fol. 100.

¹²⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 509. ¹²⁶ Ibid. 530.

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down; (2) that he might buy the church ornaments; these are recorded as sold for £23 13s. 2d. to 'divers persons,' this being exclusive of 339 ounces of silver, mostly gilt, reserved for the king's use¹²⁷; (3) that the bells might be left; three of the bells were sold to Lord La De Warr for £25 6s. 8d.¹²⁸; (4) that the 'founders' lodging' might stand, and (5) that he might have the demesnes to farm. John Mores, reporting the completion of the work of dissolution on 26 March, 1537, tells Cromwell that, thanks to Lord De La Warr, the king has received greater profit from Boxgrove than from any other house in Sussex.¹²⁹

At the time of the suppression there were in the priory eight priests and one novice, as well as twenty-eight servants and eight children.¹³⁰ The latter item evidently implies the existence of a school, and the monastery would seem also to have played the part of an almshouse, for there were six poor persons, *ibidem inhabitantes*, receiving a farthing each daily in accordance with the ancient statutes of the house.¹³¹ Altogether the fall of Boxgrove Priory is a good example of the injury done in many cases to the cause of charity and education in the dissolution of the religious houses.

PRIORS OF BOXGROVE¹³²

Adingar, occurs 1117
 Godfrey
 Ralph, occurs 1179¹³³
 Nicholas, occurs 1200
 Ralph, occurs 1214
 Robert, occurs 1215
 Ansketill, occurs 1217
 Walter, occurs 1230
 Ansketill, occurs 1232 and 1249¹³⁴
 Walter, occurs 1256,¹³⁵ 1257
 Simon, occurs 1258
 Walter, occurs 1271¹³⁶
 Ralph de Dumo, intruded, c. 1275¹³⁷
 Robert, elected, c. 1275,¹³⁷ occurs 1280¹³⁸
 William, resigned c. 1281¹³⁷
 John of Winchester, deposed 1283¹³⁹
 Thomas, elected 1283,¹³⁷ occurs 1288¹⁴⁰
 Thomas, occurs 1298¹⁴¹ and 1303¹⁴²

¹²⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 59. ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 747.

¹³⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 65.

¹³¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 304.

¹³² List in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 121, from the Char-
 tulary, when other references are not given.

¹³³ *Bruton Chartul.* (Somers. Rec. Soc.), 339.

¹³⁴ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 451.

¹³⁵ *Feet of F.* Suss. 40 Hen. III.

¹³⁶ *Assize R.* 913, m. 1 d. ¹³⁷ See above.

¹³⁸ *Feet of F.* Suss. 8 Edw. I.

¹³⁹ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 553.

¹⁴⁰ *Assize R.* 924, m. 78. ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1312, m. 21.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 1329, m. 31.

Laurence de Gloucestre,¹⁴³ occurs 1310¹⁴⁴—19¹⁴⁵

John, occurs 1323¹⁴⁶

Robert atte Strode, elected 1328¹⁴⁷

Walter, occurs 1330

John de Wareng, occurs 1339,¹⁴⁸ died 1348

Nicholas de Stanlygh, elected 1348¹⁴⁹

Richard Boneham, occurs 1355¹⁵⁰

John de Londa, occurs 1376,¹⁵¹ 1383¹⁵²

Walter Marshall¹⁵³

John Chaworthe, elected 1398,¹⁵⁴ died 1409

John Rykeman, appointed 1409¹⁵⁵

John, occurs 1421¹⁵⁶

John Costune, died 1438¹⁵⁷

Robert Chamberlayn, elected 1438¹⁵⁸

John Joye, occurs 1465,¹⁵⁹ died 1485

Richard Chese, elected 1485¹⁶⁰

John Peccam, occurs 1510¹⁶¹

Thomas Myles, occurs 1524,¹⁶² surrendered
 1536¹⁶³

The first seal, of the twelfth century, is a pointed oval: The Virgin, seated on a church-like throne, the Child on her right knee. At each side a small finial turret, on which is a bird.¹⁶⁴ Legend indistinct.

The second, thirteenth century, seal is of great artistic merit. *Obverse*—Pointed oval: The priory church; under the central tower of three pinnacles, the Annunciation in two trefoiled niches; above, in a triangular pediment with trefoiled opening, our Lord half-length, lifting up the right hand in benediction; in the side niches on each side a monk, half-length; above, a quatrefoiled panel. In base, in a lozenge-shaped panel, with quatrefoiled opening, the head of St. Blaise. Legend:—

SIGILL' : ECCLE'E : S̄CE : MARIE : S̄CIQ : BLASII :
 DE : BOXGRAVA

Reverse—The Virgin, crowned, and with nimbus, seated on a carved throne between box trees, on each side of which is a small bird; the

¹⁴³ Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Pipe R. 3 Edw. II. ¹⁴⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. II, 2, m. 27.

¹⁴⁶ *Assize R.* 938, m. 28.

¹⁴⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 27.

¹⁴⁸ Pipe R. 12 Edw. III.

¹⁴⁹ Pat. 22 Edw. III, 3, m. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 148b.

¹⁵¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 208.

¹⁵² Pat. 6 Ric. II, 2, m. 14.

¹⁵³ Memo. R., K.R., Hil. 7 Hen. IV, m. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 69.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 171.

¹⁵⁶ Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon.

¹⁵⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 60.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Harl. MS. 670, fol. 45.

¹⁶⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 83.

¹⁶¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 122.

¹⁶² Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, ii, fol. 95.

¹⁶³ Min. Accts. 29 Hen. VIII, No. 183.

¹⁶⁴ B. M. lxxii, 79.

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Child on the left knee, in the right hand a fleur-de-lis. Overhead a carved and trefoiled canopy. In base, the corbel elegantly carved with foliage. Legend:—

¹⁶⁵ DICIT̃ : EX : LIGNO : VIRIDI : BOXC̃VIA :
DIGNO : NOÏE : NÂ : CRESCIT : ṼTVTIB̃ ·
ATQ · VIRESCIT

A seal of one of the priors is attached to a deed of 1421; circular, showing two figures (possibly SS. Mary and Elizabeth) under a canopy.¹⁶⁶ Legend:—

SIGILLVM . JOH'IS . D' . BOSGRAVE

The oval seal of the sub-prior in 1254 shows the Virgin and Child, with a kneeling figure beneath.¹⁶⁷ Legend:—

. . . SUPPRIORIS . DE . BOXGRAVE

4. THE PRIORY OF SELE¹⁶⁸

William de Braose, soon after he had obtained his extensive fief in Sussex, appears to have built the church of St. Nicholas at Bramber as a chapel to his castle, and to have founded there a small college of secular canons, under a dean. In 1073 he endowed this college with the church of Beeding and the tithes of a large extent of his lands in Shoreham, Southwick, Washington, Findon, Thakeham and the neighbourhood.¹⁶⁹ William appears also to have claimed the right of burial for his church, but about 1086 the abbey of Fécamp successfully contested this claim, and Herbert the dean (of Bramber) had to restore the bodies buried at his church and the fees taken for their burial.¹⁷⁰

Either in or before January, 1080, William de Braose granted to the abbey of St. Florent, Saumur, the church of Shipley, land at Annington, a vacant prebend in the church of

¹⁶⁵ B.M. xxxv, 97, A, B, C. The impression B has subjects of the windows of the obverse of an older type, and somewhat differently treated. At the side of our Lord's head, in the upper niche, the letters A Ω; in each of the upper niches of the sides, a monk's head in profile; in the base, over the figure of St. Blaise, the inscription S' Blas . . .

¹⁶⁶ Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon. 'Findon,' No. 48.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 'Southwick,' Nos. 16, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 668–71; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 100–128. To the kindness of the Rev. H. A. Wilson, librarian of Magd. Coll. Oxon, I am indebted for access to the Chartulary of Sele and the great store of original deeds preserved in the college muniments. These have been excellently calendared by Dr. Macray, and transcribed by Dr. Bloxam, late vicar of Beeding; many of the most interesting are printed by Cartwright in his *Hist. of the Rape of Bramber*, 224–35. and are referred to below by the numbers there attached to them.

¹⁶⁹ *Cal. Doc. France*, 405.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 38.

St. Nicholas Bramber, with the reversion of the whole church after the death of the canons then there.¹⁷¹ One or two monks were to be sent over and if this endowment should be increased by himself or any other person sufficiently to support an abbey, one should be established there under the control of the abbot of St. Florent. Accordingly a priory was established at the church of St. Peter at Beeding, or Sele as it was thenceforth called, some time before 1096, about which date Philip son of William de Braose confirmed his father's gifts to St. Florent.¹⁷² By 1150 the priory's possessions in Sussex included the churches of Sele, Bramber, Washington (which had been obtained by exchange for that of Shipley), Old and New Shoreham and the chapel of St. Peter 'de Veteri Ponte' on the bridge between Bramber and Beeding. John de Braose in 1220 confirmed the grants of his ancestors and added other tithes and privileges, and in 1282 his son William gave to the priory, in exchange for the tithes of Shoreham, land at Crockhurst in Horsham, the right of fishing in his river as far as Bramber Bridge, and the use of a ferry if the bridge should be impassable at any time.¹⁷³ This William also in 1282 for a payment of £40 forgave the monks certain offences not specified and took them under his protection again.¹⁷⁴ There were many other small gifts¹⁷⁵ made at various times, but the priory was never a rich one, and at the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas its temporalities only amounted to £26 12s. 10d.¹⁷⁶ An extent of the priory made in 1370 shows a total gross income of £145 10s. 10d.,¹⁷⁷ but the value of its possessions in 1535 was only £91 12s. 10d. gross and £64 5s. 6d. clear.¹⁷⁸

Being an alien house Sele was frequently seized into the king's hands during the wars with France in the fourteenth century, and in 1295, when all aliens were ordered to remove from the coast, it was only at the intercession of William de Valence and other influential men that the prior of Sele was allowed to remain in his house.¹⁷⁹ At last in 1396 Richard II allowed the priory to be naturalized,¹⁸⁰ the only remaining link with St. Florent being an annual payment of 11 marks made to the abbey.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. 396–7. Bramber church was surrendered by the abbot of St. Florent to the abbey of Fécamp, who in return gave up all claim to the church of Beeding (ibid. 405); apparently W. de Braose recovered the church from Fécamp and restored it to St. Florent (ibid. 38).

¹⁷² Ibid. 401.

¹⁷³ Cartwright, op. cit. xiii.

¹⁷⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 116–18.

¹⁷⁵ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 141.

¹⁷⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 669.

¹⁷⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 282.

¹⁷⁸ Close, 23 Edw. I, 4 d.

¹⁷⁹ Cartwright, op. cit. xxvii.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. xviii.

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For sixty years Sele enjoyed an independent existence, but in 1459 Waynfflete, bishop of Winchester, acquired the patronage of the priory from John duke of Norfolk,¹⁸¹ and obtained the leave of the pope and the bishop of Chichester to appropriate it to his newly founded college of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford. The appropriation was to take effect upon the cession of the monks, and it was not until 1480 that the last survivor was pensioned off and the priory finally confirmed to the college. For thirteen years the buildings lay unoccupied, and then, in 1493, they were granted to the Carmelite Friars of Shoreham, whose original house was threatened with destruction by the inroads of the sea.

Many records remain of lawsuits and controversies between the monks and the neighbouring clergy, both regular and secular, chiefly on the subject of tithes, but of the internal history of the priory little can be said previous to the fifteenth century. In 1256 there is notice of the bestowal of a corrody and the office of gatekeeper upon an old servant,¹⁸² and the reversion of another corrody was granted by Prior Gilbert in 1343.¹⁸³ Archbishop Peckham appears to have been there in 1282,¹⁸⁴ and Edward I stayed here in September, 1302, on his way from Arundel to Patching.¹⁸⁵ In 1308 the bishop of Enagh-dun, acting as a suffragan, dedicated the priory church, which is on this occasion called the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, though in most cases the invocation is given as St. Peter only. Besides the high altar two others, those of St. Mary and St. John, were consecrated at this time, and indulgence promised to all who would visit and enrich the church.¹⁸⁶ This church served the parish as well as the priory, and by a decree of 1283 the parishioners were made responsible for the repairs of the nave, belfry, bells, and bell-ropes.¹⁸⁷

A full inventory of the goods of the priory taken in 1412, during the long rule of Stephen de Sauz, seems eloquent of careful poverty.¹⁸⁸ The furniture is sufficient but of the plainest description; with the exception of three silver chalices in the church and a piece of silver and six silver spoons in the buttery no article was of more precious material than copper, save that the image of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel at the bridge had three silver rings and six necklaces. Under Stephen's successors the poverty persisted but the care ceased, and the house fell into great disorder, spiritual as well as material.

Bishop Praty visited Sele in October, 1441,¹⁸⁹

and again in the following January.¹⁹⁰ John Lewis was then prior, and there were three other brethren. The prior was found guilty of having obtained his office by simony, and of gross immorality; he was seldom present at mattins, allowed the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin to be omitted, and often left the church without bread and wine, so that the Eucharist could not be celebrated; nor was he more careful in temporal matters, for he wasted the property of the house and had involved it deeply in debt, retaining the common seal in his own hands and making grants without consulting his brethren. As a result of this visitation Prior Lewis was removed from office; but matters were little improved, and when John Grigge, who was prior for fourteen years, was forced to resign in 1463 the house had almost been crushed out of existence by debt and mismanagement. In November, 1462, the duke of Norfolk wrote to the dean of South Malling, certain gentry, and all other persons having fees or pensions from the priory of Sele, that, as the house had fallen into such great poverty that divine service was like soon to be omitted, therefore they should refrain from taking the fees which they claimed, on pain of his displeasure. An attempt seems to have been made to improve the administration of the priory by putting its temporalities into the possession of John Lamport, clerk, Edmund Fitzwilliam, Thomas Toftes and Robert Dalling, esqs., who granted a lease in 1462 as 'ministers for the house and priory of Sele.' During his period of office Prior Grigge had alienated more than a hundred cattle and eighty swine, all the carts and the furniture of the house, a quantity of plate, including three silver chalices and a gilt box for the Sacrament, and had compiled a debt of over 300 marks, reducing the income of the house to £8.¹⁹¹

On John Grigge's resignation Richard Alleyne, cellarer of Battle, bribed one Thomas Tofts to use his influence with the bishop for his election, and was accordingly appointed prior of Sele. He then agreed, for a payment of £20, to resign his office to Ralph Alleyne, a monk, who at once, without obtaining episcopal confirmation, acted as prior and caused a seal to be engraved for his use, with which he made grants of the priory lands. The bishop caused a letter to be read in all the churches of the diocese denouncing this seal as a forgery. Ralph however continued to exercise the office of prior until March, 1467, when Richard Alleyne again bribed Thomas Tofts to secure his re-election, and was at once constituted prior by the bishop although the right of election lay with the monks, of whom there were then four.¹⁹² Prior Ralph's grants of bonds under a forged seal, and other matters, promised

¹⁸¹ Cartwright, op. cit. xxxv.

¹⁸² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 125.

¹⁸³ Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 18.

¹⁸⁴ *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1058.

¹⁸⁵ Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 15.

¹⁸⁶ Cartwright, xxv.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. xix.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. xxix.

¹⁸⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 72.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. fol. 81.

¹⁹¹ Cartwright, xxxvi.

¹⁹² Ibid. xlv.

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so plentiful a crop of litigation that Richard Alleyne was afraid to undertake the temporal administration of the house; the bishop therefore sequestered it and placed it for a time in the hands of the prior of Boxgrove and the rector of East Lavant.¹⁹³ When Alleyne took over the management of the priory he proceeded to convert it entirely to his own use, suffering all the buildings to go to rack and ruin, selling the lands, vestments, and ornaments of the church, and giving nothing to the brethren, so that they had all betaken themselves elsewhere and service was no longer performed. At last, in 1474, after repeated vain appeals to the bishop of Chichester—who seems to have done nothing more than appoint commissioners to inquire into the charge of non-residence against Alleyne, who held the living of Midhurst in plurality with the priory—the president of Magdalen obtained the appointment of papal commissioners to examine the matter, and Richard Alleyne was deposed.¹⁹⁴ No other prior appears to have been appointed, but Richard Grigge, the last surviving monk, refused to surrender his claim, and it was not until 1480 that Sele Priory was finally absorbed into Magdalen College. Bishop Waynflete having thus endowed his foundation with property in Sussex ordained that a certain number of rooms in the college should be reserved for the use of students from Sussex.

PRIORS OF SELE¹⁹⁵

Robert, occurs *c.* 1110, resigned before 1153
 Daniel, occurs 1153
 Thomas, occurs *c.* 1160
 'Guar', occurs between 1174 and 1184
 Peter, occurs 1190-4
 William Malherbe, occurs *c.* 1224
 Robert, occurs *c.* 1225¹⁹⁶
 Walter, occurs 1232
 Walter de Coleville, occurs 1254 to 1276¹⁹⁷
 David, occurs 1282-8
 Peter de Nabyaux,¹⁹⁸ occurs 1288¹⁹⁹ to 1304
 Robert de Bedyng, occurs 1308²⁰⁰ to 1339²⁰¹
 John de Pomeris, appointed 1341²⁰²

¹⁹³ Cartwright, xxxix.

¹⁹⁴ A good summary of the very lengthy proceedings against Alleyne is given by Cartwright, xlv.

¹⁹⁵ List given by Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll.* 8, from Chartul. and Deeds.

¹⁹⁶ Magd. D.

¹⁹⁷ Coram Rege R. 4 Edw. I.

¹⁹⁸ His surname occurs on the cover of the Chartul.

¹⁹⁹ Assize R. 1312, m. 6.

²⁰⁰ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

²⁰¹ Pipe R. 12 Edw. III.

²⁰² Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 14 *d.* He had the custody of the priory the previous year; Pipe R. 13 Edw. III.

Gilbert de Wymburn, occurs 1342,²⁰³ 1343²⁰⁴
 John de Pomeris, occurs 1358-63
 Gerald, occurs 1373²⁰⁵
 Stephen de Sauz, appointed 1378, resigned 1429²⁰⁶
 John Welles, appointed 1429²⁰⁷
 William Lewes, occurs 1437, resigned 1444²⁰⁸
 John Twyford, elected 1444²⁰⁹
 John Grigge, appointed 1451, resigned 1463
 Richard Alleyne, appointed 1463, resigned same year²¹⁰
 Ralph Alleyne, intruded 1463-7²¹⁰
 Richard Alleyne, re-appointed 1467, deposed 1474²¹⁰

A seal of the eleventh century attributed to this house is circular, and shows the priory church, with a central tower and two side turrets, that on the right topped with a cross.²¹¹ Legend:—

+ SIGI NSIS ECCL'E

The twelfth-century seal is oval, bearing a figure of St. Peter.²¹² Legend:—

+ SIGILL' . MONACHORUM . SANCTI . PETRI .
 D . SELA

A seal of the fifteenth century is a pointed oval: St. Peter, with triple crown, seated in a canopied niche, in the right hand a long cross, in the left hand two keys. Overhead in a smaller niche the Annunciation of the Virgin. On tabernacle work on each side a shield of arms: left, England, with label of three points for King Richard II; right, a fesse nebuly with a demi-lion on a chief crusilly. In base, under an arch, the prior, kneeling in prayer.²¹³ Legend:—

SIGILLŪ : CŌMUNE : PRIORATUS : SANCTI : PETRI :
 DE : SELA

Two other seals of very similar design are amongst the deeds at Magdalen. The one, used

²⁰³ Pipe R. 15 Edw. III.

²⁰⁴ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18.

²⁰⁵ *Magd. Coll. Deeds*, 'Annington,' No. 6.

²⁰⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Chicheley, fol. 242.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 67. He is called Lewes *alias* Sherman *alias* Baker.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ See above.

²¹¹ B.M. lxxii, 108.

²¹² *Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon*, 'Annington,' No. 7; 'Southwick,' No. 23.

²¹³ B.M. lxxii, 109.

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by Prior John Grigge, shows St. Peter with the triple crown and keys, seated in a canopied niche; in base, a kneeling figure of a monk. Legend:—

SIGILLUM COMUNE DOM . . . SANCTI PETRI
DE SELA

The other seal, that of Ralph Alleyne, denounced by the bishop as a forgery, shows St. Peter seated in a canopied niche, with a long cross in his right hand and the keys in his left; in base, a shield of arms—ENGLAND with a

label of three points—and a half-length figure of a monk. Legend:—

S' COE' DOM' ET ECCLIE SČI PETRI DE SELA

The seals of two priors are known:

ROBERT, c. 1225. Oval; the Lamb with the flag.²¹⁴ Legend:—

S . ROB'TI . PRIORIS . DE . SELA

WALTER DE COLEVILE. Draped head of an old man (? a gem).²¹⁵ Legend:—

+ S . WALTERI . PRIORIS . DE . SELA .

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

5. THE NUNNERY OF 'RAMESTED'

A house of Benedictine nuns was founded by Richard,²¹⁶ archbishop of Canterbury (1171–83), at 'Ramestede,' and was in existence about 1200, when the chronicler Gervase mentions it as one of the religious houses in Sussex;²¹⁷ but very shortly after this it must have been suppressed, for by a deed²¹⁸ which is witnessed by Simon, archdeacon of Wells, who became bishop of Chichester in 1202, Archbishop Hubert states that, because the nuns of 'Ramestede' were living so laxly that no small scandal had arisen, he had decided, by the advice of prudent men of religion and with the consent of the nuns themselves, to remove them thence and to bestow their lands and buildings upon the priory of St. Gregory of Canterbury. As he goes on to grant the priory pannage in his wood of Malling, it seems clear that 'Ramestede' was in that neighbourhood, and we may perhaps locate it in Ramscombe, one of the divisions of Malling manor. The lands were subsequently given back by the priory to Archbishop Edmund,²¹⁹ but the statement in the *Monasticon* that the nuns were re-established and their possessions confirmed to them by Archbishop Boniface does not seem to be correct—probably the confirmation charter should be ascribed to Archbishop B[aldwin] (1183–91).

6. THE PRIORY OF RUSPER²²⁰

The Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary Magdalene of Rusper was founded before the end of the twelfth century, apparently by a member of

the family of Braose, as William de Braose was patron when Seffrid II, bishop of Chichester (1180–1204), confirmed the nuns in possession of their estates.²²¹ At this time the priory held the churches of Warnham, Ifield, and Selham, to which John de Braose added that of Horsham in or before 1231.²²² The spiritualities, which in 1291 were worth £31 6s. 8d., were considerably more valuable than the lands and rents held by the nuns, which at the same date were only worth £13 1s. 1½d.²²³ No additions appear ever to have been made to their property, and the clear annual value of the priory in 1535 just failed to reach £40.²²⁴

Poor though the house was its inmates were often women of good family, for we find such names as Lewknor, St. John, Okehurst, Michelgrove, and Sydney amongst them, and, unlike their Augustinian sisters at Easebourne, they lived placid and honourably uneventful lives.

The prioress of Rusper in 1278 is recorded to have acted with a somewhat higher hand than we should have expected of a religious woman, for when certain tenants were imprisoned for poaching she seized their lands and ejected their wives and children, who had to be restored by the king's writ;²²⁵ possibly we may attribute the harsh act to her bailiffs rather than herself. In 1353 the affairs of this remote priory attracted the pope's attention; the bishop of Chichester had appointed one Juliana Young to be prioress, but the pope, understanding her to be under age, and also believing that the appointment had been so long delayed that it had lapsed to himself, ordered the bishop of Winchester to appoint Joan de Kingesfold or some other fit nun in place of Juliana.²²⁶

A visitation held in January, 1442, shows a

²¹⁴ Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon, 'Bidlington,' No. 13.

²¹⁵ Ibid. 'Annington,' No. 7.

²¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 658.

²¹⁷ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 419.

²¹⁸ For a transcript of this deed I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. R. Sinkler, D.D., librarian of Trin. Coll. Camb.

²¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 658.

²²⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v, 244–62.

²²¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 71.

²²² Ibid. fol. 70.

²²³ *Taxatio* (Rolls Ser.).

²²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rolls Ser.), 319.

²²⁵ Close, 6 Edw. I, m. 9.

²²⁶ *Cal. Papal Let.* iii, 482.

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prioress and seven sisters, two not yet professed. The only fault found was that the prioress did not render account of her administration, which she was ordered to do in future.²²⁷ In 1478 also the report was excellent, the only blemish being in the observance of the rule of silence. The prioress, Agnes Snokeshall, who had held office since 1436,²²⁸ must have been a splendid manager, for the income of the house was slender for the support of even the five ladies who now constituted the community, yet no defects in the buildings are recorded, and more was due to the nuns than was owed by them.²²⁹ On 8 August, 1484, Bishop Story came to the priory and received the profession of three nuns, Elizabeth Lewknor, Elizabeth Sydney, and Elizabeth Hays.²³⁰ By 1521 the community had shrunk to a prioress and three sisters, two not being professed, although one of them had been there three years and the other twelve, so that evidently the bishop had been negligent of visiting the priory. The house was now in bad repair, and the constant visits of the prioress's friends and kinsfolk were a cause of great expense; otherwise all was well.²³¹ In 1524 the only complaint was that a certain William Tychenor came frequently and

stirred up discord between the prioress and her sisters.²³² Finally, in 1527, when there were only two nuns besides the prioress, the only presentment made was that the house was somewhat ruinous.²³³ At last in 1537 the poor old prioress, Elizabeth Sydney, and her one remaining companion, Elizabeth Hays, who had knelt by her side and taken the monastic vows with her fifty-three years before, were turned out of their house into that world which they had shunned so long, the prioress receiving a pension of 100s,²³⁴ and her aged sister a gift of 60s.²³⁵

PRIORESSES OF RUSPER

Katherine, occurs 1232²³⁶
 Alice de Bissopeston, occurs 1247²³⁷
 Alice, occurs 1256²³⁸
 Isabel, occurs 1326²³⁹
 Agnes, occurs 1343²⁴⁰
 Juliana Young, appointed 1353²⁴¹
 Joan de Kingesfold, nominated 1353²⁴¹
 Agnes Baret, occurs 1403-8²⁴²
 Elizabeth, occurs 1418²⁴³
 Agnes Snokeshall, occurs 1436,²⁴⁴ 1455²⁴⁵
 Elizabeth Lewkenore, occurs 1487²⁴⁶
 Elizabeth Sydney, occurs 1521,²⁴⁷ last prioress

HOUSE OF CLUNYAC MONKS

7. THE PRIORY OF LEWES¹

William de Warenne and Gundrada his wife within ten years of the Conquest, to which they owed their possession of the rape and town of Lewes, determined to found a monastery in that town, and while the idea was still in their minds set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, but when they came into Burgundy they found that travelling was unsafe on account of the war between the pope and the emperor. They therefore turned aside to the great abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Cluny, and were so struck with the high standard of religious life maintained there that they determined to put their proposed foundation under Cluny, and accordingly desired the abbot to send three or four of his monks to begin the monastery. He, however, would not at first consent—fearing that at so great a distance from their mother-house they would become undisciplined. At last, after the king himself had added his entreaties to the founder's, the abbot sent Lanzo and three other monks to England in 1076. To the small community thus introduced William de Warenne gave the church of St. Pancras in, or rather outside, Lewes, which he had

lately rebuilt in stone, with the land surrounding it called 'the island,' and land at Falmer and Balmer and his Norfolk manor of Walton, and other gifts sufficient to support twelve monks. Prior Lanzo, however, was recalled to Cluny and remained there so long that William had serious thoughts of transferring his Lewes foundation to

²²⁷ Ibid. pt. 2, fol. 93.

²³³ Ibid. fol. 102b.

²³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 1311 (17).

²³⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 63.

²³⁶ *Magd. Coll. D.* 'Crokehurst,' 4.

²³⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 249.

²³⁸ Feet of F. *Suss.* file 19, No. 5.

²³⁹ Assize R. 938, m. 20.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. 631, m. 71.

²⁴¹ See above.

²⁴² Court R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 30.

²⁴³ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Chicheley, fol. 211b.

²⁴⁴ Court R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 30.

²⁴⁵ De Banc. R. 36 Hen. VI.

²⁴⁶ Court R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 30.

²⁴⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 101.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. v.*, 1-21; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, iii, xxxv; Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluni*, and *Visitations of Order of Cluni*; Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xv, is a fine chartulary of great interest and importance. A large collection of original charters relating to the priory once formed Chapter House Book B 5, but has now been broken up, and scattered amongst the Anct. D., Ser. A, in the P.R.O.; fortunately a large part of this collection was abstracted in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxv, before its dispersal.

²²⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 80.

²²⁸ Court R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 30.

²²⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 26.

²³⁰ Ibid. fol. 101.

²³¹ Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 71.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Marmoutier; but at last he obtained from the abbot both the return of Lanzo and the promise that in future the abbey would elect one of their best monks to the post of prior of Lewes.

The endowments of the priory grew apace, the founder giving the tithes of all his lands with special rights in his fisheries and market of Lewes, and adding the church and manor of Castle Acre in Norfolk where he proposed to found a monastery, as was afterwards done, to be under that of Lewes. After his death in 1089 his successors, earls of Surrey and Warenne, continued to enrich the house of St. Pancras. To attempt to deal fully with all the grants is impossible. The second earl of Warenne gave or confirmed to the monks all the nine churches of Lewes, and nine or ten other Sussex churches, eleven in Yorkshire, including those of Halifax and Wakefield, seven in Norfolk, St. Olave's in Southwark, and others elsewhere. In addition to these Ralph de Chesney, at the time of the dedication of the priory church (c. 1095), gave five more churches in Sussex, and Walter de Grancourt four in Norfolk. An idea of the ecclesiastical patronage exercised by this priory in Sussex may be gathered from the map facing p. 8, and their temporalities were on a corresponding scale, so that in 1291 the Sussex property of the house was valued at £227 11s. 2d., and that in other counties at £560 13s. 8d., making a total of £788 4s. 10d.² Certain manors and churches were alienated from time to time, but others were also obtained, and by the time of the dissolution the priory's income stood at £1,091 9s. 6¾d., from which £171 5s. had to be deducted for outgoing.³

The priory of St. Pancras was most fortunate in having as its first head Lanzo, a man of pre-eminent piety, whose noble example made his monastery of Lewes famous as an abode of spiritual excellence and its monks models of devotion, courtesy, and charity.⁴ For thirty years the saintly prior ruled the convent, dying on Easter Monday, 1107, after a brief illness, completing in his death that pattern of affectionate and devout humility which he had consistently upheld in his life.⁵ His successor, Hugh, appears to have continued the tradition of the priory for devotion, charity, and liberal hospitality,⁶ and was selected in 1123 by Henry I to be first abbot of the king's new foundation at Reading,⁷ whence he was promoted to the archbishopric of Rouen in 1130,⁸ his successor at Lewes following him in the abbacy of Read-

ing in that year.⁹ Another Prior Hugh, a man of great piety and honour, was elected to Reading in 1186,¹⁰ and raised to the abbacy of Cluny in 1199.¹¹ He was therefore abbot at the time of the great dispute between Cluny and the earl of Warenne over the patronage of the priory.

Lewes Priory was apparently vacant early in 1200, and the abbot of Cluny appointed one Alexander thereto. Hameline, earl of Warenne, refused to accept this nomination, claiming that the patronage of the priory lay with him; and in this he was apparently supported at first by some of the monks, who maintained that with the exception of paying 100 shillings yearly to the abbot they were independent of the mother-house, and had the right of free election.¹² On an appeal to the pope a decision was given in favour of the abbot, and the monks were ordered to obey his nominee. The earl not only appealed against this decision, but violently seized the priory's possessions in Yorkshire and Norfolk, and even placed armed guards at the gate of the priory to prevent the monks from sending messages to Cluny; all pilgrims and travellers desirous of enjoying the hospitality of the priory were cross-examined to find out if they were carrying letters from the abbot before they were allowed to enter, and when the abbot put the church of Lewes under an interdict the earl retorted by threatening to starve the monks if they observed the interdict. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Chichester and Ely were appointed by the pope to decide the case, and the abbot of Cluny himself came over to England and met the representatives of the monks and of the earl, and apparently agreed to a truce until the question should be settled by law; but when the abbot, accompanied by the commissioners' representatives to see that he did nothing to prejudice the earl's case, came to Lewes and Castle Acre he was ignominiously repulsed by the earl's men. This happened a second time, but at last the papal commissioners succeeded in inducing both sides to accept a peace with honour.¹³ Even then the abbots of Battle and Robertsbridge, appointed to instal Alexander as prior, were turned back by Warenne's men; but shortly afterwards, in June 1201, the quarrel was brought to an end.¹⁴ The terms of the agreement were that in future when a vacancy occurred the monks and the earl of Warenne should send representatives to Cluny to announce the fact, and the abbot should then nominate two suitable candidates, of whom the earl's proctors should choose one, who should at once enter upon the office of prior.¹⁵ This arrangement continued to hold

² *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), *passim*.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 332.

⁴ W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 207.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 194.

⁶ See charter of Bp. Ralph, Cott. MSS. Vitell. E.x. fol. 182.

⁷ *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 49.

⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 222.

⁹ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 58 n.

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 244.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 252.

¹² *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 86-92.

¹³ 'Fuit pax ad honorem utriusque partis.'

¹⁴ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 92-3.

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good on all future occasions, although in 1229 Pope Gregory IX declared it void, and vested the right of appointment solely in the abbot of Cluny.¹⁶

When the commissioners of the abbot of Cluny visited Lewes Priory in 1262 they reported that the spiritual condition of the house was very satisfactory, the services duly performed, alms administered, and the brethren well cared for.¹⁷ The material prosperity of the priory was also notable, for while most of the English Cluniac houses were deeply in debt Lewes had a balance on the credit side. Disaster, however, came upon the monastery two years later, when in May, 1264, it was made the quarters of King Henry's army, its courts and very altars defiled by the licentious soldiery, and its buildings injured by the attacks of Montfort's men, the church itself being set on fire, and with difficulty saved from destruction. Added to this there was internal strife which ended in the sub-prior and nine monks being sent out of the convent in 1266 to do penance in other houses for conspiracy and faction. When, however, Prior William de Foville died in 1268 he left the priory free of debt, but in 1279,¹⁸ although the lives of the monks were still conscientious and honourable, the temporal state of the priory was desperate. A debt of 4,000 marks had been reduced to 2,800, but another 250 marks was owing for the building of the church, and as much for stocking the manors, for payment of which the silver vessels of the house were pledged, and another 100 marks were due for wool paid for by merchants but not delivered. There was also a threatened deficiency of all necessaries from the time of Lent to the next harvest. The stock on the priory manors was greatly depleted, 100 marks were owing for wine, and the yearly payment to the mother-house of Cluny was £100 in arrear.

In short the house of Lewes is in such a state that it will scarcely be able to pull through, and if it can it will not be for twenty years, so those hold who know the facts; by what means and through whose action it has been brought down to such a lamentable condition is sufficiently well-known, according to the common report of reliable witnesses.¹⁹

Some idea of the manner in which the priory had suffered by the appointment of foreigners whose care for the house was limited to making as much as possible out of its revenues may be gathered from the letter of Archbishop Peckham to the abbot of Cluny upon the vacancy occasioned by the promotion of Prior John de Thyenges to a continental priory in June 1285.²⁰ The archbishop begins by expressing his particular affection for the priory of Lewes under whose

shadow his boyhood had been spent, and from whose inmates he had received honour and comfort. Then he points out how needful it is that priors shall be appointed who will revive the virtues of devotion, hospitality, and charity, and set good examples, and who will present to their benefices pastors in truth and not robbers; adding that though he is now an old man, when he looks back he can scarcely remember a case in which the prior and convent exercised due heed in appointing a man to the care of souls. Secondly, the prior must be one who will use the revenues of the church for its good and not his own, and at the same time be ready to secure the favour of the leaders of the nobility and church by all honourable means. He especially urges the need of propitiating the earl of Warenne, and suggests that if he should ask for the appointment of an English-speaking prior it would be well to agree, adding that it would be easy for the abbot to find such by inquiry of his agents in England.

The vacancy on this occasion seems to have been filled by another foreigner, John of Avignon, who had possibly already been presented when Peckham wrote, but on the next occasion of a vacancy the abbot appears to have remembered the archbishop's suggestion, as an Englishman, John of Newcastle, became prior in 1298.

In 1288 the spiritual condition of Lewes is noted as satisfactory, and the number of monks is given at thirty-nine. According to the list of English Cluniac houses made in 1405,²¹ there ought to be thirty-six monks at Lewes, 'though according to some there was not anciently any fixed number, but sometimes there were forty and sometimes fifty'; the latter number was attained in 1279, and the visitors reported in 1306 that there used to be sixty monks there, though at that date there were only thirty-three,²² and in 1391 the number had again risen to fifty-eight.²³ The earl of Warenne's statement in 1240 that there were a hundred monks in the priory²⁴ may be taken as an exaggeration. At the time of the dissolution the number had fallen to twenty-four.

Meanwhile matters went from bad to worse, and in 1292 it was reported that Lewes was so involved in debt that there was no hope that it could recover unless it were speedily assisted, and the abbot was requested to consider what had best be done.²⁵ The Close Rolls bear out this state of affairs in their entries of acknowledgements of debts to Italian merchants and others made by the prior.²⁶ Next year, when the prior was over at Cluny, the abbot was advised, in face of the ruin which threatened Lewes, to take

¹⁶ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 186-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 122.

¹⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 29.

¹⁹ *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 143.

²⁰ *Reg. Epist. J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), 902-4.

²¹ *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 208.

²² *Ibid.* 279.

²³ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 396.

²⁴ *Ibid.* i, 186.

²⁵ *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 246.

²⁶ Close R. 16 Edw. I, m. 9 d.; 18 Edw. I, m. 9 d.; 20 Edw. I, m. 13 d.; 2 Edw. II, m. 12 d.

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security from him that he would consult the best interests of the convent; but in 1294, although the house was thus deeply involved, the prior was only paying off 50 marks yearly, and the abbot had to write threatening to proceed against him if he were not more industrious in clearing off the debt,²⁷ and a similar injunction was addressed in 1299 to the newly appointed prior.²⁸ By 1301 the monastery was reported to owe about 22,000 marks in money and wool.²⁹ Earl Warenne, in 1312, apparently endeavoured to assist the priory's recovery by taking a bond from the prior, John de Monte Martini, that he should not injure or alienate the goods of the house.³⁰ This action, however, may have been taken in connexion with some personal quarrel between the earl and prior, as in 1314 the king had to issue a special prohibition to the earl's bailiff of Reigate from doing any violence to the priory, whither he had gone with armed force.³¹ This same year, 1314, some improvement was at last visible, and the visitors reported to the abbot that the debt had been reduced from 4,000 marks to £2,000, the buildings had been restored and fresh built, and certain lands and money payments recovered from Earl Warenne.³² But misfortune still attended the prior's best efforts, and in 1317 Lewes was burdened with debt on account of 'the unjust arrest' of the prior and the lack of corn and provisions which it was the prior's duty to provide; it was also charged with many pensions or corrodies.³³ The Close Rolls of this and the following year confirm this latter statement³⁴ by their mention of various persons sent by the king to be quartered upon the convent, and a good example of a burdensome corrody is that for the surrender of which William de Echingham received from the monks £100 in 1307.³⁵

Upon the death of Prior John de Monte Martini in September, 1324, the king wrote to the abbot of Cluny setting forth that the priory was one of the most noble in the realm, and that it was essential that its head should be one whose loyalty could be relied upon, and requesting that he would nominate to the earl's representatives James de Cusancia, prior of Prittlewell, or John his brother,³⁶ formerly a monk of Lewes and now prior of Bermondsey.³⁷ Owing, however, to the war between France and England, and the consequent closing of all ports, the earl was not able to send proctors to Cluny, and the pope, taking advantage of this, and possibly also of Earl John de Warenne's ill-fame with the church, appointed Adam of Winchester to the priory. He secured

the king's support by granting the advowsons of Dewsbury and Wakefield to the younger Despenser,³⁸ and received the temporalities from Earl Warenne, to whom they had been granted during the vacancy. Towards the end of 1325 the abbot, apparently considering the pope's nomination irregular, summoned Adam to Cluny. The king at once forbade his going,³⁹ and he was accordingly arrested by the warden of the Cinque Ports at Dover while trying to cross.⁴⁰ King Edward further sent a letter to the abbot explaining that Adam had been labouring carefully for the improvement of the state of the priory, which was much wasted by the carelessness and bad government of past priors, and that it would be most prejudicial to the priory if he were called away to deal with the question of the patronage of the monastery.⁴¹ In April, 1327, the earl sent his representatives to Cluny, as a result of which Peter de Joceaux was elected. His position was disputed by Adam, the late prior, who was silenced by his former patron the pope in 1329. The pope, however, endeavoured to introduce John de Courtenay, a monk of Tavistock, and brother of the earl of Devon, as prior, to which the king opposed a firm resistance.⁴² The prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, was suspected of supporting John de Courtenay, but replied that he had never so much as heard of him.⁴³

Peter de Joceaux held the office of prior for some sixteen years, and appears to have governed well and faithfully. In 1334 he found it necessary to address a stern rebuke to the various Cluniac houses under his authority in England; ⁴⁴ from this letter we learn that many of the members of the subordinate houses, no doubt taking advantage of the confusion at the superior house of Lewes, had been guilty of great irregularity and excesses for which some had been condemned by the council at Cluny to suffer perpetual imprisonment. It also appears that when Peter became prior he found that all the plate and other articles provided for the service of the refectory had been stolen or alienated during the late troubles, so that in order to raise funds to replenish the refectory he passed an ordinance that every subordinate prior should pay within one year of appointment 20s. if conventual, and 13s. 4d. if non-conventual, to the refectorian.

Upon the death of Peter de Joceaux Edward III wrote to Earl Warenne pointing out that in the past the priory had been much reduced by the action of its priors in squeezing money therefrom to send to Cluny, and now the abbot was reported to intend to present certain aliens suspect to the king and defamed for dilapidations in other

²⁷ *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 249.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 259.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 267.

³⁰ *Anct. D.*, A 10262.

³¹ *Close R.* 7 Edw. II, m. 5 d.

³² *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 302.

³³ *Ibid.* 316.

³⁴ *Close R.* 10 Edw. II, m. 11 d.; 12 Edw. II, m. 19 d.

³⁵ Printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 15.

³⁶ *Close R.* 18 Edw. II, m. 34 d. ³⁷ *Ibid.* m. 26.

³⁸ *Close R.* 19 Edw. II, m. 32 d.

³⁹ *Ibid.* m. 19 d. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* m. 18 d. ⁴¹ *Ibid.* m. 17 d.

⁴² Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.).

⁴³ *Lit. Cantuar.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 317.

⁴⁴ *Cott. MSS.* Vesp. F. xv, fol. 162.

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places where they had presided; the earl is therefore desired not to present any suspected or unsuitable person to the priory.⁴⁵ Accordingly, about the end of 1344 John de Jancourt was appointed. He appears to have been a man of influence, as he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the kings of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Hungary in 1345.⁴⁶ At the same time the king's fears at the time of his election were justified, for in 1346 John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was ordered to place such custody upon the priory of Lewes and its possessions as might ensure its revenues being devoted to the needs of the monks, as the king had heard that the goods had been wasted by the prior, who had sent all he could collect to France.⁴⁷ The earl executed the royal mandate so thoroughly that the king had to cancel his orders, as when he sent for the prior to come to Calais he could not obey because the earl would not let his men and servants who should accompany him leave the priory.⁴⁸ In 1347 he was one of the two proctors to treat with the duke of Austria for the proposed marriage of the duke's son and King Edward's daughter.⁴⁹ During the Black Death, in 1349-50, this prior disappears, and therefore probably fell a victim to that pestilence, from which this house, in common with practically all others, appears to have suffered severely.⁵⁰

From 1286 onwards the priory of Lewes had been liable to have its possessions seized when there was war with France, although the monks pleaded that they sent no money to Cluny beyond 100s. yearly, settled upon the abbey by the founders.⁵¹ In 1337 the prior had to pay as much as 500 marks yearly for custody of the priory and its lands. But at last, in 1351, Edward III granted a charter of denization to Lewes and its subordinate priories of Castle Acre, Prittlewell, Stanesgate, Farley, and Horton. The payment of 100s. to the mother-church continued to hold good during peace, and the abbot appears to have claimed other dues as well, till in 1480 the connexion was finally cut by a bull of Sixtus IV, releasing the priory of St. Pancras from all subjection to Cluny.⁵²

Prior John de Caroloco showed that he at least was no alien, but an Englishman in something more than name, by heading the resistance to the force of French that landed at Rottingdean in 1377; and although he and the other leaders of his levies were captured and carried off, they inflicted such losses upon the invaders that they withdrew disheartened. The heavy

ransom which the monks had to pay for their prior, coupled with the burning of their crops, the capture of their serfs, and losses by inundation of the sea, induced the pope in 1391 to consent to the appropriation of the churches of West Hoathly, Patcham, and Ditchling with the chapel of Wivelsfield, valued at 80 marks, the priory itself being then worth 1,600 marks.⁵³ The parish church of Horsted Keynes, not worth more than 26 marks,⁵⁴ was also appropriated in 1402, and that of Feltwell in Norfolk, not worth more than 55 marks, in 1398.⁵⁵ It would seem that such appropriations were more to the advantage of the monastery than of the parishioners; for in 1426 the people of West Hoathly, Patcham, and Ditchling complained that since the appropriation of their churches the buildings had fallen into ruin, divine service and parochial administrations had been neglected, and the hospitality shown to the poor by the former rectors had been withdrawn.⁵⁶

The great inconvenience of the system by which Cluniac monks could only make their profession to the abbot of Cluny was much felt in England about the beginning of the fifteenth century. The labour and expense of taking candidates to Cluny was great, and the visits of the abbots to England were infrequent; it is recorded that when Abbot Arduin came to Lewes in 1350 he received the profession of thirty-two monks. During the wars with France neither of these alternatives was possible, and consequently the Cluniac houses became full of men who had been monks all their lives, but had never made their profession. To remedy this it was proposed to convert Lewes Priory into an abbey, giving the abbot power to admit novices to the ranks of the professed. This proposal was warmly supported by the countess of Arundel, acting under the influence of Prior John de Burghersh, 'a man of true religion and earnest for the good of his monastery and the Cluniac order,' but apparently ambitious, as the abbot's agent in England writes caustically that 'if all priors were as anxious to be bishops as he of Lewes all priories would be raised to the state of cathedral churches.' The abbot refused to raise Lewes to the rank of an abbey, but granted the required privilege of professing monks, in 1410.⁵⁷

John Burghersh retired on a pension about 1414, but subsequently endeavoured to have his resignation annulled as extorted by violence. The reason for his forced resignation may probably be seen in the fact that the priory had become indebted to the extent of over 3,200 marks; his successor, Thomas Nelond, cleared off this debt and restored and added to the buildings

⁴⁵ Close R. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17 d.

⁴⁶ Rymer, *Foed.*

⁴⁷ Close R. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13.

⁴⁸ Ibid. m. 6.

⁴⁹ Pat. R. 21 Ed. III, pt. iv, m. 8.

⁵⁰ Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 115.

⁵¹ Close R. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30 d.

⁵² *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 92.

⁵³ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 396.

⁵⁴ Ibid. v, 548. Here called the church of 'Horste de Keynes, alias Bryctesley.'

⁵⁵ Ibid. 153.

⁵⁶ Ibid. vii, 145.

⁵⁷ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 200-210.

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within the boundaries of the monastery and on the manors, which were terribly decayed. When Prior Nelond died in 1429 an agreement was made for the daily performance of mass for his soul and those of his brother John Nelond and Margaret his wife, for which the sub-prior was to receive 10 marks issuing from the churches of Walton and St. Olave of Southwark. Two other priors are recorded in 1480 as commemorated by anniversary feasts with ringing of the great bell,⁵⁸ these being Hugh de Chyntriac and John de Caroloco, and with them were classed William Laxman, 'special benefactor,' and Peter Tonell.

In 1445 the patronage of the priory was vested in Edmund Lenthale as son of one of the sisters and co-heirs of Thomas, earl of Arundel and Surrey, and successor to the Warenne title. He therefore wrote to the abbot mentioning the death of prior Robert Amicellis and requesting the appointment of John Danyel, chamberer of St. Pancras, in whose praise he spoke most highly; the convent at the same time sent a similar letter in favour of their chamberer; but the abbot saw fit to ignore these requests and to appoint Nicholas Benet, prior of Castle Acre, to the post. Benet, however, declined to accept the appointment, which was then conferred upon John Danyel.⁵⁹ When the latter died in 1464 the priory was given to Thomas Attewelle, chamberer of Lewes, at the desire of the convent and of the duke of Norfolk and lord Abergavenny, joint patrons.⁶⁰

When Cardinal Wolsey obtained papal authority to suppress certain small monasteries and unite them with his newly founded college at Oxford, one of the houses thus suppressed was Stanesgate, a cell of Lewes, which was therefore surrendered by the prior and convent of St. Pancras in 1526.⁶¹ Three years later one of the items of the indictment against Wolsey was that he had obtained bulls appointing him legate, by virtue of which he had appointed a vicar to the church of Stoke Guildford, in Surrey, although the prior of Lewes was the rightful patron.⁶²

The first steps towards the suppression of the priory were taken in the autumn of 1535 when the king's faithful dog, Richard Layton, was sent forth to nose out corruption in all the monasteries of the realm. In August he was at Farley, where, according to his own account, he found unspeakable abominations, which, 'as appears by the confession of a fair young monk, a priest late sent from Lewes,' were also prevalent at the mother-house of Lewes. He adds, 'I have matter sufficient to bring the prior of Lewes into great danger, "si vera sint quae narrantur."'⁶³ Layton's account of his proceedings at Lewes in October is well known as a typical instance of the

royal visitor's high-handed action; he reports to Cromwell:—

At Lewes I found corruption of both sorts, and what is worse, treason, for the subprior hath confessed to me treason in his preaching. I have caused him to subscribe his name to it and to submit himself to the king's mercy. I made him confess that the prior knew of it, and I have declared the prior to be perjured. That done, I laid unto him concealment of treason, called him heinous traitor in the worst names I could devise, he all the time kneeling and making intercession unto me not to utter to you the premises for his undoing; whose words I smally regarded, and commanded him to appear before you at the court on All Hallows Day, wherever the king should happen to be, and bring with him his subprior. When I come to you I will declare this tragedy to you at large, so that it shall be in your power to do with him what you list.⁶⁴

But the end was not yet, and for two years the priory dragged on a harassed existence. Towards the end of 1536 the prior had to endeavour to stave off Cromwell's imperious demand for the manor of Swanborough,⁶⁵ and he was also required to find forty men to aid in suppressing the rebellion in the North.⁶⁶ At last, on 16 November, 1537, the priory of St. Pancras was surrendered⁶⁷ by the prior, Robert Crowham, who received a prebend of Lincoln Cathedral and a promise of a share in the goods of the priory.⁶⁸ The twenty-three monks and eighty servants received small pensions and gratuities, and the priory and all its lands were granted to Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex.⁶⁹

PRIORS OF LEWES

Lanzo, 1077-1107⁷⁰
 Hugh, 1107-23⁷¹
 Anker⁷² or Aucher, 1123-30⁷³
 ? Arnald, died 1139⁷⁴
 William, c. 1150 to c. 1164⁷⁵
 Osbert, c. 1180⁷⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid. 632.

⁶⁵ Ibid. xi, 214, 373, 448.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 580.

⁶⁷ Ibid. xii (2), 1101.

⁶⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 205.

⁶⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 384.

⁷⁰ See above.

⁷¹ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 58.

⁷² Bracton, *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), 248.

⁷³ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 58.

⁷⁴ The *Annales* record the death of 'Prior Arnald' this year, but it is not certain that he was prior of Lewes; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 24; iii, 195.

⁷⁵ Witnessed Reg. of Warenne's charter granting merchant guild to Lewes (Cott. MS. Nero, C. iii, fol. 190); occurs in charter of 1154 and other deeds; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 195.

⁷⁶ Was prior while Richard was archbishop of Canterbury (1174-84), and Alexander III pope (died 1181); Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 71. Prior 'O.' was party to a deed witnessed by Countess Isabel (de Warenne) and Philip her brother; Anct. D., A 2389.

⁵⁸ Mins. Accts. 1023, No. 30.

⁵⁹ *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 61-5.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 87.

⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2340.

⁶² Ibid. 6035.

⁶³ Ibid. ix, 42.

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Hugh, resigned 1186⁷⁷
 William, occurs 1195⁷⁸
 Alexander, 1201⁷⁹
 Humbert, occurs 1202-7⁸⁰
 Stephen, c. 1217-20⁸¹
 Hugh, c. 1220 to c. 1234⁸²
 Albert occurs 1236,⁸³ died 1244⁸⁴
 Guichard de la Osaye,⁸⁵ 1244-8⁸⁵
 William Russshelin, Ruisselun, 1248-56⁸⁶
 William de Foville, 1257-68⁸⁷
 Miles de Columbiars, 1268-74⁸⁸
 Peter de Villiaco, May-November, 1275⁸⁹
 John de Thyenges, 1276-84⁹⁰
 John of Avignon, 1285-98⁹¹
 John of Newcastle, 1298-1301⁹²
 Stephen de Sancto Romano, 1302 to c. 1305⁹³
 John de Monte Martini, c. 1309-24⁹⁴
 Adam of Winchester, 1325-7⁹⁵
 Peter de Joceaux, 1327-44⁹⁶
 John de Janicuria, Jacourt, 1344-9⁹⁷

⁷⁷ Elected to Reading this year; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 244.

⁷⁸ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 2. He confirmed to Thomas the clerk the chapel of Lordington by consent of Bishop Seffrid (1180-1204). Thomas died in 1229; Bracton, *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), 350.

⁷⁹ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 99.

⁸⁰ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 60 (given in error as Hubert); Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 284.

⁸¹ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), Nos. 140-4. During progress of a suit in Trinity term 1220 the prior was summoned to Cluny and caused to resign; Bracton, *Note Book* (ed. Maitland), 1395.

⁸² Occurs in 1224; *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 189. Also in 1230; Anct. D., A 217; and in other charters as late as 1234; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 195.

⁸³ Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 154.

⁸⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 24.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*; in 1248 he contested payment of tithes to Cluny.

⁸⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 25, 27; iii, 196.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 27, 29; iii, 197.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; he became prior of Vezelay.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; became prior of St. Martin, Paris.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 31, 35; iii, 198.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*; upon his death his breviary, cope, and palfrey, were sent to the abbot of Cluny according to the custom of the order; Duckett, *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 112.

⁹² Details of his election are given, *ibid.* 112-14; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 37; iii, 198.

⁹³ *Ibid.* The last reference to this prior is in April, 1305, when he was setting out for Rome and appointed attorneys to act during his absence; Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 7.

⁹⁴ His name first appears in a deed of 2 Edw. II; Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 90. His death occurred before 24 September, 1324; Close 18 Edw. II, m. 34 d.

⁹⁵ Intruded by the pope, see above.

⁹⁶ *Ann. Lewenses* (Dep. Keeper Rep. xlvi, App. ii, 66); he apparently died abroad, as he was buried at Baume, a Cluniac abbey in Besançon.

⁹⁷ See above, and *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 201.

Hugh de Chyntriac, 1349-62⁹⁸
 Gerald Rothonis, occurs 1363⁹⁹
 John de Caroloco, Cherlew,¹⁰⁰ c. 1366-96¹⁰¹
 John Ok, 1397-1409¹⁰²
 John Burghersh, 1409-14¹⁰³
 Thomas Nelond, 1414-29¹⁰⁴
 Robert Amicellis,¹⁰⁵ Auncell,¹⁰⁶ c. 1429-44¹⁰⁷
 Nicholas Benet, 1445¹⁰⁸
 John Danyel,¹⁰⁹ 1445-64
 Thomas Atwelle, 1464,¹¹⁰ occurs 1486¹¹¹
 John Ashdowne, occurs 1506¹¹²
 Robert Croham, occurs 1526-37¹¹³

The early seal is described¹¹⁴ in 1411 as 'a round seal on which is a man waving a sword in his hand to cut off the head of a youth kneeling near him.' No perfect example of this is known, but such fragments as remain¹¹⁵ show that the drawing reproduced in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vol. ii, is inaccurate as regards details.

This seal was replaced probably early in the fifteenth century by a very elaborate circular seal 2 in. in diameter. Obverse: a king seated, with crossed legs, in a canopied niche, taking hold of his beard with the right hand; in the left hand a long sword, the point upwards. On each side, in a smaller niche similarly canopied, a courtier; outside these, in still smaller canopied niches, on each side an attendant, wearing a cap-shaped

⁹⁸ *Ann. Lewenses*, loc. cit.

⁹⁹ Simon, bishop of London, had faculty to receive oaths of fealty to the apostolic see from Gerald Rothonis, prior of Lewes, nuncio designate to the king on matters concerning the papal camera; *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 8.

¹⁰¹ *Ann. Lewenses* record his death in 1396 'anno prioratus xxviii,' but this must be an error, as he was certainly prior in 1366; *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 25.

¹⁰² *Ann. Lewenses* (Dep. Keeper's Rep. xlvi, App. ii, 67). He had been prior of Castle Acre.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ The date of his death is given on his brass in Cowfold church as April 1429, but *Ann. Lewenses* give 1422, which is evidently wrong, as he was commissary-general of the abbot of Cluny in 1427; Pat. 5 Hen. V, pt. i, m. 12.

¹⁰⁵ So in Duckett, *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 37-58.

¹⁰⁶ This is the reading usually given, e.g. *Ann. Lewenses*, loc. cit.; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 203.

¹⁰⁷ His election being irregular was renewed in 1432; *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 38. In 1444 he caused the great chartulary, now Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, to be compiled. On his death, December, 1444, he was buried before the altar of St. Mary Magdalene; *ibid.* 64.

¹⁰⁸ Resigned before taking office; see above.

¹⁰⁹ Duckett, *Rec. of Cluni*, ii, 87; *Ann. Lewenses*, loc. cit.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ P.C.C. Milles, fol. 5.

¹¹² *Mon.* v, 6. ¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Rec. of Cluni*, i, 214.

¹¹⁵ P.R.O. Seals, SC. 67, 68.

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helmet and holding a mace. Outside these, tabernacle work. In base, under a four-centred arch, ornamented with quatrefoiled ball-flowers, St. Pancras, kneeling to the left, receiving martyrdom by the sword of an executioner. Behind the saint a scroll inscribed: s' PANCRA TI.' On the masonry at each side of this arch a shield of arms: left chequy, WARRENNE; right quarterly, 1, 4, a lion rampant, FITZALAN; 2, 3, WARRENNE. On the plinth or string-course below the canopied niches and above the arch the inscription:— MARTIRIALE DECVS TRIBUIT MICH I CESARIS IRA. Legend:—

SIGILLUM CŌMUNE PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS
MONASTERII SANCTI PANCRA TI: DE + LEWES.

Reverse: A carved Gothic chapel standing on cliffs with waves at their bases, and having three niches on the front, one at the right hand side, a turreted spire, ornamented roof, and a cross at each gable end. The four niches contain each a saint, full-length. Those in the middle of the seal are: left, the Virgin crowned, the Child on the right arm; right, St. Pancras, as a priest, tonsured, in the vestments of a Cluniac prior, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book. Those at the sides are: left, St. Peter, with keys; right, St. Paul, with sword. Along the plinth the inscription:— MARTIR PANCRA TI PER TE: SIMUS: RELEUATI. In the field over the chapel small stars, and on each side is a pierced cinquefoil. Inner edge engrailed.¹¹⁶ Legend:—

DULCIS: AGONISTA: TIBI: GUERTIT: DOMUS
ISTA:
PANCRA TI: MEMO: PRECIBUS: MEMOR:
ESTO: TUO

The following seals of priors are known:

STEPHEN (1219). Pointed oval: The prior seated on a throne, reading a book, to the left. In the field on the left a crescent.¹¹⁷ Legend:—

+ SIGILL' * STEPHANI * PRIORIS * SCI * PA . . . II

JOHN DE THYENGES. Pointed oval: The prior, holding a book, standing in a niche with pointed trefoiled arch, crocketed and pinnaced, supported on slender shafts. On each side in the field a small square panel, divided into a chequer of four pieces in allusion to the armorial bearings of WARRENNE, the founder.¹¹⁸ Legend:—

S'FRIS * IOHIS * P'ORIS * LEWENSIS.

JOHN DE MONTE MARTINI. Small circular ($\frac{3}{4}$ in.): St. Pancras kneeling to right, soldier with uplifted sword behind him (probably a reduced facsimile of the early conventual seal¹¹⁹). Legend:—

[SE]CRETUM . . P'ORIS LE[WENSIS]

HUGH DE CHYNTRIACO. Oval: Prior standing in an elaborate gothic niche.¹²⁰ Legend:—

. . FRIS . VGONIS . DE S . .

JOHN DE CAROLOCO, attached to a deed by his predecessor Peter de Joceaux.¹²¹ Oval: In a carved niche, Christ (?), seated, right hand uplifted, a small cross in left hand; below, a monk kneeling to left. Legend:—

S. FR. IOHIS. DE CARILO

JOHN ASHDOWNE. Oval: In a gothic niche; an upright figure draped about the middle and holding a staff in each hand.¹²² Legend:—

. . . . LEWEN

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

8. THE ABBEY OF ROBERTSBRIDGE¹

The Cistercian abbey of St. Mary was founded in the vill of Robertsbridge within the parish of Salehurst in or about 1176 by Alvred de St. Martin, sheriff of the rape of Hastings and 'dapifer' to Richard I, who married Alice widow of John count of Eu. Besides the site of the abbey and the adjoining lands he bestowed upon the monks estates in Ewhurst and Sedlescombe, and land lying between Winchelsea and 'Cliveshend,'

¹¹⁶ B.M. lxxii, 87, 88.

¹¹⁷ B.M. lxxiii, 89.

¹¹⁸ B.M. lxxii, 90; the letters O R of 'prioris' and N of 'Lewensis' are conjoined. Beaded borders.

¹¹⁹ P.R.O., S.B. 101.

¹²⁰ Ibid. SC. 66.

¹²¹ Ibid. 67.

¹²² Cal. Robertsbridge Charts. No. 398*.

and other lands belonging to the Ewhurst prebend of Hastings college. These gifts Seffrid II, bishop of Chichester (1180–1204), confirmed so far as was in his power, taking the abbey and its possessions under his protection.² The Countess Alice associated herself with her husband in his foundation, and her son Henry count of Eu so liberally followed in her steps that the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux, by the advice of Denis abbot of Robertsbridge, conferred upon him and upon his mother's soul the benefits of the Order.³ Other benefactors added their gifts of lands and rents, the most prominent being the families of

¹ Dugdale, Mon. 666–8; Suss. Arch. Coll. viii, 141–76; Archaeologia, xlv, 427 sq.; Cal. of Chart. of R. Abbey preserved at Penshurst, privately printed by Hugh Penfold in 1878.

² Archaeologia, xlv, 458.

³ Cal. Chart. No. 7.

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Bodiam and Echingham. It would seem that as a consequence of their increased wealth the monks removed to another site, as a charter⁴ of 1314 refers to 'the chapel in the said vill (of Salehurst) on the spot where the abbey was originally founded.'

Besides grants and purchases from laymen the abbey was frequently brought into contact with other religious houses, several agreements being made with the canons of Hastings, the abbot of Battle, the prior of Leeds in Kent, and the abbot of Tréport in Normandy, from whom the Sussex abbey purchased lands in Playden and Bexhill. Though their lands were thus increasing there was the drawback that many of them lay exposed to the ravages of the sea, entailing heavy expenditure for the maintenance of sea-walls—towards which the earl of Arundel left a sum of £20 in 1396⁵—and even then not always proving productive, so that in 1257 Pope Alexander IV, considering the sterility caused by influx of the sea, excused the monks from payment of tithes upon those lands which they had 'inned' and brought under cultivation.⁶ But in spite of losses the abbey at the time of the Taxation of 1291 held property worth nearly £110.

The ravages of the sea, however, during the great storm of 1287 and in subsequent years so reduced the monks' revenues that in 1309 they obtained the royal licence to acquire lands to no less a value than £100,⁷ and in the same year their patron, Sir William de Echingham, obtained licence to grant them the advowsons of the churches of Salehurst, Udimore, and Mountfield with their appurtenances, valued at 50 marks.⁸ This valuable gift, however, proved for some time a source of expense rather than profit, as it involved twenty years' litigation,⁹ and necessitated journeys to the papal court, where the abbot had to make a longer stay than he had intended, as money gave out and he had to send to England for further funds, and to the royal court at London, Waltham, York and elsewhere—one abbot dying suddenly while engaged upon the business. At last, after they had gained the consent of the bishop of Chichester, the dean of Hastings College—of which the three churches formed a prebend—and Sir Simon de Echingham as patron of the churches and prebend, the king, whose claims as patron of the college of Hastings had been the cause of all the difficulty, allowed the abbey to appropriate the three churches in 1333. In the course of the negotiations the monks had incurred in addition to monetary losses, considerable obligations of a spiritual nature. In 1314

Sir William de Echingham bargained that in return for his benefactions they should maintain two chaplains, monks or seculars, to perform service for the souls of himself, his wife Eva and his heirs in the chapel in Salehurst where the monastery was first founded, providing vestments and other necessities.¹⁰ These privileges were extended in 1325, when the abbot undertook to find two chaplains to celebrate daily—except on Good Friday and Easter Eve—for the souls of Sir William and Lady Eva, the one at the altar of the Holy Cross the other at that of St. Giles, and a third in the chapel of St. Mary at the abbey gate, besides two others to do service in the abbey church at the altar of the Holy Martyrs on the right side of the choir where the bodies of Lady Eva and of Sir William's daughter Joan lay; all these chaplains were further to say before the said altar of the Holy Martyrs 'Placebo' and 'Dirige' with the commendation on the days customary in the Cistercian order.¹¹ By a further agreement in 1356 the monks were relieved of the maintenance of the two chaplains for the original chapel of Robertsbridge, but continued bound to provide the other five.¹² Moreover, the abbot, in return for the privilege of being a non-resident canon of Hastings, was bound to provide a fit secular priest to serve the prebend,¹³ and in 1501 the abbot agreed to pay the dean of Hastings 4 marks yearly for the celebration of services and in discharge of all claims.¹⁴ Another obligation had been incurred in 1304, when the abbot had secured the bishop of Chichester's favour by a gift of a yearly rent of 100s. for the support of two clerks in the cathedral church to cense the host at the time of its elevation during high mass.¹⁵

During the early years of its existence the abbey of Robertsbridge plays some considerable part in history, its head being sent with the abbot of Boxley in 1192 to search for King Richard, whom they found in Bavaria, and by whom they were sent back to England with the news of his treaty with the emperor.¹⁶ The same two abbots in 1198 acted as the archbishop's agents to the pope on the occasion of his quarrel with the monks of Canterbury over the church of Lambeth.¹⁷ In 1212 the abbot of Robertsbridge was dispatched abroad as the king's messenger, and was given 2 marks with which to buy a palfrey,¹⁸ and he was selected for the same purpose in 1222,¹⁹ and again in 1225,²⁰ in which latter

⁴ *Cal. Chart.* No. 300.

⁵ Dallaway, *Hist. of West Sussex*, ii, 136.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Let.* i, 342.

⁷ *Pat.* 2 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 13. ⁸ *Ibid.* m. 6.

⁹ For a full account of these proceedings see *Archæologia*, xlv, 430-42.

¹⁰ *Cal. Chart.* No. 300.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 321.

¹² *Ibid.* No. 362.

¹³ *Pat.* 7 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 7.

¹⁴ *Cal. Chart.* No. 397.

¹⁵ Feet. of F. file 37, No. 29.

¹⁶ *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 25, 28.

¹⁷ *Epist. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), 459.

¹⁸ Cole, *Doc. Illust. Engl. Hist.* 260.

¹⁹ *Pat.* 7 Hen. III, m. 8.

²⁰ Close 9 Hen. III, m. 6.

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year the king paid a visit to the abbey.²¹ Henry III was again at Robertsbridge in 1264, when at the head of his troops marching to the disastrous battle of Lewes, he extorted large sums of money from the unfortunate monks.²² A later royal visitor was Edward II, who was there on 27 August, 1394.²³ By this time, however, the fame of the house seems to have dwindled, as when John, bishop of Exeter, purchased a book (now in the Bodleian Library), whose flyleaf contained an anathema upon anyone alienating it from the house of St. Mary of Robertsbridge, he relieved his conscience by noting that he did not know where that house was.²⁴

Of the inner history of this house little is known. It appears to have had a good reputation, as it was frequently selected by pious monks of Canterbury who wished to leave the Benedictine for the stricter Cistercian order.²⁵ On the other hand Giraldus Cambrensis in his article 'on the secret luxury of the Cistercians' tells the following story²⁶:—John who succeeded Odo as abbot of Battle (in 1200) happening to pass an abbey of that order in Sussex called in to see the abbot, whom he knew. While passing through the cloisters he insisted upon going into the refectory, although the abbot tried to dissuade him, saying that they would disturb the servers who were having their meal after having waited upon the other members of the convent. Going in the visitor saw the tables laden with fine fat joints, and turning to the abbot completed his confusion by asking of what saint those bones were the relics, further pointing his humorous rebuke by at once leaving the abbey. A case of apostasy is mentioned in 1344, when the pope gave orders for the reconciling of Robert Cumber, who had left the monastery but now desired to return;²⁷ and in 1351 another monk, John Crompe, was permitted to return to the abbey, which he had left without leave in order to go to Rome for the general indulgence which had been in operation the previous October;²⁸ and in 1363 another apostate monk was reconciled.²⁹ That these instances do not point to any laxity of discipline is suggested by a record of 1403 which tells that John Holmborn, a monk of Robertsbridge, having been found in a wood with an unmarried woman was beaten to the effusion of blood and then sent by his abbot to Coggeshall Abbey, in Essex, where he long lived a miserable life; now he was old and longed to return to Robertsbridge, he had therefore gone

to Rome, where he had obtained absolution from the pope, who further ordered that he should be restored to his former stall and place in chapter and to have the room, books, clothes and other things formerly his.

The income of the abbey being £248 10s. 6d.³⁰ it escaped the first suppression and survived until 16 April, 1538, when it was surrendered by the abbot, Thomas Taylor, and his brethren, who were then eight in number, the same number of monks as were resident in 1418.³¹

ABBOTS OF ROBERTSBRIDGE

Denis³²

William, occurs 1197³³—1219³⁴

William de St. Noet, occurs 1222³⁵

John, occurs 1223—30³⁶

William, occurs 1236,³⁷ 1252

Roger, occurs 1258,³⁸ 1278⁴⁰

Mainard, occurs 1280⁴¹

Walter, occurs 1288⁴²

Thomas, occurs 1293⁴³

Robert, c. 1300⁴⁴

Lawrence, occurs 1302,⁴⁵ resigned 1311⁴⁶

John de Wallyngfelde, elected 1311⁴⁷

Alan, occurs 1315⁴⁸—17⁴⁹

Nicholas, occurs 1320⁵⁰

John, occurs 1324⁵¹

John de Lamberhurst, died 1333⁵²

John de Wormedale, elected 1333⁵³

John Wysdon, occurs 1340⁵⁴

John, occurs 1345⁵⁵

Simon, occurs 1349⁵⁶

Adam, occurs 1357⁵⁷

Giles⁵⁸

William Lewes, elected 1397,⁵⁹ occurs 1399⁶⁰

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 351.

³¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 164.

³² *Cal. Chart.* No. 7.

³³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 170.

³⁴ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), Nos. 93, 162.

³⁵ *Cal. Chart.* 285*.

³⁶ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), Nos. 183, 218.

³⁷ *Ibid.* No. 299.

³⁸ *Cal. Chart.* No. 206. ³⁹ *Ibid.* No. 211.

⁴⁰ *Feet of F.* Suss. file 29, No. 23.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* file 30, No. 20.

⁴² *Assize R.* 929, m. 44 d.

⁴³ *Cal. Chart.* No. 368; *Pat.* 21 Edw. I, m. 13.

⁴⁴ *Dugdale, Mon.* v, 666.

⁴⁵ *Feet of F.* Suss. file 37, No. 29.

⁴⁶ *Archaeologia*, xlv, 432.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ⁴⁸ *Pat.* 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 28.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Chart.* No. 315.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 318.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 320.

⁵² *Archaeologia*, xlv, 438.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 440.

⁵⁴ *Assize R.* 941, m. 6.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Papal Let.* iii, 192.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 326.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Chart.* No. 363.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 371.

⁵⁹ *Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade*, fol. 65.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 304.

²¹ *Pat.* 9 Hen. III, m. 7.

²² *Blaauw, Barons' War*, 222.

²³ *Pat.* 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 6.

²⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 160.

²⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* ix, App. pt. i, 88.

²⁶ *Speculum Ecclesie* (Rolls Ser.), 216.

²⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* iii, 170.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 396. ²⁹ *Ibid.* iv, 42.

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John Lonsford, elected 1409,⁶¹ occurs 1419⁶²
 Thomas, occurs 1427⁶³
 John, occurs 1435⁶⁴
 John Whitton, died 1442⁶⁵
 William Batayle, elected 1442,⁶⁶ occurs 1458⁶⁷
 Thomas, occurs 1474-78⁶⁸
 William, occurs 1483-6⁶⁹
 John Goodwin, elected 1491,⁷⁰ occurs 1511⁷¹
 William, occurs 1513,⁷² 1523⁷³
 Thomas Taylor, occurs 1529,⁷⁴ last abbot

The interesting thirteenth-century circular seal shows the church, with tall central spire and each gable topped with a cross: standing on a bridge of three arches pointed and trefoiled, and with round tower embattled at each end; over water. In the field the letters P. R. for 'Pons Roberti.' Legend:—

HEC : PRESENS : CELLA : DOMVS : EST : DE :
 MATRE : PVELLA

Reverse: The Coronation of the Virgin, in a

carved and canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides. In base, under an arcade of three round-headed arches, the abbot, half-length, with pastoral staff, to the right between two monks' heads.⁷⁵ Legend:—

S' CÔE : ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS : DE : PONTE :
 ROB'TI

The early thirteenth-century seal used by the abbot was a pointed oval: the abbot, standing on a corbel, holding up the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a pastoral staff.⁷⁶ Legend:—

+SIGNUM : ABBATIS : DE : PONTEROBERTI :

This occurs among the Penshurst charters with a counterseal⁷⁷:—a hand, cuffed at the wrist, issuing from the left, holding between finger and thumb an ornamental cross. Legend:—

SIGNUM SECRETI.

HOUSES OF AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

9. THE PRIORY OF HARDHAM¹

The origin of the priory of St. Cross² of Hardham, sometimes called Heringham, is unknown, but it was clearly in existence by about the middle of the thirteenth century, as in 1263 Milane 'la Recluse,' of Steyning, brought an action against the prior to recover certain lands given to the canons by Amfrid de Feringes, who appears to have formerly made her an allowance from the issues of the same.³ Although defeated in this suit she again brought a similar action, with equal lack of success, in 1278.⁴ As the church of St. George of Hardham, which had been given to the priory of Lewes by Joscelin, nephew of the castellan of Arundel,⁵ was confirmed to the canons by William, prior of Lewes,⁶ it seems probable that the house was founded after 1248, in which year William Russshelin became prior of Lewes. The original endowment is also unknown, but must have been slight, as in 1291 the temporalities of the priory amounted to only £6 18s. 6d.⁷

In 1316 William Paynel granted to the canons his manor of Cokeham in Sompting, 32 acres of land in Lancing, and a ferry at New Shoreham, on condition that they should support four secular chaplains to celebrate daily in their church for the souls of himself and the king.⁸ This arrangement was found to work very badly, and in 1332 Maud, daughter of John Paynel and heiress of the said William, granted that instead of seculars they might find four regular chaplains of their own order, to avoid the strife occurring daily between the canons and the secular chaplains on account of the difference of their rules of life.⁹ The grant of the manor of Cokeham had carried with it the patronage of the hospital of St. Anthony in that place, and in 1352 the prior of Hardham obtained leave to appropriate the hospital.¹⁰

The first reference that we have to the internal history of the priory is in 1299, when the archbishop visited Hardham and deposed the prior, Robert de Glottyns, for misrule and for

⁶¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 134.

⁶² *Cal. Chart.* Nos. 374-7.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 376.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 379.

⁶⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 67.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Cal. Chart.* No. 384; De Banc. R. 36 Hen. VI.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Chart.* Nos. 388, 392.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 391, 395.

⁷⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 91.

⁷¹ *Cal. Chart.* No. 398.

⁷² *Ibid.* 398*.

⁷³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv, 906 (7).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ B.M. lxxii, 97, 98.

⁷⁶ Eg. Ch. 380.

⁷⁷ Reproduced, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 171.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 307; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 54-9.

² Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 136.

³ Assize R. 912, m. 1 d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 921, m. 20 d.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 135.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 136.

⁷ *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 139.

⁸ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10.

⁹ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

¹⁰ Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15.



LEWES PRIORY (*Obverse*)



LEWES PRIORY (*Reverse*)



ROBERTSBRIDGE ABBEY



SELE PRIORY
1451-63



SELE PRIORY
1463-67

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

incontinence and adultery.¹¹ The deposed prior, here called Robert de Bodeketon, was sent to the priory of Tortington, his own priory being ordered to send his clothes and other belongings thither and to pay the cost of his keep.¹² He was, however, a man of influence, in fact the bishop of Chichester two years earlier had failed to depose him owing to his powerful friends,¹³ and he contrived to get himself elected prior of Shulbred some time before October, 1300, when the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Chichester expressing his astonishment that he had allowed this to happen.¹⁴ Again in 1355 a canon of this house, John de Kent, was banished to Tortington where he was to be kept within the precincts for a time 'that he may refrain from worldly matters and attend to spiritual';¹⁵ he was subsequently allowed to go to the priory of Reigate and join their community.¹⁶ Tortington seems to have remained the customary place of banishment for disobedient canons of Hardham, one being sent there in 1478. The visitation in this latter year showed the house to be in a bad state alike as regards its fabric and its inmates. The prior kept bad order, and the brethren were given to frequenting neighbouring taverns.¹⁷ At this time there were six brethren besides the prior, but in 1380 the whole community numbered only five,¹⁸ and this was the case also in 1521, when the only presentment made was that the house was in bad repair,¹⁹ and in 1524, when the prior had to admit that he had been concerned with certain laymen in stealing the earl of Arundel's deer.²⁰ If the religious did occasionally join part with poachers they also suffered at their hands, as for instance in 1345, when Ralph atte Gate stole 1,100 eels worth 11s. from the prior's stream called 'the Shire'²¹; a less irregular but more serious loss occurring in 1400, when certain persons by cutting a ditch in connexion with this same stream so lessened the value of the prior's fishery that where his predecessors used to take 2,000 pikerell, 4,000 eels, and 3,000 roach yearly, he could now take only 100 pikerell and 200 eels.²²

In 1527 the community consisted of the prior, two canons and a novice,²³ and not long afterwards, in 1532, there was talk of its being suppressed, but by Cromwell's 'prudent counsel and charitable words' the priory continued to stand and prosper.²⁴ It is probably more than a

coincidence that just about the same time the canons of Hardham granted an annuity to Cromwell.²⁵ Its fall, however, was only postponed for a short time, the monastery being dissolved previous to 1535, as it does not occur in the Valor of that year, by agreement between the prior and Sir William Goring, the patron, who obtained a grant of the site and property from Henry VIII.²⁶ The actual date of dissolution was probably the winter of 1534, at which time Robert, prior of the house of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, sold to Richard Scrase for £680 the manors of 'Heryngham' and Cokeham with 200 messuages, 4,000 acres of land, 300 of meadows, and 1,000 of pasture and other property in Hardham, Sompting, Pulborough, Petworth, and other parishes.²⁷ As there is no mention in this transaction of the convent it is possible that the prior was the last surviving member of the house.

PRIORS OF HARDHAM

Richard, before 1278²⁸
 Robert, occurs 1278²⁹
 Robert de Glottyns, deposed 1299³⁰
 Henry, occurs 1306³¹
 John, occurs 1336³²
 John de Kent, occurs 1351³³
 John Baron, occurs 1380³⁴
 Stephen, occurs 1402³⁵
 Henry Combe, occurs 1473,³⁶ 1478³⁷
 John Haskyn *alias* Jonson, collated 1507,³⁸
 resigned 1514³⁹
 Robert Pryclove, elected 1514,⁴⁰ occurs 1529⁴¹

10. THE PRIORY OF HASTINGS⁴²

The Austin priory of the Holy Trinity of Hastings was founded, according to Leland,⁴³ by Sir Walter Bricet in the time of Richard I; the authority for this statement does not appear, and while the date seems fairly correct, Walter de Scotney seems more likely to have been the founder. Whether he was the founder or not Walter de Scotney certainly gave the canons the

¹¹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 134b.

¹² Ibid. 277.

¹³ Ibid. 138b.

¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Ibid. Islip, fol. 102. ¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 115b.

¹⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 25.

¹⁸ Cler. Subs. $\frac{11}{8}$.

¹⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 120.

²⁰ Ibid. pt. ii, fol. 93. ²¹ Gaol Delivery R. 129.

²² Assize R. 1512, m. 48.

²³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, pt. ii, fol. 102.

²⁴ L. and P. Hen. VIII, v, 1618.

²⁵ Ibid. 1285. ²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 307.

²⁷ Feet of F. Suss. 26 Hen. VIII, Mich.

²⁸ Assize R. 914, m. 25.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 134b.

³¹ Assize R. 934.

³² Assize R. 1423, m. 66.

³³ Suss. Arch. Coll. xii, 35.

³⁴ Cler. Subs. $\frac{11}{8}$.

³⁵ De Banc. R. 564, m. 12.

³⁶ Anct. D., A 3798.

³⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 25.

³⁸ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Warham, fol. 250.

³⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 26.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ L. and P. Hen. VIII, iv, 2701.

⁴² Suss. Arch. Coll. xiii, 155-79.

⁴³ *Collectanea*, i, 82.

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churches of Crowhurst and Ticehurst, his gift being ratified by Henry count of Eu, and subsequently confirmed by Walter's son Peter de Scotney, who stipulated that the priests for these churches should be chosen, and if necessary deprived, by the lord of Crowhurst and the canons acting in common.⁴⁴ Peter also confirmed to them certain lands and the tithe of all his salt.⁴⁵ These two churches were confirmed to the priory by Bishop Seffrid II (1180-1204), and again, with the addition of those of Dallington, Ashburnham, and St. Michael of Hastings, by Ralph Neville in 1237⁴⁶; but Crowhurst not long afterwards came into the hands of the canons of the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings, the priory retaining only a pension of 4 marks. The temporal endowments of the house were small, amounting only to £8 13s. 4d. in 1291.⁴⁷ Licence was obtained in 1334 to acquire lands to the value of 100s.,⁴⁸ but the encroaching sea devoured their profits more rapidly than benefactors replaced them, and in a petition for leave to acquire lands to the amount of £15 about this period—possibly preceding the licence given—the prior states that owing to the inundations three churches in Hastings, formerly worth £100, are now not worth 20s.⁴⁹ The three churches were no doubt St. Michael, St. Peter, and St. Margaret,⁵⁰ but their original value appears to be much exaggerated. The sea continued to encroach until at last the priory itself was in danger of being swept away, and Sir John Pelham in 1413 gave them a site at Warbleton to which Henry IV licensed them to remove;⁵¹ the king further gave them a grant for twenty years of the manor of Monkencourt in Withyham, late belonging to the alien priory of Mortain.⁵² After their settlement at Warbleton the canons were called by the title of 'the New Priory of Hastings.'

In 1229 Gilbert of Laigle, lord of Pevensey, wishing to found a house of religion, bestowed lands at Michelham and elsewhere upon the prior of Hastings to that intent;⁵³ the resulting priory of Michelham does not, however, seem to have been in any sense a cell of that of Hastings.

Archbishop Peckham visited the priory in 1283, when the canons, disregarding their oaths, kept back matters of importance, probably through fear of the prior; but afterwards two of them confessed, or rather denounced, serious irregularities. The prior was not legitimate and was a man of little learning; he did not sleep

with the others, came rarely to chapter, and did not take his place with his brethren in the church. He kept all the property of the house in his own hands, took the side of his servants against the canons, and oppressed the men of the neighbourhood. Further, he had made sub-prior one John de Wepham, who stirred up strife in the house and even drove two of his brethren out of it, and was, moreover, known to have property and business dealings on his own account.⁵⁴ Also the prior wandered about the country with a single attendant and ruled neither himself nor his brethren rightly.⁵⁵ The archdeacon of Lewes was ordered to inquire into the case, but the result is not known. In 1300 the prior, John, possibly the same whose conduct has just been considered, was accused of dilapidation and other offences and, evidently fearing deprivation, resigned at once without awaiting an inquiry. His rule had so exasperated all the canons that the archbishop feared his continuing to dwell in the priory would lead to much unseemly strife; he, therefore, desired that the prior might be sent back as a simple canon to the priory of Michelham, from which he had been taken originally.⁵⁶

In 1352 certain poor tenants of Ticehurst brought an action against the prior of Hastings for withdrawing an annual payment of 40s. made in alms. He claimed that the alms had only been given of goodwill in time past and were not obligatory, as the priory held of the gift of Walter de Scotney in frankalmoign; against this the crown lawyers asserted that long-continued custom was binding, but the final decision is not given.⁵⁷

When prior John Hassok resigned in 1402 Richard Weston, canon of Michelham, was elected in his place,⁵⁸ and himself resigned in 1413, retiring to his former house, where he was granted food, attendance and other necessities for the remainder of his life.⁵⁹ There were at this time only three canons besides the prior,⁶⁰ but in October, 1441, there were five. At this time the house was in debt to the extent of 20 marks, and the prior was ordered to keep the annual expenses below £40;⁶¹ the result was satisfactory, as by the following January the debts were reduced to 10 marks, with good prospect of their soon being completely cancelled.⁶² At the visitation in January, 1442, only three canons beside the prior are mentioned; probably two others were acting as incumbents of Ashburnham and Dallington, as was the case in 1478. At this latter date there were considerable defects

⁴⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 171.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 70 b.

⁴⁷ *Taxatio* (Rec. Com.), 41.

⁴⁸ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27.

⁴⁹ Anct. Pet. 2502.

⁵⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 143, 174.

⁵¹ Pat. 14 Hen. IV, m. 19.

⁵² Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 7

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ 'Qui proprietarius est et negotiator'; this was, of course, contrary to the rule of poverty.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 608.

⁵⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 137.

⁵⁷ Assize R. 941, m. 31.

⁵⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 81 b.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 71 b.

⁶² *Ibid.* fol. 80.

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in the fabric of the church, and it was noted that one of the canons, Thomas Grene, vicar of Dallington, had possession of two cups, which he said were security for 40s. lent by him to the prior.⁶³ The visitation in 1521 showed nothing wrong except that the prior did not render account,⁶⁴ and that of 1527 returned 'all well.'⁶⁵ The whole tour of visitation of 1527, however, which was held not by the bishop but by his commissary, shows marks of having been performed with less than the usual amount of care, and it seems possible that some offences may have escaped notice, as the certificate of the county commissioners in 1536, which bears every evidence of being reliable, enters under the New Priory of Hastings, 'Religious parsons iiij, whereof preests iij, Novises j; incont[inent] iiij.' This certificate further mentions that the house was 'holy in ruynes.'⁶⁶ The clear value of the house was only £51 9s. 5½d. in 1535, and had decreased the following year by £4 owing to incursions of the sea.⁶⁷ The movables fetched only £88 5s. 10¾d., including £33 6s. 8d. for the bells, £24 4s. 10¾d. for 128 oz. of silver.⁶⁸ Thomas Harmer, the last prior, surrendered on a pension of £6.⁶⁹

PRIORS OF HASTINGS

Jonas⁷⁰
Nicholas, c. 1233⁷¹
Alexander, occurs 1280⁷²–90⁷³
John, resigned 1300⁷⁴
John Longe⁷⁵
Philip, before 1344⁷⁶
William de Dene, occurs 1352⁷⁷
John Hassok, resigned 1402⁷⁸
Richard Weston, elected 1402,⁷⁹ resigned 1414⁸⁰
Stephen Lewes, occurs 1441⁸¹
John Smyth, occurs 1478,⁸¹ died c. 1492⁸²
Thomas Harmer, occurs 1527,⁸³ last prior

⁶³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 27.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 116.

⁶⁵ Ibid. pt. 2, fol. 103 b.

⁶⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 65.

⁶⁷ Ibid. ⁶⁸ Ibid. 55.

⁶⁹ Mins. Accts. 28–29, Hen. VIII, No. 183.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 3.

⁷¹ Assize R. 912, m. 16.

⁷² Feet of F. Suss. file 30, No. 9.

⁷³ *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 280.

⁷⁴ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 137.

⁷⁵ *Year Bk.* 18 *Edw. III* (Rolls Ser.), 317.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Assize R. 941, m. 31; he had been prior about three years.

⁷⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 81.

⁷⁹ Ibid. fol. 24. ⁸⁰ Ibid. Praty, fol. 71.

⁸¹ Ibid. Story, fol. 27.

⁸² Add. MSS. 33173, fol. 10.

⁸³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 103.

The circular twelfth-century seal shows the priory church, with cruciform ground-plan, central tower, thatched roof, and round-headed windows.⁸⁴

✠ SI ASTINGS . . .

II. THE PRIORY OF MICHELHAM⁸⁵

The priory of the Holy Trinity at Michelham was founded in 1229 by Gilbert of Laigle, lord of the honour of Pevensey, who in that year gave to the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity at Hastings 80 acres of land at Michelham, with other lands, that they might establish a religious house there. Although Michelham was thus founded under the auspices of Hastings, it was apparently from the first an independent house; indeed, it is only from the royal licence for its foundation that we learn of its connexion with Hastings. The founder endowed it with the rectories of Laughton and Hailsham, with lands and rights of pasture in the same parishes and in Willington, and his park of 'Peverse'—afterwards Michelham Park. He subsequently added the manor of Chinting in Seaford, and his brother-in-law, the Earl Warenne, gave the manor of Northease. Lands in Arlington were obtained from John de la Haye and William de Bracklesham, dean of Chichester; William Montague gave a chapel at Jevington with its appurtenances, and Hugh Baudefar eight virgates in Brighton. There were other grants of lands in the neighbourhood of the priory and a few in Hartfield and Cowden in Kent. In 1280 Richard de Pagham, chancellor of Chichester, gave 50 acres of land at Horsey, but no further additions to the endowment were made before the Taxation of 1291, when the priory's estate was valued at £81. The fourteenth century brought considerable accessions in the form of numerous small grants, mostly in the neighbourhood of Pevensey Level. Two extensive grants in 1377 and 1395 by Roger Gosselyn and others completed the temporalities of the priory, except for a grant by the prior of Lewes of Highlands in Hailsham in 1376, and a lease from the same of the manor of Sutton by Seaford in 1392. At the time of its dissolution the estate of Michelham Priory was valued at £191 19s. 4d. gross, or £160 12s. 6d. clear.

In spiritualities this house was never rich. We have seen that the founder gave the rectories of Laughton and Hailsham. The former of these remained in the priory's hands till the dissolution, but that of Hailsham was the cause of a long and fierce struggle with the Premonstratensian abbey of Bayham, to which it was

⁸⁴ Add. Chart. 974.

⁸⁵ For a detailed account of this house see Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 198–250.

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finally ceded in 1288. An account of this dispute will be found in the notice of Bayham. In 1365 negotiations were apparently opened with Lewes for the church of Ripe, as the prior of Lewes that year obtained the royal licence to grant the advowson of that church to Michelham.⁸⁶ This, however, evidently came to nothing, as the church continued in the hands of Lewes Priory till its suppression; but in 1398 Prior John Leem, pleading the poverty of his house, brought about by decay of buildings, inundations of the sea, and expenses of hospitality, obtained from the bishop of Chichester⁸⁷ and Richard II⁸⁸—with further confirmation from Henry IV⁸⁹—licence to appropriate the churches of Alfriston and Fletching.

With the exception of the dispute with Bayham concerning the church of Hailsham, the early history of Michelham was quite uneventful, and the first incident that calls for notice is the visit of Archbishop Peckham in June, 1283. The state of the house seems to have been not altogether satisfactory, as the archbishop subsequently empowered the archdeacon of Lewes to levy fines imposed on the convents of Michelham and Hastings for non-residence and other causes. While he was here John de Kyrkeby, bishop-elect of Rochester, appeared before him and renounced his claims to the bishopric, Peckham having refused him consecration as a notorious pluralist. Twenty years later, on 14 September, 1302, Edward I spent a night at the priory on his way from Lewes to Battle.

About this time other visitors, less honourable but more permanent, began to appear; thus, in 1317 Robert Henry, 'who served the late king,' was sent to the priory, to be maintained,⁹⁰ but was refused by the prior, who, when summoned for this contempt of the royal mandate, pleaded that he held in frankalmoign.⁹¹ The failure of this plea is evident, as in 1327 William Alvered, usher of the king's kitchen, was quartered on the convent.⁹²

The fearful ravages of the Black Death in 1350 seem to have been felt here as elsewhere, and three years later the priory was still suffering from its effects, as we read that—

the prior of Michelham holds of the Queen (as lady of the honour of Pevensey) by service of finding thirteen canons to celebrate divine rites for the souls of Gilbert de Aquila, his ancestors and his heirs for ever; and of these canons eight are now lacking.⁹³

The monks would seem also to have suffered from the lawlessness which was one of the

results of the plague, as in 1351 the bailiff of Pevensey by threats and violence extorted an annuity of 30s. from the prior.⁹⁴

A later instance of outside interference occurred in 1437 when Sir Roger Fiennes, the builder of Herstmonceux Castle, ejected the prior and seized the common seal and all the goods of the house.⁹⁵

The commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter replaced the prior and restored the seal and property to him,⁹⁶ though before the end of the next year he had been deposed and a successor elected.⁹⁷

As important landowners in the Saltmarsh district of Pevensey Level the priors of Michelham were frequently appointed on commissions of sewers for the coast of Eastern Sussex, the earliest instance being in 1290⁹⁸ and the latest in 1534.⁹⁹ Thus in 1402 the prior of Michelham with John Pelham and William Makenade drew up the statutes of Pevensey Marsh.¹⁰⁰ The prior at this date was John Leem, who held the office of receiver of the honour of Aquila in the duchy of Lancaster from 1377 to 1382,¹⁰¹ and again in 1408; he was also on a commission of array in 1415,¹⁰² and acted as collector of the clerical subsidies in 1380, 1402, and 1410.¹⁰³ An earlier prior, in 1335, is found in a commission for the examination of Queen Philippa's manors and parks in the honour of Aquila;¹⁰⁴ in 1340 the prior of Michelham was one of the four assessors first appointed for Sussex to draw up the returns of the ninth of lambs, sheaves, and fleeces.¹⁰⁵ The priors also appear as contributing towards all the usual aids, loans, and grants squeezed from the clergy by the different kings.

Of the inner life of this house previous to the fifteenth century we have no details, and the first appearance of what we may call the personal note is in 1423, when, at a provincial chapter of the Augustinian Order at Northampton¹⁰⁶—

there was read a long letter rhetorically written by the prior of Michelham . . . directed against the new abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury; but because it appeared most certain that it had not sprung from the root of charity, but on the contrary had been designed with no small degree of malice to the disparagement of the said venerable father; therefore the lords-president ordered that it should be 'buried with those that sleep.'

A visitation was held in September, 1441, when Laurence Wynchelse was prior; a sub-

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Acts of P.C.* v, 60.

⁹⁶ Duchy of Lanc. Inq. i, 48.

⁹⁷ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), 206, No. 5.

⁹⁸ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 16 d.

⁹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1498 (22).

¹⁰⁰ Printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii.

¹⁰¹ Mins. Accts. 441, No. 7081.

¹⁰² Rymer, *Feod.* ¹⁰³ Cler. Subs. $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$.

¹⁰⁴ Pat. 9, Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 27 d.

¹⁰⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. III, m. 42.

¹⁰⁶ Reyner, *Hist. Ord. Bened.* 175.

⁸⁶ Pat. 39 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

⁸⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 68.

⁸⁸ Pat. 21 Ric. II, m. 32.

⁸⁹ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, m. 11.

⁹⁰ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 5 d.

⁹¹ Coram Reg. 11 Edw. II, Pasch.

⁹² Close, 1 Edw. III, m. 11 d.

⁹³ Assize Roll, 941.

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prior, precentor, cellarer, and four canons are mentioned, and the first of the bishop's injunctions ordered the immediate addition of three more canons. They were further commanded that the canons should keep silence and not frequent the tavern outside the priory gate; that the prior should go over the accounts regularly, should repair the buildings, and provide a literate man to teach the younger canons; also that he should sell no corrodies, and should limit his personal household to one chaplain, one squire, one chamberer, one cook, one valet, and one page of the kitchen, and be content with four horses in his stables. The disorders implied in these injunctions are set forth in detail in a further visitation in January, 1442—by which date two more canons had been admitted. It was then found that the prior was acting in all things without consulting the canons, whom he kept ill-supplied with money and food; he had run the house into debt to the amount of nearly £70, and had permitted dilapidations which could not be repaired under £100. Also he had sold, without consulting the chapter, timber, millstones, building material, cattle, and other things; had granted corrodies and gifts to many persons—including Sir Roger Fiennes, Sir Thomas Ethingham, and John Devenish; and had alienated many books, amongst which are mentioned 'a book called Apocalipsis' and 'the Chronicles of England.' In spite, however, of his 'standing condemned of perjury and disobedience' Laurence does not seem to have been deprived of his office, as he was still prior in 1447.

On the occasion of the next visitation, in 1478, Edward Marley was prior and there were six canons, including a cellarer, but no subprior or sacrist, for lack of whom the vestments and ornaments of the church had fallen into great decay. The whole moral tone of the convent was very low; silence was not kept, and even the services were disturbed by talking, they did not eat together in the refectory, but frequented the tavern, and two at least of the canons were incontinent. Three of them had at different times left the convent without leave, one was still wandering apostate and another was absent for fifteen years, 'and afterwards returning poisoned the whole convent with his strange and evil arguments.' One of the canons petitioned the bishop to send a certain worthy canon of Tortington—Ellis by name—to be their subprior, which he accordingly did. As the result of another visitation in 1481, Edward Marley resigned his office on the plea of old age and infirmity.

On 13 September, 1482, Ellis Parker the sub-prior, with seven other canons and one novice met to elect a successor to Edward Marley and chose, almost unanimously, John West, who after many protestations accepted the office.

Three visitations were made during the priorship of Thomas Holbeme; at each the only thing that was wrong was the ruinous condition of the house; in 1521 the officers were prior, sub-prior, sacrist, precentor, and master of the novices, four of these latter completing the convent. In 1524 the numbers were eight altogether, as one of the canons was acting as vicar of Alfriston, but in 1527 there were besides the five officers three brethren and two novices, and at the time of its dissolution eight priests and one novice.¹⁰⁷

The gross value of the priory being only £191 19s. 4d. it was dissolved with the other lesser houses in 1536; the prior, Thomas Holbeme, receiving a pension of £20.¹⁰⁸ A preliminary survey¹⁰⁹ mentions twenty-nine servants—eleven being labourers and eighteen domestic; values the movables at £55 13s. 4d., the bells and lead at £30, debts owing to the house £9 15s. 2d., against £26 11s. 1d. owed by them. A more detailed return¹¹⁰ shows 203 ounces of silver and silver-gilt valued at £27 0s. 4½d., church ornaments including the paving stones sold for £15 13s. 2d., five bells weighing 40 cwt. worth £26 13s. 4d., and other items yielding a total of £162 0s. 0½d. Out of this the canons received for a quarter's salary £13 13s. 4d., and of the king's great charity—their beds. The site and property of the priory was granted to Cromwell.¹¹¹

PRIORS OF MICHELHAM ¹¹²

Roger, first prior, occurs 1236 ¹¹³
 Peter, c. 1239, occurs 1256 ¹¹⁴
 Roger, occurs 1260, ¹¹⁵ 1262 ¹¹⁶
 William, occurs 1273
 Roger, occurs 1277 ¹¹⁷—90 ¹¹⁸
 William de Shelvevstrode, occurs c. 1322–34
 John de Worth, died c. 1350 ¹¹⁹
 John Leem, occurs 1376–1415
 William London, occurs 1434, resigned 1438
 Laurence Wynchelse, elected 1438, occurs 1447
 Edward Marley, before 1458, resigned 1482
 John West, elected 1482, occurs 1509
 Thomas Holbeme, occurs 1518, last prior

¹⁰⁷ Exch. K.R. Misc. $\frac{888}{9}$.

¹⁰⁸ Aug. Off. Misc. Book, 232.

¹⁰⁹ Exch. K.R. Misc. $\frac{888}{9}$.

¹¹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 56.

¹¹¹ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 23.

¹¹² *Hist. of Hailsham*, ch. xv.

¹¹³ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 313.

¹¹⁴ *Feet of F.* Suss. file 20, No. 40.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* file 22, No. 13.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* file 23, No. 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* file 29, No. 3.

¹¹⁸ *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 280.

¹¹⁹ *Assize R.* 941, m. 5 d.

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The only known seal is attached to a deed by Prior John Leem in 1376, and is imperfect. It shows Christ seated, right hand raised in blessing, in the left hand a book, in the field A and Ω; legend destroyed. Counterseal, an angel facing towards the left. Legend:—

+ M'SI'VIS'AMARI'AMA.

12. THE PRIORY OF PYNHAM¹²⁰

Adeliza, queen of Henry I and subsequently wife of William d'Albigny and countess of Arundel, sometime before 1151 gave a small parcel of land on the east bank of the River Arun for the support of two or three chaplains who were to live under monastic rules, to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. Bartholomew—which was to be built there; and were further to keep in repair the causeway and wooden bridge across the river, for which purpose the earl of Arundel granted them leave to take wood in his forest—the stone for the causeway being obtained close at hand; and to maintain a hospital or hostelry for poor travellers.¹²¹ A number of small grants of land were made by various persons, William Hareng giving the tithe of bread and drink in his household, but afterwards changing this inconvenient grant for a piece of meadow land. The land on which the hospital, or Augustinian priory, was built, was called Pynham, but the priory was more usually known as 'the Causeway' (*de Calceto, la Chaucée*). It was originally under the patronage of St. Bartholomew, but an attempt was apparently made to add St. Thomas of Canterbury's title, though this latter did not long continue patron.¹²² Although it held land in about ten parishes it was never anything but a small house and a poor one. The priory would seem to have got deeply into debt in 1309 if one accepts the evidence of the Close Roll for that year, which records the prior's acknowledgement of a debt of £400 to Thomas de Burne;¹²³ the very magnitude of the sum, however, makes it probable that this was a formal bond of some kind. In 1340 orders were given not to levy the ninth of sheaves, fleeces, and lambs from the canons of this house, as they were so slenderly endowed that their lands did not suffice for their maintenance without the alms of the faithful¹²⁴; and five years later they were exempted from taxation for the same reason.¹²⁵ In each of these

grants the canons are called 'keepers of the bridge of Arundel.'

For reasons not stated Robert Coitere was deposed from the office of prior in, or before, 1355, and sent to do penance at Shulbred, the prior of which house reported that he was behaving well and obediently; the earl of Arundel, however, informed the archbishop that the deposed prior was wandering about the neighbourhood bringing scandal upon the order, whereupon the archbishop commanded that he should be kept within the precincts of Shulbred, and imprisoned if disobedient.¹²⁶ In 1380 there was only one canon besides the prior,¹²⁷ and the same was the case in 1439¹²⁸ and 1441,¹²⁹ at which latter date the property of the house was in the hands of trustees until it could be cleared of debt. At a visitation held in 1478¹³⁰ the prior said that there used sometimes to be three canons, but usually only a prior and his chaplain; there were at this time two canons besides the prior, but they had both been non-resident for the last six years, by licence of the late prior. The priory was burdened with a number of small corrodies, and the rents had fallen from £40 to 40 marks. The buildings were in bad repair, vestments few and books still fewer, but there were two chalices (one gilt), a silver salt cellar, and a silver cup and two spoons, as well as twenty-four cattle, and the debts were not more than 4 marks. When the priory was visited in 1521 the prior and his two canons reported that all was well,¹³¹ but when this prior, William Aylyng, died in December, 1524, only one canon remained, and the place became 'desolate and prophane.'¹³² Three months before Prior Aylyng's death the fate of Pynham was decided, Cardinal Wolsey having obtained licence from the pope¹³³ and from the king¹³⁴ to suppress it and grant its revenues to the great college that he was founding at Oxford. Accordingly, in 1525, the priory was suppressed,¹³⁵ and in the following year the bishop, dean, and chapter of Chichester quitclaimed the site of the monastery to the authorities of Cardinal's College, Oxford.¹³⁶

PRIORS OF PYNHAM

Ivo, occurs 1230¹³⁷
Stephen, occurs 1252¹³⁸

¹²⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 102.

¹²⁷ Cler. Subs. 131.

¹²⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 62b.

¹²⁹ Ibid. fol. 82.

¹³⁰ Ibid. Story, fol. 29

¹³¹ Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 106.

¹³² Card. bdles. 76, No. 49.

¹³³ L. and P. Hen. VIII, iv, 650.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 697.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 1137.

¹³⁶ Ibid. 2340.

¹³⁷ Feet of F. (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 232.

¹³⁸ Feet of F. Suss. file 18, No. 19.

¹²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 259; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xi, 89-108.

¹²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 259; *Anct. D.*, A 11537.

¹²² The double invocation is only found apparently in Bp. Seffrid's Confirmation Chart.; *Anct. D.*, A 11537.

¹²³ Close 2 Edw. II, m. 1 d.

¹²⁴ Close 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 24.

¹²⁵ Pat. 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2.

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Thomas, occurs c. 1265,¹³⁹ 1285¹⁴⁰
 William, occurs 1320¹⁴¹
 Robert Coitere, deposed¹⁴²
 Henry, occurs 1346-56¹⁴³
 John, occurs 1376,¹⁴⁴ 1380¹⁴⁵
 John Charney, or Chernel, occurs 1399,¹⁴⁶
 1402¹⁴⁷
 John Hormer, elected 1402¹⁴⁸
 John Baker, resigned 1438¹⁴⁹
 John Baker, re-appointed 1438,¹⁵⁰ occurs
 1442¹⁵¹
 John Gifford, appointed 1468,¹⁵² occurs 1478¹⁵³
 John Buryman, resigned 1488¹⁵⁴
 Ellis Parker, appointed 1488,¹⁵⁵ died (?)¹⁵⁶
 William Fromond, appointed (?),¹⁵⁶ died 1504¹⁵⁷
 Richard Abell, appointed 1504,¹⁵⁷ resigned
 1507¹⁵⁸
 Thomas Bachelor, appointed 1507,¹⁵⁸ died
 1509¹⁵⁹
 William Aylyng, appointed 1509,¹⁵⁹ died
 1524¹⁶⁰
 Robert, surrendered 1525¹⁶¹

The fifteenth-century seal is circular (2½ in.) and shows St. Bartholomew, standing in a niche with trefoiled canopy, crocketed and pinnacled, and with elaborate tabernacle work at the sides; in the right hand a knife, in the left hand a book. In base, a human head between two oak-leaves.¹⁶²

+ SIGILLV + COMVNE + DOMVS + SANCTI +
 BARTHOLOMEI + DE + CALCETO +

13. THE PRIORY OF SHULBRED¹⁶³

The priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Eustace, and the Holy Cross of Shulbred, or Woolynchmere, was probably founded by Ralph de Arden, who in 1200 bought 2 hides of land in 'Wlenchemere,' and in 1207 had the priory of 'Wlenchemere' with all its possessions during the king's pleasure. His descendant, another

Ralph de Ardenne, sold the advowson of the priory to William Percy in 1239 for 65 marks; and it accordingly remained in the hands of the Percies until December, 1459, when Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, granted it to Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, who probably contemplated appropriating it to his college of Magdalen, Oxford.¹⁶⁴ The priory, however, came again into the possession of the Percies, and was retained by them till its dissolution.

The original endowment appears to have consisted of lands in Linchmere and Mid Lavant, but when William Percy acquired the patronage he added a mill and rents in Tillington and Petworth, in return for which the prior undertook to maintain five canons to celebrate divine service for the souls of William and his heirs, the right of presenting a fit clerk whenever a canon died being reserved to William and his heirs. It was probably by William Percy's influence that Bishop Ralph de Neville (1227-43) appropriated to the priory the church of Shulbred, with the consent of the abbey of Sééz, of whose church of Cocking it appears to have been a daughter. A few small additions were made to the endowment, but the total value of the temporalities in 1291 was only £10 15s.

The advowson of the church of Up Marden was obtained from Lewes Priory in 1340, and next year the *Nonae* rolls show that Shulbred then held property in Linchmere, Easebourne, Yapton, Walberton, and Mid Lavant. In 1354 Edward St. John gave them the church of Mid Lavant, but it was subsequently found that he could produce no charter or other evidence of having purchased it from the priory of Lewes, so that the convent had to re-acquire it of the priory in 1358, when the bishop granted them leave to appropriate the church, the reason given being their poverty, due to the death of many of their servants in the great pestilence of 1350. The chapel of Linch and manor of Rawmere were also in their possession, and the Valor of 1535 shows a gross income of £79 15s. 6d., or, after deduction of all reprises, £72 15s. 10½d. clear.

The history of the house begins in 1263 with a complaint¹⁶⁵ made by Godfrey Aguillon that whereas his father John Aguillon on his death-bed left 8s. rent and 100s. in money, so that his executors should place Godfrey in the priory of Shulbred, in accordance with an agreement made with John then prior, predecessor of the present prior, by which the prior was to have the said rent and money, to keep Godfrey for seven years at school training for orders of clergy, and then either to receive him as a canon or return to him the rent and money; yet the prior had neither received him nor returned the money to him. At the end of the same century, in 1299, the

¹³⁹ *Cal. Bodl. Chart. Suss.* Nos. 42, 49.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* No. 60.

¹⁴¹ Assize R. 938, m. 19.

¹⁴² See above.

¹⁴³ *Cal. Bodl. Chart. Suss.* Nos. 64, 67, 68.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 69.

¹⁴⁵ Cler. Subs. 11.

¹⁴⁶ *Cal. Bodl. Chart. Suss.* No. 71.

¹⁴⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 82. ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 62b.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 82.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* fol. 114.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* Story, fol. 29.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 79b.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* date omitted.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Story, pt. ii, fol. 38.

¹⁵⁸ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Warham, fol. 250.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 251.

¹⁶⁰ Card. Bdles. 76, No. 49.

¹⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1137.

¹⁶² B.M. lxxii, 83.

¹⁶³ For further details and references see paper by E. L. Calverley, in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvii, 1-34.

¹⁶⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, 266.

¹⁶⁵ Assize R. 912, m. 12 d.

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priory was visited by Archbishop Winchelsey, who found that the prior had been very wasteful in the consumption of the woods belonging to it, and issued an order that more care should be observed in future. The next year, however, saw the election as prior of Robert de Glottynge, a man of powerful connexions but of evil life, who had recently been deposed from the priory of Hardham by the archbishop for adultery and other grievous offences.¹⁶⁶

A certain Reynold of St. Albans was sent by the king to be quartered upon the priory in 1317, but with the exception of this incident and the fact that in 1380 there were six canons besides the prior there is nothing to record until 1404, when, upon the resignation of William Harethorn, John Coldell, sub-prior, was elected by the convent—then consisting of himself, the late prior, and four canons, two other canons having been absent in apostasy for some years. When visited in 1441 by Bishop Praty's commissary, nothing was found to need correction; there were considerable debts of long standing, but there was every prospect of their soon being cleared off. Nor did the visitation of Bishop Story in 1478 show more than minor irregularities, the only injunctions issued being for the keeping of silence and the avoidance of taverns, and that the common seal should be kept under two keys, of which the prior should have one and the senior canon the other. General injunctions similar to those sent to the priory of Boxgrove (q.v.) were issued to this priory in 1518, and indicate a certain laxity of rule.

In 1519 this obscure house was honoured by the appointment as prior of John Young, suffragan of London, under the title of bishop of Gallipoli, and dean of Chichester. That so eminent a man should have paid more than occasional visits to Shulbred is improbable, and he only retained even the nominal headship of the priory for a short time, resigning in the spring of 1521 to become warden of New College, Oxford.¹⁶⁷

At a visitation held in 1524 the prior and three canons were present, three others being absent, possibly officiating as parochial clergy, and no irregularities were found; and the same was the case in 1527, except that the prior stinted his brethren in food and stipends. Yet we learn from a letter of Layton's written in 1535 that about this time the bishop of Chichester endeavoured to suppress this monastery, but was prevented by the patron, the earl of Northumberland; there seems no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, though little charity is required to disbelieve the foul accusations brought against the canons in the same letter.

¹⁶⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 138b.

¹⁶⁷ His history is most carefully traced by Mr. Calverley, and his monumental effigy is reproduced in Druitt, *Costume from Brasses*.

When the house was finally dissolved in 1536 the prior received an annuity of £10, while the larger pension of £12 was awarded to William Burrey, a former prior, then resident at Tortington.

PRIORS OF SHULBRED ¹⁶⁸

John, occurs 1242-9

Henry, occurs 1256

Thomas de Heriton, occurs 1299

Robert de Glottynge, elected 1300 ¹⁶⁹

Roger, occurs 1320 ¹⁷⁰

John, occurs 1373 ¹⁷¹

William Harethorn, occurs 1380, resigned 1404

John Coldell, elected 1404

Thomas Clune, occurs 1478

Nicholas Feversham, resigned 1519

John Yonge, elected 1519, resigned 1521

William Burrey, elected 1521, occurs 1524

George Walden, occurs 1529, last prior

14. THE PRIORY OF TORTINGTON ¹⁷²

This house of Austin canons was founded in honour of St. Mary Magdalene before 1200 ¹⁷³ by a certain Hadwissa Corbet, ¹⁷⁴ for whose soul the canons caused an obit to be celebrated every month in the cathedral of Chichester, paying therefor to the dean and chapter 100s. yearly. ¹⁷⁵ Besides the church of Tortington, obtained from the abbey of Séez, the canons held those of Tyneham in Dorset, apparently by gift of the founder; North Stoke, given by the earl of Arundel, ¹⁷⁶ who had succeeded to the patronage of the priory in 1337, and appropriated the same year ¹⁷⁷; 'Medlers,' or Madehurst, obtained from the priory of Lewes ¹⁷⁸; and Islesham (now part of Climping) ¹⁷⁹ and St. Swithun's, Candlewick Street, London, both granted by Sir Robert Aguillon, the latter church being temporarily seized into the king's hands and re-granted to them through the earl of Arundel in 1379. ¹⁸⁰ The total value of their property in 1291 was just under £30, ¹⁸¹ a sum which was trebled before the dissolution came.

In 1331 Henry Tregoze complained that the prior and two of his canons, with certain others, had broken his park of Wiggonholt. ¹⁸² Irregularities of an even more serious nature were alleged against the prior of Tortington in 1376,

¹⁶⁸ From *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvii, 34.

¹⁶⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 138b.

¹⁷⁰ Assize R. 938, m. 22.

¹⁷¹ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 186.

¹⁷² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 597.

¹⁷³ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 419.

¹⁷⁴ For discussion of her identity, see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 203-7.

¹⁷⁵ Rentals (P.R.O.), No. 659.

¹⁷⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

¹⁷⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 73.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. fol. 72b.

¹⁸⁰ Pat. 2 Ric. II, m. 8; 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Taxatio* (Rolls Ser.), 137.

¹⁸² Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37 d.

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when Pope Gregory XI issued a bull stating that 'on account of the evil rule of our beloved son John Palmere—if indeed he ought to be called "beloved,"' the priory had fallen into a bad state and its goods had been wasted; the prior, 'careless not only of property, but also of his own good fame,' was living dissolutely outside the monastery, and orders were given for his trial and deposition if guilty.¹⁸³

It has already been noticed in the account of Hardham that Tortington was selected as a place of banishment for disobedient canons; it was also chosen in 1376 as the retreat of more worthy residents, for the earl of Arundel left commands in his will that lands to the value of 200 marks should be given to the priory to the intent that any chaplain of the college or chantry which he desired to found in the castle of Arundel who should be disabled by illness should have his sustenance at Tortington.¹⁸⁴ The scheme for the foundation of the college being changed this was never carried out.

The prior of Tortington complained in 1402 that one of his canons had withdrawn himself and carried off various muniments and jewels of the house.¹⁸⁵ The visitation of 1478¹⁸⁶ revealed little seriously wrong, though it was noted that the brethren were disobedient, a bad example being set by the sacrist, Ellis Parker, who on Relic Sunday told the prior that he committed idolatry in honouring and worshipping relics of saints and putting them on the high altar, and so caused unseemly dispute, for which he was duly penitent. It may be noted that this Ellis Parker had a reputation outside his own monastery as a good and religious man, the canons of Michelham especially requesting that he might come to them as sub-prior, which office he duly filled, afterwards becoming prior of Pynham. It was also mentioned that 'Faith Lucas has the office called Day, and makes cheese and butter and comes to the house sometimes; she is, however, believed to be of good conversation.' The priory appears to have been vacant in 1521, as the visitation only names the sub-prior and two canons¹⁸⁷; from the other visitations it seems that there were usually five canons besides the prior, and in 1380 there were seven.¹⁸⁸ The last visitation in 1527 shows the house in bad repair, books lacking, and servants incompetent and unskilled.¹⁸⁹

Shortly before the dissolution in June, 1536, Sir William Goryng wrote to Cromwell¹⁹⁰ that he had been to Tortington Priory as ordered, and had examined a canon, and afterwards 'all

four of them,' the result of which examination he was sending with 'a copy of the book which the prior did read as a prophecy.' He adds:—

I have sent you a bill in the prior's hand, sent to Sir William Bury of Tortington, late prior of Shulbrede, on 21st June, one day before I received your letter. It was copied out of a book of one Mayys of Southwark, grocer, the prior's brother. Harry Rynghede, one of the canons, told me that when the prior was in the court, by means of my cousin Palmer, he wrote to the said Harry to burn all such letters as his brother May had written to him, which he did.

This reads like a case of treasonable correspondence, but no more particulars appear. The brother referred to was probably Robert May of Southwark, who by his will of 1536 left '2 ryalles of golde' to his brother Thomas, prior of St. Mary Magdalene of Tortington.¹⁹¹

The property of the priory reaching only the clear annual value of £75 12s. 3½d. in 1535, and £82 9s. 3½d. in a later valuation,¹⁹² it fell with the smaller houses, but the exact date of its surrender is unknown. The goods of the house, including five bells and 171 ounces of silver, fetched £144 12s. 10½d.,¹⁹³ from which £10 was allowed to the five canons.¹⁹⁴ A pension of £10 was granted to the prior, and a similar amount to a former prior, who had been living in the priory since his resignation some years earlier.¹⁹⁵

PRIORS OF TORTINGTON

Reyner, occurs 1230–49¹⁹⁶
Matthew, before 1263¹⁹⁷
William de Launcel (?), occurs 1278¹⁹⁸
Walter, occurs 1320,¹⁹⁹ 1331²⁰⁰
William, occurs 1361²⁰¹
John Palmere, occurs 1376²⁰²
John, occurs 1380²⁰³
Robert atte Lee, occurs 1402²⁰⁴
Thomas, occurs 1417²⁰⁵
Robert atte Lee, died 1440²⁰⁶
John Losecroft, elected 1440²⁰⁷
John Page, occurs 1478²⁰⁸
John Gregory, occurs 1524,²⁰⁹ 1529
Thomas Maye, occurs 1534,²¹¹ last prior

¹⁹¹ P.C.C. Dyneley, 2. ¹⁹² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 65.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 59. ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 63.

¹⁹⁵ *Mins. Accts.* 28 & 29 Hen. VIII, No. 183.

¹⁹⁶ *Feet of F.* (*Suss. Rec. Soc.*), Nos. 219, 464.

¹⁹⁷ *Assize R.* 912, m. 4.

¹⁹⁸ *Coram Rege R.* 39, m. 16.

¹⁹⁹ *Assize R.* 938, m. 36.

²⁰⁰ *Pat.* 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35 d.

²⁰¹ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 367.

²⁰² *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Sudbury*, fol. 26.

²⁰³ *Cler. Subs.* 111.

²⁰⁴ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Arundel*, fol. 110.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* Chicheley, fol. 206; *Assize R.* 1528,

m. 24.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 64b.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Story, fol. 32.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* Sherborn, pt. ii, fol. 96.

²¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2701.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* vii, 1498 (22).

¹⁸³ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Sudbury*, fol. 26.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 92b.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Arundel, fol. 110.

¹⁸⁶ *Chich. Epis. Reg. Story*, fol. 32.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Sherborn, fol. 107. ¹⁸⁸ *Cler. Subs.* 111.

¹⁸⁹ *Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn*, fol. 100.

¹⁹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 207.

HOUSE OF AUGUSTINIAN NUNS

15. THE PRIORY OF EASEBOURNE¹

The priory of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary² was founded in the thirteenth century by one of the family of Bohun of Midhurst, probably Sir John,³ for a prioress and ten nuns⁴ of the Augustinian order.⁵ The original endowment included the church of Easebourne, of which Midhurst was a chapel, which was valued in 1291 at £26 13s. 4d., the temporalities of the priory at the same date being worth £41.⁶ Property had been acquired in the Isle of Thorney before 1313,⁷ and in 1332 John de Bohun made a considerable grant of land in Sturminster Marshall (Dorset).⁸ Five years later the priory had licence to acquire lands to the value of 10 marks,⁹ but only a few small grants appear to have been made after this; and the Black Death in 1350, with the subsequent economic revolution, reduced the nuns to great poverty, to relieve which the prior and convent of Lewes granted them the churches of Compton and Up Marden, reserving a pension of 40 shillings and stipulating for the provision of sufficient vicarages.¹⁰

Though but poorly endowed Easebourne appears to have always been an aristocratic community. In 1283 Archbishop Peckham, who as primate had the right of appointing one nun, desired the prioress to receive Lucy, daughter of the late Sir William Basset, as an inmate,¹¹ and in 1295 the prioress of Easebourne, one of the ladies by whose oath Margaret de Camoys purged herself on a charge of adultery, was Isabel de Montfort.¹² Amongst later prioresses and sisters of this house we find members of such well-known families as Sackville, Covert, Hussey, Tawke, and Farnfold.

Unfortunately high birth is not the most necessary qualification for the religious life, and what we know of the inmates of this priory is but little to their credit. A visitation¹³ held in January, 1442, revealed the fact that the house

was in debt to the extent of £40 through the extravagance of the prioress, who was continually riding about with a large train of attendants, fared sumptuously, and dressed so finely that the fur trimmings of her mantle alone were worth 100 shillings (well over £100 of modern money); but though luxurious herself she apparently believed in vicarious mortification of the flesh, as she made her sisters work like hired workwomen, and kept them true to their vow of poverty by appropriating all the profits of their labour. The bishop removed the prioress from office, putting the house under the control of a clerk and a layman until it should be free from its debts, for the reduction of which he ordered the prioress to sell her costly furs; at the same time she was ordered to diminish her household and reduce expenses in other ways, and to cease from compelling the sisters to work; if any of them wished to work they might do so and might receive half the profits, the other half being converted to the advantage of the house. The success of the commissioners in dealing with the finances of the priory seems to have been small, as in 1451 the debts and expenses of the house were £66 6s. 8d., to meet which there was only a sum of £22 3s.¹⁴ The inventory of the furniture of the priory drawn up at this time¹⁵ seems to speak of a state between poverty and riches. The community at this date probably numbered eight, as there is mention of eight psalters and eight beds; there is also mention of two other beds with hangings of red worsted, in one of which we may no doubt see the 'bed of red worsted with a half-canopy embroidered' which John de Bishopeston, chancellor of Chichester, bequeathed to his niece, a nun of Easebourne, in 1374.¹⁶

When Edward Story was appointed bishop of Chichester in 1478 he apparently heard that things were not well at Easebourne, and in May of that year took the unusual step of summoning the prioress to Chichester, where she took an oath to resign at once if the bishop should require it. At the same time the bishop enjoined her immediately to remove the sub-prioress from office; to hold at least one chapter every week and correct the faults of the nuns; to see that neither she herself nor any of the sisters should leave the precincts for the purpose of drinking or other improprieties; and finally, to select every week one of the nuns to be her personal chaplainess in order of seniority, but omitting the

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 423; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 1-32, where the episcopal visitations are given in full.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 202 (37). ³ Leland.

⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 47.

⁵ Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 104; *Obituary Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 28.

⁶ *Taxatio Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 139.

⁷ Hingeston-Randolph, *Epis. Reg. of Exeter, Stapledon*, 387.

⁸ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

⁹ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3.

¹⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 47; Pat. 10 Hen. IV, m. 5.

¹¹ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 577.

¹² *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 147.

¹³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 79.

¹⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 13.

¹⁵ Ibid. 11; Macray, *Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon.* 86.

¹⁶ Will in P.C.C. Rous, fol. 5b.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

sub-prioress.¹⁷ In the following month the bishop visited Easebourne and found matter enough for reformation.¹⁸ Silence was ill-kept, and the prioress was lax in enforcing the statutes; moreover her kinsmen constantly stayed for weeks in the house enjoying the best of everything, while the nuns had to put up with the worst. A certain 'brother William Cotnall,' who appears to have had control of the priory's affairs and the common seal, had used the latter for the advantage of his friends and had also disposed of certain jewels for his own benefit; he further admitted having had improper relations with Philippa King, one of the nuns, who had since absconded with another sister, Joan Portesmouth, in company with a chaplain and one of the earl of Arundel's retainers. One of the sisters attributed the apostasy of these two nuns to the ill-discipline of their superior, coupled with the fact that they had each had one or more children long before their withdrawal. Another sister said that she had heard that the prioress herself had had one or two children many years before. It would almost seem that this remote priory served as a kind of reformatory for young women of good family who had strayed from the path of virtue.¹⁹ The bishop's injunctions following on this visitation are not preserved.

A visitation held in August, 1521, shows a better state of affairs; the cloisters required repair, but the prioress had already bought the necessary materials, and the only other complaint was that the prioress, Margaret Sackville, did not pay her sisters their annual allowance of 13s. 4d. for clothing. As no accounts were produced for examination the visitor adjourned the visitation to 17 October.²⁰ The community at this time consisted of the prioress, four professed nuns, and one novice, Joan Sackville, but in 1524 there were seven sisters besides the prioress; of these, however, one is noted as twelve years old and another as *ideota*. On this occasion²¹ the chief complaint made by the nuns was that the sub-prioress was too strict; she, however, retorted by complaining of their disobedience, and the visitor contented himself with ordering her to behave well to her sisters. No very serious matter was brought forward,

though the sub-prioress mentioned that Ralph Pratt, farmer of the church of Easebourne and apparently receiver of the priory, some twelve years before had led astray Joan Covert, then a sister of the house. Orders were given for the prioress to render account yearly, and for the door leading into the church from the cloister to be kept locked. The privacy of the nuns in their portion of the church of Easebourne was further provided for by Sir David Owen, who had succeeded to the patronage, when he made his will in 1529, giving instructions for the building of a covered wooden passage from the nuns' dorter to the choir.²² Sir David also left to the priory many ornaments and rich vestments, but his pious care was in vain, for he outlived the nunnery, dying only in 1542, whereas the priory being only of the clear value of £29 16s. 7d.²³ was suppressed in 1536, and granted to Lord Treasurer FitzWilliam.²⁴

PRIORESSES OF EASEBOURNE

Alice, before 1279²⁵
 Isabel de Montfort, occurs 1302²⁶
 Edith, occurs 1313²⁷
 Beatrice, occurs 1327²⁸
 Mary, occurs 1339²⁹
 Margaret Wyville, occurs 1362³⁰
 Margery, occurs 1411³¹
 Elizabeth, occurs 1440³²
 Agnes Tawke, occurs 1478³³
 Margaret Sackville, occurs 1521,³⁴ surrendered 1536³⁵

The seal³⁶ is not now known, but was oval, with the Virgin and Child under a carved canopy; in base a man handing a book to a seated nun (?). Legend:—

SIGILLUM DOMUS SANCTE MARIE DE ESEBORNA.

¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 14, from Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 23.

¹⁹ For an example of a married woman guilty of adultery who retired to the small Norfolk nunnery of Crabhouse, see *Norf. Arch. Soc.* xiii (3), 352.

²⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 104.

²¹ *Ibid.* pt. ii, fol. 95.

²² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 29.

²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 323.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 202 (37).

²⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 2.

²⁶ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 147.

²⁷ *Epis. Reg. Dioc. Exeter, Bp. Stapeldon*, 387.

²⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 4.

²⁹ Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 2.

³⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 6.

³¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 47.

³² *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 94.

³³ *Ibid.* Story, fol. 23.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Sherborn, fol. 103.

³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 202 (37).

³⁶ Dallaway, *Hist. of Rape of Chich.* i, 238.

HOUSES OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

16. THE ABBEY OF OTHAM¹

The abbey of St. Mary and St. Laurence was founded about 1180 by Ralph de Dene, who granted his land and chapel of Otham in Hailsham parish with other lands and rents in the neighbourhood to establish a house of Premonstratensian canons. The endowment was augmented by his son Robert de Dene, who gave his manor of Tilton in Selmeiston; and by Ela, the founder's daughter, who married first Jordan de Sackville and afterwards William de Marci; amongst other things she granted a yearly rent of 6*d.* for the bettering of the meals of the convent on St. Laurence's Day. The most considerable benefactors however were the family of Brade or Helling, who lived at 'the Broad' in Hellingly; various members of this family gave lands in the neighbourhood of Hellingly, and Rikeward Brade gave the advowson of the church, which had been founded and endowed by his father and uncle; in return for their liberality they had the privilege of presenting to one of the canonries, Wybert Brade being thus received as a canon on the presentation of Ralph Brade his nephew. The only other grant which need be mentioned here is that of Robert Falconer of Wooton, who gave 6 acres of land called Yeldelond on the Lewes road to provide lights on the day of St. Laurence for the souls of his father and mother and of Maud, his wife, who was buried at Otham.

The bleak and unhealthy situation of Otham, out in the marshes and even now hardly accessible in winter, and the pooriness of their endowments soon rendered life so unbearable that the canons began to consider the desirability of removing; the first site offered was the church of Hellingly, suggested by Rikeward de Brade, whose brother Randolph put forward the alternative of 'Melgrave' in Hellingly. About 1207, however, Sir Robert de Turnham began to build an abbey at Bayham on the borders of Kent and Sussex, and Ela de Sackville, as patroness, gave leave for the transference of the canons from Otham thither. This cannot have taken place before 1208, as Jordan, the only known abbot of Otham and first abbot of Bayham, was still abbot of Otham in December, 1207.² After the removal Otham sank to the position of a grange, a canon no doubt being frequently resident there to act as bailiff of the farm and to serve the chapel, which was evidently kept up,

as in 1404, when the abbot of Bayham let the manor of Otham to Henry Baker and John Drew, special reservation was made of all the offerings at the altar there, and of the image of St. Laurence in gold, silver, and wax, as well as of a room and stable with free access when required.

A cast of a seal is ascribed to this house in the British Museum *Catalogue*,³ but the evidence for this ascription is unsatisfactory.

17. THE ABBEY OF BAYHAM⁴

It has just been related in the history of the abbey of Otham that about 1208 the canons of that abbey were transferred to Bayham, on the borders of Kent and Sussex, where Sir Robert de Turnham was establishing a monastery. Hither, too, Sir Robert brought the canons of the small Premonstratensian house of Brockley in Deptford, of which he was patron. The two convents were united under Jordan, previously abbot of Otham, and their respective endowments combined, Bayham thus holding the church of West Greenwich and various lands and rents in Kent as well as the Sussex property originally given to Otham. Further grants were made by the founder of lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere, and these were increased from time to time by other benefactors, so that in 1291 the abbey's possessions in Sussex were valued at £37 2*s.* 4*d.*, with an additional £35 from other counties.

While many of the gifts received were unhampered by conditions, many others carried with them obligations of a religious nature—such as the maintenance of a canon to pray for the donor's soul, as in the case of a grant by Sybil de Icklesham⁵—or secular. Of the latter a good instance is the corrody granted to Simon Payn, who had given the convent 150 acres of land in Friston, in 1290. By this the canons covenanted not only to support Simon and his wife for the rest of their life, making the usual detailed allowance of food, beer, clothing, &c., but also to support his son Henry, a crippled clerk, who was to minister to them so far as his health allowed, to teach his two younger sons some trade within the precincts until they could support themselves, to give certain moneys to his four daughters, and to pay off various debts.⁶ In

¹ This account is condensed from the detailed history of the house in Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 173–193.

² *Cal. of Chart. of Abbey of Robertsbridge*, No. 63.

³ Vol. i, 588.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 910–15; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 145–80; Add. MSS. 6037, a transcript of the chartulary which was amongst the burnt Cottonian MSS.

⁵ Chartul. No. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 9.

the same way Master Eustace de Wrotham, apparently their legal adviser, was given an annual pension, or retaining fee, of 4 marks with free accommodation whenever he wished to visit their house for relaxation⁷; and a similar grant was made to Master William de Tonebrig in 1275.⁸

The position of law officer to the canons was no sinecure, as they were often involved in suits, of which the most noteworthy was that concerning the church of Hailsham. The advowson of this church had been granted to Michelham priory in 1229 by Gilbert de Laigle, and Master Robert de Blachington had been presented as rector apparently about 1260, but some years later the abbot of Bayham claimed the church as a chapel of his church of Hellingly. Having failed in the royal law courts he appealed to the ecclesiastical courts in 1279, but was ordered by the king to desist. The bishop of Chichester, siding with the priory, excommunicated the abbey, upon which the abbot appealed to the king, maintaining that this was an infringement of the liberties of their order⁹; the bishop, however, in January, 1280, successfully invoked the secular arm to remove these 'sons of perdition' from Hailsham church,¹⁰ and accordingly the prior and Master Robert with some thirty others drove out by armed force the four canons and four lay brethren of Bayham who were in possession.¹¹ An appeal to an ecclesiastical court in 1282 resulted in a decision by the archdeacon of Southwark in favour of the abbot, but this was set aside by the archbishop, and Master Robert had peaceful possession for a short time, but in the spring of 1287 the canons again seized the church and held it in spite of the archbishop's excommunication; the secular arm was again invoked and the church forcibly recovered. The abbot now came to terms with the prior of Michelham, who surrendered his claim to the advowson in exchange for an annual payment of £16 13s. 4d. charged on the manor of Otham.¹² The secular rectors, however, continued to dispute the abbot's title until 1296, when Archbishop Winchelsey decided in the latter's favour. Even this was not the end, for about 1458 there was another long suit between the abbey and priory over the payment of the £16 13s. 4d. from Otham; in the end victory lay with the priory, but it was a Pyrrhic victory, for the canons of Michelham were so impoverished by it that they had to sell their jewels,¹³ and even when the sheriff had put them into possession of the abbey's manor of Exceit the abbot by a legal trick endeavoured to force them to undertake a

new trial, which he as a wealthy and influential prelate could better afford than they.¹⁴

The abbot of Bayham in 1225-6 was employed by the king on business in France,¹⁵ and in 1232 was selected by the pope as one of the three visitors of the exempt monasteries in the province of Canterbury,¹⁶ but the monasteries successfully refused to submit to this visitation,¹⁷ and the bishop of Chichester was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to cause the abbot to visit Battle Abbey.¹⁸ The abbot, again, was chosen by the archbishop in 1240 to publish his excommunication of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁹ This abbot appears to have been a friend of St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, who stayed here in September, 1242, when he granted an indulgence to those who gave alms to the church, similar to one granted by his beloved master St. Edmund. When the latter's body was exhumed for translation Bishop Richard wrote to the abbot of Bayham giving an account of the state in which it was found.²⁰ After his death the bed in which the sainted bishop had slept at the abbey was declared to possess miraculous qualities.

Bayham and St. Radegund's were the only two English houses that were actually daughters of the abbey of Prémonstré, that is to say, colonized direct from the mother-house of the order; and it was possibly for this reason that we find these two houses alone taking no part in the refusal of the English abbots to attend the general chapter at Prémonstré in 1310.²¹ In December of the same year, however, all the abbots seem to have been united in their chapter at Lincoln in withstanding the demand for a subsidy made by the abbot of Prémonstré,²² and it was the abbot of Bayham's proctor who subsequently appealed to Rome on behalf of the order,²³ with the result that in May, 1312, the abbot of Bayham recovered 80 florins against the father abbot,²⁴ who appears to have endeavoured to stop his action by excommunicating and even deposing him.²⁵

Edward II paid a visit to the abbey in August, 1324,²⁶ and in the previous year the canons were asked to receive one of the canons of the abbey of Egglestone in Yorkshire which had been so ravaged by the Scots that it was no longer fit for habitation.²⁷ The hardships of war had also

¹⁴ Early Chanc. Proc. bde. 16, No. 642.

¹⁵ Close 10 Hen. III, m. 19, 21, 28.

¹⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 238.

¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* i, 138.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 175.

²⁰ Matt. Paris, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 128.

²¹ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premons.* (Camd. Soc.), i, Nos. 2, 3.

²² Ibid. No. 9.

²³ Ibid. No. 10.

²⁴ Ibid. No. 27.

²⁵ Ibid. No. 16.

²⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 44.

²⁷ Close 17 Edw. II, m. 37 d.

⁷ Chartul. No. 396 *.

⁸ Ibid. No. 397.

⁹ Parly. Proc. file 2, No. 24.

¹⁰ Anct. Pet. 11741.

¹¹ Coram Rege R. 60, m. 140.

¹² Feet of F. 16 Edw. I, No. 31.

¹³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 28.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

befallen the mother-house, and in 1354 the abbot of Bayham, as commissioner of the order in England, summoned a chapter at Grantham to consider the question of making a gift to the abbot of Prémonstré.²⁸

An abbot of this house was again commissioner of the order in 1421 when he asked leave to go to Flanders to meet the abbot of Prémonstré's agents to arrange various matters.²⁹ Another abbot contested the same post with the celebrated Richard Redman, abbot of Shap, in the spring of 1459. This abbot, Thomas, had been appointed commissioner about 1444³⁰ and again sometime before 1454, when he summoned a general chapter of the order at Northampton, at which certain orders were made concerning the dress of the canons.³¹ In March, 1458-9, however, the father abbot cancelled his commission and appointed the abbot of Shap instead;³² Abbot Thomas, however, appears to have concocted charges of extortion and oppression against Redman³³ and temporarily recovered his position;³⁴ but upon further inquiry the father abbot reinstated Redman, who in April, 1459, appointed certain abbots to inquire into the abbot of Bayham's conduct and if necessary depose and excommunicate him.³⁵ Either this abbot or a successor subsequently held office, but was again deprived, on a charge of negligence, in favour of the abbot of Shap in 1466.³⁶

Of the inner history of this house we have few early details, but in 1305 orders were issued by the abbot of Prémonstré for the arrest of three canons of Bayham for rebellion and disobedience,³⁷ and in 1315 Abbot Laurence was compelled to resign as the result of a visitation.³⁸ Of the visitations made by Richard Redman, abbot of Shap and bishop of St. Asaph, accounts are preserved in the Bodleian Library.³⁹ In the case of that of 1472 we learn that there were seven canons, besides the abbot and one novice; several of these were serving cures and were ordered to return at once into residence; the house was deeply involved in debt by the mismanagement of recent abbots. In September, 1478, the visitor found the buildings in utter ruin, the number of canons insufficient and three of them apostate, whom he forthwith excommunicated; the abbot, however, was praised for his success in reducing the debts and increasing the stock of the community. Similar praise was earned by the abbot in 1488,

but again the number of canons in residence was too small and orders were given to recall those who were serving cures other than churches belonging to the abbey. Strictures were also passed upon the canons for wearing fashionable boots and shoes like those of laymen, and the cellarer was absolved for having struck one of his brethren. In 1491 the same good providence in temporal matters was found joined with the same slackness in things spiritual, orders being given to restrict the wandering habits of the canons and to celebrate mattins and the other canonical hours more regularly; one brother was on this occasion banished to Newhouse, in Lincolnshire, for incontinence. In 1494 also one canon had to be banished for incontinency and another excommunicated as apostate, and the number of canons was ordered to be increased, but in 1497 the visitor had nothing but praise for the excellent management of the abbot. Finally, in 1500 nothing is found amiss and the visitor is able to 'render thanks to God for the laudable providence of the abbot'; he, however, renewed his injunction for increasing the number of canons, the community at this date consisting of the abbot and ten brethren, of whom two were apostate, one a novice and another serving the cure of Pembury.

In 1524 when Wolsey, at the height of his power, obtained the papal licence to suppress a number of small monasteries and bestow their endowments upon his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, Bayham was one of the houses appointed to be thus suppressed,⁴⁰ but the fall of this house, which was dissolved in May 1525,⁴¹ was greatly resented by the neighbourhood, and a large force assembled under the leadership of Thomas Towers, a late canon, whom they reinstated as abbot, holding the abbey with armed force for some little time;⁴² but in the end the resistance seems to have flickered out and died a natural death, the ring-leaders being captured and imprisoned.

ABBOTS OF BAYHAM

Jordan⁴³

Reginald, occurs 1221-35,⁴⁴ and 1243⁴⁵

Benedict, occurs 1245⁴⁶

Reginald, occurs 1246-9⁴⁷

John, occurs 1256⁴⁸

Thomas, occurs 1263⁴⁹

John, occurs 1272⁵⁰

²⁸ Gasquet, op. cit. No. 35.

²⁹ *Acts of P.C.* ii, 283.

³⁰ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 15, No. 169.

³¹ Gasquet, op. cit. 75-7.

³² Ibid. 38.

³³ Ibid. 144.

³⁴ Ibid. 78.

³⁵ Ibid. 144.

³⁶ Ibid. 39.

³⁷ *Coram Rege R.* 180, m. 1 d.

³⁸ MS. 59; *C.C. Coll. Cam.*

³⁹ Abstracted in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 164-9; printed in full in Gasquet, op. cit. ii, Nos. 241-60.

⁴⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 650.

⁴¹ Ibid. iv, 1137.

⁴² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 221-3.

⁴³ Cartul, No. 122.

⁴⁴ *Feet of F.* (*Suss. Rec. Soc.*), Nos. 175-333.

⁴⁵ Chartul, No. 373.

⁴⁶ *Feet of F.* (*Suss. Rec. Soc.*), No. 424.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Nos. 429-92.

⁴⁸ *Feet of F.* *Suss. file* 19, No. 20.

⁴⁹ Ibid. file 23, No. 19.

⁵⁰ According to Cooper, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 179.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Reginald, occurs 1277⁵¹
 Richard, occurs 1278⁵²—96⁵³
 Laurence, occurs 1305,⁵⁴ resigned 1315⁵⁵
 Luke de Coldone, elected 1315,⁵⁶ occurs 1344⁵⁷
 Simon, occurs 1345⁵⁸
 Solomon, occurs 1352⁵⁹
 William, occurs 1353,⁶⁰ 1355⁶¹
 Robert Frenesbury, occurs 1405⁶²
 John Chetham, elected 1409,⁶³ occurs 1429⁶⁴
 William Maydeston, occurs 1437,⁶⁵ died 1439⁶⁶
 Thomas Shorham, elected 1439,⁶⁷ occurs 1447⁶⁷
 Thomas, occurs 1454—9⁶⁸
 Thomas Cottingham, occurs 1475⁶⁹
 Robert Hertley, occurs 1478⁷⁰
 Robert Nasch, occurs 1488—91⁷¹
 Richard Bexley, occurs 1494⁷²—1500 and 1522⁷³
 William Galys, elected 1522⁷⁴

The seals of two abbots are known :—

REGINALD.—Pointed oval: the abbot on a corbel; in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left hand a book.⁷⁵ Legend :—

+ SIGNV̄ : REGIN' : AB DE BEGEHAM.

JOHN CHETEHAM.—Pointed oval: the abbot, standing in a canopied niche; in the left hand a pastoral staff, curved outwards. In a smaller canopied niche on each side, an angel. In base, a shield of arms :—in chief a lion passant, in base a pastoral staff, on the sinister side two lozenges in pale.⁷⁶ Legend :—

. Ū IOHIS M :

18. THE ABBEY OF DUREFORD⁷⁷

About the year 1160 Henry Hussey granted to Berengar, abbot of Welbeck, land at Dure-

⁵¹ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 16.

⁵² Assize R. 914, m. 42.

⁵³ Anct. D., A 10238.

⁵⁴ Pat. 33 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 5.

⁵⁵ C.C.C. Camb. MS. 59.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Cal. Papal Let. iii, 179.

⁵⁸ Gasquet, *Coll. Angl. Premons.* ii, 71.

⁵⁹ Chartul. fol. 10.

⁶⁰ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. v, 509.

⁶¹ Assize R. 941, m. 23 d.

⁶² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 910.

⁶³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 123 b.

⁶⁴ Gasquet, op. cit. 71, from Harl. Chart. 44A, 15; 76G, 49.

⁶⁵ Add. Chart. 30078.

⁶⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 64.

⁶⁷ Add. Chart. 30080.

⁶⁸ Gasquet, op. cit. i, 75, 144.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ii, 72.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 74.

⁷¹ Ibid. 75, 77.

⁷² Ibid. 79, 80.

⁷³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 910.

⁷⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 40.

⁷⁵ Egerton Chart. 375.

⁷⁶ Harl. Chart. 76G, 44; 75F, 37.

⁷⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 936—9; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 41—96; Chartul. Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii.

ford, part of his demesne of Harting, for the establishment of a house of Premonstratensian canons. The abbey of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist of Dureford was therefore founded as a daughter of Welbeck, with the consent of Henry II and Hilary, bishop of Chichester.⁷⁸ The founder and his son Henry made considerable grants of lands in the immediate neighbourhood, which were further added to by many local landowners, including William de Braose, who gave them certain salt-pans near Bramber and a tun of red wine yearly for use at mass. Gifts of provisions were also made by the younger Henry Hussey, who granted them the tithe of all the victuals used in his house at Harting—later converting this into a money rent of 15s. assigned to the refectory; he also gave them the tithe of cheese from his demesnes.⁷⁹ The same benefactor gave them leave to use any quarry on his lands for the building of their abbey, and William le Vesselir added a quarry at 'Wyhus.'⁸⁰ Henry Hussey further bestowed upon the canons his chapel of Standen, and the church of Rogate, reserving a pension of 25s. to the abbey of Sééz.⁸¹ He further endowed the church of Dureford on the day of its dedication with a grove adjoining the London road.⁸²

Other lands were obtained by gift and purchase, and in 1248 the abbey acquired the site and property of the lazar-house of Harting from the master of the order of St. Lazarus for £80.⁸³ The Hampshire manor of Sonworth was given in 1267 by Gilbert, earl of Gloucester,⁸⁴ possibly in memory of his brother William de Clare, who had been buried here after his death from poison treacherously administered in 1258.⁸⁵ Consequently by 1291 the abbey's property in Sussex and elsewhere reached the value of £55. Gifts continued to be made, some being assigned for special purpose, as for masses or lights at the altars of the Blessed Virgin, Holy Cross, or St. Catherine. The younger Henry Hussey gave certain lands for the support of two canons to celebrate early masses at the altar of the Holy Trinity and of St. Eutropius.⁸⁶ The donors were sometimes rewarded by grants of corrodies, several instances of which occur apart from those compulsorily granted to royal nominees.⁸⁷ The only benefaction which need be noticed, however, is the advowson of the church of Compton in Surrey given by John de Bridford in 1330,⁸⁸ and appropriated by royal licence in 1346.⁸⁹

The life of the abbey, though situated in a

⁷⁸ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 30.

⁷⁹ Ibid. fols. 10, 19.

⁸⁰ Ibid. fol. 65.

⁸¹ Ibid. fol. 17. ⁸² Ibid. fol. 14. ⁸³ Ibid. fol. 106.

⁸⁴ Ibid. fol. 166.

⁸⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 165.

⁸⁶ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 24.

⁸⁷ Close, 11 Edw. II, m. 10 d.

⁸⁸ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33.

⁸⁹ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

quiet and remote part of the country, seems not to have been uneventful. Thus in 1317 the abbot complained that his house had been broken into and robbed by thieves.⁹⁰ Other visitors, more honourable, but probably not much less expensive, came in September, 1324, when the king and his suite stayed here one day.⁹¹ Walter Hussey came to the rescue in 1327 with a gift of 100 marks, in return for which one extra canon was to be supported to pray for the benefactor and his family;⁹² but in spite of this, the bishop of Chichester, writing about 1335, said that the monastery was reduced to great poverty by thieves stealing their goods and burning their buildings.⁹³

Fire again inflicted serious injury in 1417, when the tower of the church was struck by lightning and destroyed, with its eight bells, of which five were remade the next year by John Utyng, 'abbot elect (*provisus*) and formerly canon professed of Bileigh.'⁹⁴ This abbot had been elected in 1404, but had resigned in 1411, when Nicholas Baldewyn, sub-prior of Bayham, succeeded him; he seems, however, to have temporarily recovered his abbacy, probably about 1417, as he addressed a petition⁹⁵ to the chancellor complaining that whereas he had been restored by authority of the court of Canterbury to his monastery, John Chetham, abbot of Bayham, with two of his canons, and three canons of Dureford, had ejected him by force, so that for fear of his life he dared not remain; they had further carried off a pastoral staff and other ornaments, vestments, relics, and muniments to the value of £400. The outcome of this action is not certain, but in 1418 John Utyng, canon of Beeleigh was arrested for felony.⁹⁶

Abbot Stephen Mersey was deposed about 1444 for running into debt, allowing the buildings to go to ruin, pledging the jewels, and other acts of misgovernance. Foreseeing his fate he secretly sealed a deed granting an annuity of £20 to one Thomas Browne to his own use for the term of his life. This deed was declared void by the Court of Chancery and also by the 'faders of the Ordre,' at their general chapter, when Stephen was 'assigned to abide in another place of that religion called Newe Hous in the diocese of Lincolne under obedience upon the peyn of cursyng, the which he utterly disobeieth,' continuing to distrain, as Abbot Walter complained, 'to the infinall distruction of sayd monasterie for evermore onlasse then ye of your gracious fader-whode sette your hand of supportacion,' as the house had barely 100 marks a year and was

much in debt, 'also the reparacon of the chyrche of the sayd monasterie wyth all that longyth thereto wyth granges mylls byth soo rewnys that ys grate pyte to see and passyth your por bedmen power to repayre.' Moreover for fear of distrains many tenants had departed and even some of the brethren, 'and moo ben like withoute hasty remedi be had soo that devyn servyce their is like to ceisse.'⁹⁷

The same Abbot Walter who uttered this piteous complaint had also to complain of the action of Sir Henry Hussey of South Harting, who in 1454 came with an armed mob, and threatened to burn the monastery, so that the canons had to watch all night, and divine service was neglected, and two years later he twice came and threatened to slay the abbot, and actually 'felonsly slough' one of his servants.⁹⁸

In November, 1465, Abbot Walter died and the convent sent brother Robert Kyppyng to take the news and the late abbot's seal to the abbot of Welbeck.⁹⁹ At the same time Nicholas Hussey, who had succeeded the turbulent Sir Henry as patron, wrote to the same father abbot asking that the head of the neighbouring abbey of Titchfield might hold the election as soon as possible.¹⁰⁰ The abbot of Welbeck agreed to this and wrote to his brother of Titchfield to act for him.¹⁰¹ It is probable that the bearer of the letter to the father abbot was himself chosen abbot, as in 1475, when Bishop Redman visited Dureford, Robert Kyppyng was head of the community, with five brethren and two novices not yet professed, as well as two other brethren, who are noted as 'apostate and fugitive.'¹⁰² At his visitation in 1478 the bishop found the two apostates had returned, but were in disgrace, deprived of their stalls and of all voice in the affairs of the convent; at the abbot's request he restored them. He further enjoined that all should rise for mattins, and should do the work assigned them indoors or out. The debts of the house, which had stood at £80, had been reduced to £8, and the stores of grain, &c., are noted as sufficient.¹⁰³

By 1482 the debt of £8 had been wiped out, but plague had visited the house and carried off most of the inmates, the abbot and three canons alone surviving, apparently. Bishop Redman, who held his visitation at the Grey Friars' church in Chichester,¹⁰⁴ possibly because the plague was still prevalent at Dureford, condoled with the abbot, but required him to repair his buildings and to fill up the number of brethren, assigning to his house Walter Speer, canon of Torre, then

⁹⁰ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 4 d.

⁹¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 50.

⁹² *Ibid.* viii, 77.

⁹³ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 201.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 83.

⁹⁵ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 6, No. 350.

⁹⁶ Pat. 6 Hen. V. pt. ii, m. 13 d.

⁹⁷ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 15, Nos. 27-8; bdle. 27, No. 178.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* bdle. 26, No. 615.

⁹⁹ Gasquet, *Coll. Angl. Premons.* ii, 187.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 188.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 188.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 191.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 194.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 190.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 192.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

present, who had been temporarily banished to Dureford at the chapter in 1478.¹⁰⁶ Six years later, in 1488, the community still consisted of only the abbot, Robert Kyppyng, and four canons, a note being added that the others are dead.¹⁰⁶ Orders were again given for the increase of their number; and a newly contracted debt of 50 marks was attributed to the burning of certain buildings. This time the orders were obeyed, five novices being added before October, 1491, when Redman was again here and found practically nothing to correct.¹⁰⁷ In 1494 there were eight canons besides the abbot, but the bishop considered the number too small; he further gave strict orders for the rebuilding of the cloister, which was quite ruined.¹⁰⁸ At the visitation of 1497 the abbot is not mentioned, but the names of ten canons are given, and they are stated to be lax in the observance of silence and given to leaving their monastery; the cloister also had got into a still worse state, but the debts of the house were only £16 and its stock sufficient.¹⁰⁹ The debt had fallen to 10 marks in 1500, but the cloister had not been rebuilt, and the number of canons was only eight inclusive of the abbot and two novices; moreover the prior was acting as vicar of Rogate, but was ordered to give up his cure and reside amongst his brethren. Three of the canons had incurred punishment by going out of the precincts without licence, but nothing else was found amiss.¹¹⁰ There was another visitation, by the abbot of Welbeck, in September, 1506, but no details have been preserved.¹¹¹

Layton, in a letter to Cromwell,¹¹² dated 26 September, 1535, writes contemptuously of the poverty of Dureford:

which might better be called Dirtforde—the poorest abbey I have seen, as this bearer, the abbot, can tell you—far in debt and in great decay. This young man, for his time, has done well, and I have licensed him to repair to you for the liberty of himself and his brethren.

The income of the house being only £108 13s. 9d. the abbey was suppressed in 1536. The abbot, John Sympson, was appointed to the abbacy of Titchfield in Hampshire,¹¹³ and on resigning that house was offered the Sussex living of Horsted Keynes.¹¹⁴ In 1541 he was called to account for having fraudulently sold various cattle between the time that the abbey was taken into the king's hands and its actual dissolution.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁶ Gasquet, *Coll. Angl. Premons.* i, 84.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. ii, 195.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 197.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 200.

¹¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix, 444.

¹¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 225.

¹¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (1), 728.

¹¹⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 224-6.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 196.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 199.

¹¹¹ Ibid. i, 102.

ABBOTS OF DUREFORD

Robert, occurs 1173-1180¹¹⁶

W., occurs 1198¹¹⁷

Robert, occurs 1204¹¹⁸

Jordan, occurs 1219¹¹⁹

Robert, occurs 1229¹²⁰

William, occurs 1231-1244¹²¹

Valentine, occurs 1248-1252¹²²

Nicholas, occurs *temp.* Henry III¹²³

John, occurs 1258¹²⁴-1286¹²⁵

Osbert, occurs 1310¹²⁶-1315¹²⁷

John, occurs 1321¹²⁸

Thomas, occurs 1323¹²⁹-1329¹³⁰

Henry, occurs 1334¹³¹

John atte Re, occurs 1364¹³²

John Heuerwyk, occurs 1380¹³³

John, occurs 1400¹³⁴

John Chelchester, elected 1401¹³⁵

John Ulyng, elected 1404,¹³⁶ resigned 1411

Nicholas Baldewyn, elected 1411¹³⁷

John Ulyng, re-elected 1418¹³⁸

Thomas Dollyng, occurs 1424 to 1432¹³⁹

Stephen Mersey, occurs 1440,¹⁴⁰ deposed c. 1444¹⁴¹

Walter Mene, occurs c. 1454,¹⁴² died 1465¹⁴³

Robert Kyppyng, elected c. 1465,¹⁴⁴ resigned 1501

Robert York, elected 1501¹⁴⁵

Henry Skykker, occurs 1528,¹⁴⁶ 1529¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁶ Chartul. fol. 30.

¹¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* i, 5. ¹¹⁸ Chartul. fol. 4.

¹¹⁹ *Sarum Charters* (Rolls Ser.), 91.

¹²⁰ Chartul. fol. 35.

¹²¹ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), Nos. 267, 419. He resigned before 1248, when he was impleaded as 'quondam' abbot: Assize R. 909, m. 21.

¹²² Ibid. No. 447; Feet of F. Sussex, File 18, No. 11.

¹²³ Assize R. 929, m. 12 d.

¹²⁴ Feet of F. Sussex, File 21, No. 18.

¹²⁵ Chartul. fol. 95.

¹²⁶ Gasquet, *op. cit.* i, No. 3.

¹²⁷ Close, 8 Edw. IV, m. 9 d.

¹²⁸ Chartul. fol. 198. ¹²⁹ Chartul. fol. 196.

¹³⁰ Close, 3 Edw. III, m. 11 d.

¹³¹ Ibid. 7 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 2 d.

¹³² Chartul. fol. 143.

¹³³ Cler. Subs. $\frac{1}{9}$. There were then six canons besides the abbot.

¹³⁴ *Cal. Papal Let.* v, 327. Probably resigned this year, as he had indult to retain the grange of Weston for life, *even if he resign.*

¹³⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 83.

¹³⁶ Ibid. fol. 87, 111.

¹³⁷ Ibid. fol. 147. He was sub-prior of Bayham.

¹³⁸ See above.

¹³⁹ Court R. bdle. 126, Nos. 1871-2.

¹⁴⁰ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 11, No. 138.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. bdle. 15, Nos. 27, 28.

¹⁴² Ibid. bdle. 26, No. 615; Exch. of Pleas, 4 Edw. IV, m. 75 d.

¹⁴³ Gasquet, *op. cit.* ii, No. 373. ¹⁴⁴ See above.

¹⁴⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 92.

¹⁴⁶ Magd. Coll. Oxon. muniments, Misc. 231.

¹⁴⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv, p. 2701.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

John Sympton, occurs 1533,¹⁴⁸ surrendered 1536¹⁴⁹

The oval thirteenth-century seal shows the Virgin and Child and St. John the Baptist standing under a double canopy; in base, the abbot kneeling.¹⁵⁰ Legend:—

SIGILLUM ABBATIS ET CONVENTUS DE DUREFORD

A round seal of the fourteenth century has the Virgin seated under a triple canopy between two saints; in base, between a hart (in reference to Harting) and a hind, a shield of arms—a pastoral staff palewise, over all a griffin passant.¹⁵¹ Legend:—

* SIGILL . . . ŌVĒTUS MON' DE DUREFORD
ORDĪS PMŌSTRATĒTIS ECCLIE

HOUSES OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

19. THE PRECEPTORY OF SADDLES-COMBE

About the year 1228 Geoffrey de Say granted the manor of Saddlescombe, some four miles north-west of Brighton, to the Templars with the assent of William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, who added a grant of 40s. rent from Lewes. At the same time, or shortly afterwards, Simon le Counte gave them the churches of Southwick and Woodmancote and certain tithes. Alan Trenchmere gave land in Shoreham, where the Templars erected a chapel which subsequently came into the hands of the Carmelite Friars of that town, and Theobald de Englescheville granted the manor of Compton in Berwick, in return for which they had to provide a chaplain to celebrate for the souls of the donor, King Henry III, and Queen Eleanor.

Upon the seizure of the property of the order in 1308, the lands at Saddlescombe were returned as worth £20, and the goods there, almost entirely farming utensils, at £75 10s.; the Compton lands being put at £8 15s. and the goods at £57 14s. Although the lands belonging to this preceptory were bestowed upon the Hospitallers, the earl of Surrey managed to retain them for the use of himself and his heirs until 1397.

A remarkable document entered amongst the Saddlescombe deeds and therefore possibly relating to this preceptory, is a letter from a certain Archbishop Azo requesting the master of the Temple in England to receive Joan, the aged wife of Sir Richard Chaldese, who had taken the oath of chastity and wished to submit herself to the rule of the Temple.

20. THE PRECEPTORY OF SHIPLEY

About 1125 Philip de Harcourt bestowed the manor and church of Shipley upon the knights

of the Temple, subsequently, in 1154, adding the church of Sompting, with which apparently went the chapel of Cokeham in which, however, the family of Bernehus had certain rights which were the occasion of several disputes. Another chapel belonging to this house was that of Knepp in the neighbourhood, of which the monks of Sele claimed certain tithes; by an agreement made in 1181 the monks surrendered these claims, and undertook, that if any of their brethren should minister in the chapel of Knepp he should pay over all offerings received to the preceptor of Shipley, who should give him such remuneration as he saw fit. The advowsons of Woodmancote and Southwick, originally granted to the Templars of Saddlescombe, appear to have been taken over by the larger preceptory of Shipley—indeed, it is not improbable that at the time of the suppression of the order Saddlescombe may have been only a 'camera' of Shipley.

The inventory made in 1308 gives a long list of household and farming implements, a small quantity of armour, twenty silver spoons, and 'a book of Kings and a book of Beasts,' the value of which was unknown to the jurors. The manor of Shipley was returned at £8 18s. 1¼d., the church at £13 6s. 8d., and the goods at £73 12s. 3d. At Sompting, the lands and church together were worth £27 13s. 4d., and the goods £24 19s. 7½d. There was a further £6 arising from lands in Loxwood and Wisborough.

Among the knights examined with regard to the charges brought against their order were William de Egendon, who had been preceptor of Shipley for four years, William de la Fenne, a former member of this house, in the dormitory of which he had been admitted fifteen years earlier, and three others connected with Shipley.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹ The accounts of these two houses are taken, except where other references are given, from the article by W. H. Blaauw, in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 227-74, which is based upon the Cott. MS. Nero E. vi, and Wilkins, *Concilia*.

¹⁴⁸ Harl. Chart. 3 C. 62.

¹⁴⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 321.

¹⁵⁰ Magd. Coll. Oxon. D.



HASTINGS PRIORY



DUREFORD ABBEY
(FOURTEENTH CENTURY)



PYNHAM PRIORY



DUREFORD ABBEY
(THIRTEENTH CENTURY)



ST. KATHERINE'S HOSPITAL,
SHOREHAM

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

These all stood up staunchly for their order, but another Sussex templar, Richard de Kocfeld, said that John de Borne, confessor to Earl Warenne, said that he had ruined his soul by joining the order, while he further related that Walter, rector of Hoathly, had told him that he had heard that a certain Templar had said there was

one article of the oath of admission which he could never reveal to any living creature.

PRECEPTORS OF SHIPLEY

John de Hamedon, occurs 1247

Thomas de la Fenne, occurs 1288² 1292³

William de Egendon, 1304-8.

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

21. THE PRECEPTORY OF POLING

The origin of the preceptory of Poling does not appear to be known, but in 1338 the lands of the Hospitallers in Sussex⁴ consisted of the estate of Poling with lands in Combe and Offham, bringing in £13 17s. 3d. yearly, with other property in Ocklynge at Eastbourne, Midhurst, Up Marden, Islesham, and Rumboldswyke bringing the total up to £78 11s. 3d., inclusive of 40 marks for 'confraria,' that is to say alms collected in the neighbourhood. Against this had to be set £34 for the expenses of the establishment, which consisted of Peter atte Nasshe, knight preceptor, and his confrater Clement de Donewico, knight, a chaplain, a 'claviger' or steward, a cook, two attendants of the preceptor, and two clerks employed to collect the 'confraria,' of whom one had his board at the preceptory and was therefore probably collector in

the immediate neighbourhood, while the other who did not board presumably worked the more distant districts. Besides these estates, the lands formerly held by the Templars at Shipley (worth 10 marks clear), and Compton (leased for 4 marks), had passed to the hospital,⁵ but the manor of Saddlescombe, worth 100 marks, had not so passed, having been seized by the earl of Surrey.⁶ In 1341 the Ocklynge estate was seized into the king's hand on the ground that the prior of the hospital was bound to find a chaplain to celebrate there, and to give alms to the poor twice in the week, but upon inquiry it was found that no such service was due, though brother Robert de Criel, who had held it for fifty years, had distributed such alms of his own free will.⁷

After the suppression of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, the estates at Poling were given, in 1541, to the college of Arundel.⁸

FRIARIES

22. HOUSE OF DOMINICAN FRIARS, ARUNDEL

The date and circumstances in which the Dominicans settled at Arundel are not known, but it is possible that they were brought there by Isabel, countess of Arundel.¹ The first mention of their convent is in 1253, when St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, left to them in his will 20s. and a book of Sentences.² It is not unlikely that the saint's confessor and biographer, Ralf Bocking, who was a Dominican, may have been an inmate of this house, the only one of the order in Sussex at that date.³ When Edward I came to Arundel in May, 1297, he gave 22s. for three days' food for the friars,⁴ which at the recognized rate of 4d. for a day's food, would

point to a community of twenty-two brethren at this time, and a similar royal gift in 1324 of 6s. 8d. for one day's food corresponds to twenty brethren.⁵

Edmund, earl of Arundel, in 1324 obtained licence to grant to the friars 2 acres of land adjoining their precincts,⁶ but no other grant of land is recorded. In 1381 Michael Northburgh, canon of Chichester, mentioned in his will that he had bound himself to bestow a sum of £40 upon the Friars Preachers of Arundel, in return for which they were to celebrate two masses for him, the first at the high altar and the second at the lower; and they were further to construct two glazed windows with the money, as set forth in an indenture made between them.⁷ But in spite of numerous legacies, the house was a poor

² Assize R. 924, m. 59.

³ Magd. Coll. Oxon. D., 'Shoreham,' 18.

⁴ Larking, *The Knights Hospit. in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 24, 25.

⁵ Ibid. 175.

⁶ Ibid. 213.

⁷ Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 20.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1056 (69).

¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 87.

² Ibid. i, 167.

⁴ Ibid.

⁶ Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁷ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay, fol. 208.

³ Ibid. xxviii, 87.

⁵ Ibid. 88.

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one, and in 1402, when one of the brethren, John Bourne, in the fervour of his religious zeal had himself enclosed as an anchorite in a cell of the convent he found the inconvenience of the place and the penury of the house so trying that he obtained papal licence to move to some more suitable place, taking with him his clothes, books, and other belongings.⁸

Of the inner history of this priory we can say but little. Its prior in 1314 was one of the eight English priors removed from office and declared incapable of immediate re-election by the general chapter of that year.⁹ When the bishop of Dover visited Arundel in July, 1538,¹⁰ he found the friars too poor to pay even a part of his expenses, but he recorded that the three brethren were 'in good name and favour.' Although there were only three friars here in July, 1538, when the house was surrendered in October of the same year, there were four besides the prior.¹¹

PRIORS OF ARUNDEL.

John de Grensted, occurs 1330¹²
John Bailly, occurs 1414¹³
John Colwyll, surrendered 1538.¹⁴

23. HOUSE OF DOMINICAN FRIARS, CHICHESTER¹⁵

The Black Friars settled at Chichester some time after 1253, for they are not mentioned with the other Sussex friaries in St. Richard's will, and before 1283. In this latter year their prior, William, was accused of having celebrated mass at Steyning, although Archbishop Peckham had laid the church under an interdict.¹⁶ Apparently at this time they had only temporary buildings, as, in 1284, Edmund earl of Cornwall remitted them the rent due for their place in the city and licensed them to obtain further plots of land adjoining, to enclose the whole and to erect an oratory with other offices.¹⁷ Next year, in July, 1285, the court was at Chichester, and Queen Eleanor bought a strip of land 104 ft. long by 44 ft. broad adjoining the friars' grounds and gave it to them.¹⁸ The same queen in 1286 made a further grant of land in East Street.¹⁹ In 1289 they obtained leave to enclose their

enlarged lands with a wall, blocking up two streets but making another on their own ground from St. Andrew's church in the Pallant southwards to the city wall.²⁰ As their premises were still too cramped Edward II in 1310 licensed them to acquire further land,²¹ and the property thus obtained was released from suit at the king's courts by Richard II in 1380.²²

When Edward I was at Chichester in 1297, he sent the friars 34s. for three days' food, which, as 4d. was the recognized allowance for one day, shows that there were then thirty-four friars resident; but a similar gift in 1324 of 7s. for one day's food shows that the number had fallen to twenty-one.²³

Bequests to this friary, which was under the patronage of St. Vincent,²⁴ are numerous in the wills of local testators. John Wode, who died in 1479, left to the Friars Preachers a noble—

under the condition that the prior shall not disgrace my brother for that trespass which he with many others did in dragging a thief out of the said prior's church against his will, as the prior says.²⁵

The bishop of Dover reported favourably of the friars of Chichester in July, 1538,²⁶ and in October returned here and received the surrender, which is signed by the prior and six brethren.²⁷ The house was poor, and when their debts had been paid and their 80 oz. of plate redeemed from pledge, there was not enough to pay the visitor's costs.²⁸

PRIORS OF CHICHESTER

William, occurs 1283²⁹
Richard Win, occurs 1364³⁰
John Brown, occurs 1383³¹
John Anteny, surrendered 1538.³²

24. HOUSE OF DOMINICAN FRIARS, WINCHELSEA³³

Although when the new town of Winchelsea was founded it had been stipulated that no other religious house than that of the Grey Friars should be erected within it, Edward II in 1318 granted a vacant plot of 12 acres on the southern

⁸ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 352; v, 470.

⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 87.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1456.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 579.

¹² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 28.

¹³ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Chicheley*, 275.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 579.

¹⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 39-45.

¹⁶ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 620.

¹⁷ *Pat. 4 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 24.

¹⁸ *Pat. 13 Edw. I*, m. 8.

¹⁹ *Pat. 18 Edw. I*, m. 16

²⁰ *Pat. 17 Edw. I*, m. 11.

²¹ *Pat. 4 Edw. II*, pt. i, m. 24.

²² *Pat. 4 Ric. II*, pt. i, m. 43.

²³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 41.

²⁴ *Obit. R.* (Surtees Soc.), 38.

²⁵ *P.C.C. Logge*, fol. 111b.

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 1456.

²⁷ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 563.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 44.

²⁹ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 620.

³⁰ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 46.

³¹ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay*, fol. 203.

³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 563.

³³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 91-6.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

edge of the cliff at Winchelsea, not far from the New Gate, for the erection of a house of Black Friars.³⁴ The site thus granted, however, was so far removed from the business quarters of the town that but few persons came to worship in the church, and the alms bestowed were small. Accordingly in 1339 licence was given for William Batan of South Iham to grant the friars 6 acres of land 'near the town' whereon to build their house and oratory.³⁵ It is not certain that they availed themselves of the permission to move, but if they did it would seem that the new site was down by the harbour, and even less satisfactory than the first, for in 1342 they obtained from the pope a faculty to move to another part of the town, as their convent was in danger of being swept away by the sea.³⁶ For the next fifteen years the history of these friars is unknown, but in 1358 the king granted them an acre of land in the centre of the town near the church of St. Giles and allowed them to take over five messuages adjoining this land,³⁷ and here they found a permanent abiding-place. In 1372 the king released them from payment of the rent of 5s. 8½d. due for the said five messuages,³⁸ and these concessions were confirmed by Henry VI in 1429.³⁹

Of the history of this house, which was under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin,⁴⁰ very little is known. In 1398 Henry Sucton was appointed for a term of three years as 'lector' or teacher of philosophy and theology, and had permission to make a pilgrimage to Rome.⁴¹ The prior a few years later appears to have been a partisan of Richard II, as in 1402 Henry IV issued orders to arrest him and the rector of Horsmonden, in Kent, for high treason.⁴² The result of his trial is not known, and beyond numerous legacies, and the occurrence of Hugh Stonard as prior in 1439,^{42a} no further reference is found to this Dominican friary of Winchelsea until its dissolution in July, 1538, when the bishop of Dover reported that the house was ruinous, its furniture had fetched £10, there was a close let for 20s., and the rest of the property would not bring in 10s. a year.⁴³

25. HOUSE OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS, CHICHESTER

The date at which the Franciscans first came to Chichester is not known, but it may well have

been soon after their arrival in England in 1225, as Brother Walter de Coleville, one of the first of the friars to come to this country, had relations in Chichester.⁴⁴ They had certainly been settled some little time before 1253, when Henry III confirmed the grant made in their favour by his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, of a lane adjoining their premises.⁴⁵ In the same year St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, bequeathed to the Friars Minor of Chichester 20s. and a psalter.⁴⁶ In 1269 the friars were allowed to move their house from the original cramped position to the vacant site of the castle,⁴⁷ and here they built the church of which the graceful remains still stand, and in which Archbishop Peckham held an ordination in 1282.⁴⁸ Of history these Grey Friars appear to have had little; when the bishop of Dover visited the house in July, 1538, he found it in good order,⁴⁹ and so left it undisturbed until 8 October, when it was duly surrendered by the seven brethren then resident.⁵⁰ The inventory taken upon its dissolution⁵¹ shows little furniture of value, save 140 ounces of silver; the buildings were in good repair, 'all ye holl howse new syleyde rownde abowte wyndaus and all ye wyndaus well gleseyd,' and there were 'in ye lybrary iiij stalls and a halff substancyally new made w^t dyv^rse olde bokes; item a goodely new presse w^t almers for bokes.'

The seal of Hugh, warden in 1253, is a pointed oval: [the Virgin and Child] under a canopy upheld by two full-length saints, each holding a long cross and standing on a head of a lion. In base, under a trefoiled arch, the warden, half-length, in prayer to the left.⁵² Legend:—

ME FOUE PAULE DOCE PIA [VIRGO] PETRE
RESOLUE.

26. HOUSE OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS, LEWES

The Grey Friars were evidently settled in Lewes some time before 1249, as the Assize Roll of that year mentions the case of a thief who sought sanctuary in the church of St. Mary at Lewes and escaped thence to the house of the Friars Minor of Lewes and remained there for ten days.⁵³ They occur again in 1253 as benefiting under St. Richard's will to the extent of 20s. and a

³⁴ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29.

³⁵ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22.

³⁶ Cal. Papal Pet. 2.

³⁷ Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

³⁸ Pat. 46 Edw. III, m. 11.

³⁹ Pat. 8 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 19.

⁴⁰ Obit. R. (Surtees Soc.), 28.

⁴¹ Suss. Arch. Coll. xxviii, 93.

⁴² Pat. 3 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 18 d.

^{42a} De Banco R. Hil. 9 Hen. IV, m. 150.

⁴³ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xiii (1), 1456.

⁴⁴ Mon. Francisc. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 25.

⁴⁵ Pat. 37 Hen. III, m. 22 d.

⁴⁶ Suss. Arch. Coll. i, 167.

⁴⁷ Pat. 53 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁴⁸ Reg. Epist. Peckham (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1029.

⁴⁹ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xiii (1), 1456.

⁵⁰ Ibid. xiii (2), 562.

⁵¹ Suss. Arch. Coll. xlv, 71-2.

⁵² Harl. Ch. 83, C. 32. The letters M E of 'me,' U E of 'fove,' U L of 'Paule,' and U E of 'resolve,' are respectively conjoined.

⁵³ Assize R. 909, m. 32.

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book of the gospels of St. Luke and St. John.⁶⁴ A grant of 24s. for three days' food, made to the friary in 1299, when King Edward was at Lewes, shows that there were then twenty-four brethren.⁶⁵ From this time their history is a blank, broken only by occasional bequests of money from pious testators, until shortly before the dissolution.

In May, 1533, Cromwell sent one Thomas Folks down to Lewes to make inquiries about a chalice which was in the hands of 'one Robert a Smyzth of Framfield.' The warden, John Parker,⁶⁶ was away at the time 'at Winchelsea at the visitation of Dr. Quickhoppes,' and the vice-warden knew nothing of the matter, but Thomas Man, 'lister' of the house, wrote to Cromwell saying that about Easter one of their chalices disappeared, and he heard the warden say that he had lent it; it was duly returned on 27 April.⁶⁷ Four years later, when the suppression of the religious orders was proceeding, and spies and sycophants were carrying every light word of 'treason' to Cromwell, it was reported that Brother Richard and Brother Longe of the Grey Friars of Lewes had said that the king was dead, the wish being evidently assumed to be father to the thought. Brother Richard admitted that he had said so to his brethren, Brother Longe and 'Black Herry'; when asked where he had heard the news, he 'stood long amazed and at last said that a somyner who keeps an alehouse opposite the Friars' gate told him'; the latter however, denied having even heard the rumour, whence it appeared that Brother Richard himself was the originator of 'the abominable tidings.'⁶⁸ The sequel appears three weeks later, when Sir William Shelley writes to Cromwell that 'the friars have their punishment this Saturday at Lewes, and take it very penitently.'⁶⁹

This appears to have been one of the last of the friaries to be surrendered, as on 15 December, 1538, the bishop of Dover wrote to Cromwell that if the northern houses had made their releases to the king he knew of no house to release except Lewes.⁶⁰ Shortly afterwards he writes that he has received the house to the king's use. It was not much of a haul, as the goods, including altars, bells, windows, and gravestones, would not cover the debts, which were £15 4s.; there was 77 oz. of plate but it was mostly pledged and would have to be redeemed.⁶¹

In 1524 John Peterson desired to be buried 'in the church of St. Francis of the Freres Minors of Lewes befor the chapell of saint Barbara,'⁶² but the more correct title appears to have been 'church of St. Mary and St. Margaret.'⁶³

⁶⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 167.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 146.

⁶⁶ He occurs as warden in 1531; *Add. Ch.* 29844.

⁶⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vi, 435.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* xii (2), 1185.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 1282.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 1059.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 1060.

⁶² Will in P.C.C. Bodfelde, 27.

⁶³ *Obit. R.* (Surtees Soc.), 28.

27. HOUSE OF FRANCISCAN FRIARS, WINCHELSEA

The Grey Friars were established at Winchelsea before 1253, in which year they are mentioned in the will of St. Richard.⁶⁴ Another early reference is in a plea of 1263 concerning land in Pevensey salt-marshes, when it is mentioned that the father of one of the parties, not being able to afford the cost of protecting the land from the sea, leased it at a low rent to 'a certain prior of Winchelsea,' who can only have been the prior of the Grey Friars, on condition of his embanking it.⁶⁵ When the old town of Winchelsea was destroyed by the great storm of 1287 and rebuilt by King Edward the barons stipulated that he should allow no religious establishment to be erected, save only a house of Friars Minors.⁶⁶

With the exception of a casual reference in 1294, when the abbot of Westminster, as a penalty for harbouring an apostate friar, was condemned to pay 60 marks to be divided between the houses of Winchelsea and Litchfield,⁶⁷ and of numerous bequests of goods and money, the history of the church of St. Francis⁶⁸ of Winchelsea is practically a blank until July, 1538, when the bishop of Dover, who was visiting the friaries to receive their surrender, came here.⁶⁹ He found the Grey Friars very poor; the warden was absent or would probably have given up the house, as indeed he must have done shortly after this.

PRIORS, OR WARDENS, OF WINCHELSEA

John Beere, occurs 1510⁷⁰

Robert Beddington, occurs 1530⁷¹

28. HOUSE OF AUSTIN FRIARS, RYE

The only settlement of this order of friars in Sussex was at Rye, and of its origin nothing is known except that the friars were firmly established here by the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1368 the prior and convent of the Friars Eremites of St. Augustine in Rye granted that one of their brethren, being a priest, should celebrate daily at the altar of St. Nicholas in the parish church for the welfare of William Taylour of Rye and Agnes his wife, in return for certain benefactions.⁷² Ten years later, the mayor and commonalty of Rye granted the

⁶⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 167.

⁶⁵ *Assize R.* 912, m. 13.

⁶⁶ *Parl. Proc.* file 2, No. 6.

⁶⁷ *Mon. Francisc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 60.

⁶⁸ *Obit. R.* (Surtees Soc.), 28.

⁶⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (1), 1456.

⁷⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 129.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* vii, 220.

⁷² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 497.

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friars a place called 'le Haltone,' near the town ditch, reserving right of access to the town wall for repairs and other purposes.⁷³ From this time the friars occur frequently in Sussex wills as recipients of bequests, usually of small value, but with the exception of a statement in 1524 that in that year the roof of the buildings (*tegumentum fabricae*) of the friars was erected at the expense of William Marshe, husbandman,⁷⁴ their history is a blank.

The seals of the community of the office of prior attached to the deed of 1368 are 'vesica-shaped, each representing St. Augustin in the act of benediction.'

A different seal is appended to the deed of 1378, and shows 'St. Augustin holding a crozier, with an upright anchor before him, and people standing below.'⁷⁵

29. HOUSE OF CARMELITE FRIARS, SHOREHAM

The only establishment of Carmelite friars in Sussex was the house of the Blessed Virgin founded at Shoreham by Sir John de Mowbray⁷⁶ in 1316. The founder's father-in-law, William de Braose, shortly afterwards gave them a messuage adjoining their house,⁷⁷ and in 1348 Sir John de Mowbray obtained leave to give them a further 1½ acres extending from their dwelling to the High Street on the north.⁷⁸ They also obtained from the Hospitallers in 1326 a house and chapel in Shoreham which had formerly belonged to the Templars.⁷⁹ Some fifty years after their foundation they appear to have enlarged

their church, as in 1368 Sir Michael de Poynings left £20 to the Carmelites of Shoreham towards building their church.⁸⁰ They were also the recipients of numerous other, but small, legacies.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the inroads of the sea threatened to sweep away the friars' house, and accordingly in 1493 they removed to the vacant buildings of the priory of Sele, which had been suppressed and made over to Magdalen College, Oxford, by permission of whose fellows the friars were allowed to take up their quarters there.⁸¹

These Carmelites appear to have been at the time of the dissolution the poorest of all the Sussex friars, against none of whom could charges of luxury be levelled. The other houses all contrived to struggle on in poverty till suppressed, but when the bishop of Dover came in July, 1538, to the White Friars of Sele, he found 'neither friar nor secular, but the doors open'; there was no prior, 'nor none to serve God,' and had not been for some time; the house, chapel, and 4 acres of land belonged to Magdalen College, being only leased by the friars, and with the exception of choir stalls valued at 20s., and a bell in the church steeple which the parish claimed, the furniture of the priory, including 'a sorry bell' and some ragged vestments, was valued at only 3s. 4d., and that the bishop considered 8d. too much.⁸²

PRIORS OF SHOREHAM

Nicholas de Bedynghe, occurs 1329⁸³

Nicholas, occurs 1342⁸⁴

John Bromlee, before 1383⁸⁵

John Crawle, occurs 1414⁸⁶

HOSPITALS

30. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, ARUNDEL

As early as 1189 there was a hospital for lepers at Arundel, £12 2s. being paid for its maintenance in that year,¹ while in 1196 the leprous sisters of the church of St. James received £9 8s.² The patronage of the chapel of St. James for lepers was held by John Fitz Alan at the time of his death in 1262, and the mills of Swanbourne were at this time charged with an annual payment of £9 0s. 8d. to the leprous women of Arundel.³ The chapel passed into the possession of the college of Arundel, and in 1459 was occupied by a hermit.⁴

⁷³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 497.

⁷⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 128.

⁷⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 497.

⁷⁶ Harl. MS. 539, fol. 144.

⁷⁷ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.

⁷⁸ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 14.

⁷⁹ Magd. Coll. Mun. 'Shoreham,' No. 36.

31. THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, ARUNDEL

Richard, earl of Arundel, who died in 1376, had intended to found a hospital or alms-house in connexion with the college whose foundation he was contemplating. Both these schemes were carried out by his successor, who, after establishing the college, obtained royal licence in 1395 to alienate to the master and

⁸⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 22.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* xii, 128.

⁸² *L. and P. Hen. VIII* (1), 1394, 1456.

⁸³ Magd. Coll. Mun. 'Shoreham,' No. 43.

⁸⁴ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 4.

⁸⁵ A bequest to him as 'quondam prior'; Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay, fol. 203.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Chicheley, pt. 1, fol. 276.

¹ Pipe R. 1 Ric. I.

² *Ibid.* 7 Ric. I.

³ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III*, 279.

⁴ Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 679.

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chaplains of the same 4 messuages and 3 tofts in Arundel for a hospital or Maison Dieu, in honour of the Holy Trinity.⁵ The inmates were to be twenty poor men, aged or infirm, of good life, and able to repeat the Lord's Prayer, Salutation, and Creed in Latin, preference being given to the servants or tenants of the patron. Over them was to be a resident priest as master and chaplain, who should have the assistance of a prior elected by inmates from among themselves. Idleness was discouraged, the inmates being set to such tasks as the care of the garden, the weeding of the churchyard walks, or the nursing of their sick brethren. Regulations for divine service were also laid down, and it was ordained that the brethren should wear a brown woollen garment like that of a monk, with a hood; this, with shoes and socks, being given to each at Christmas. In the case of an inmate developing leprosy he was to be removed from the hospital and to be allowed one penny a day during the continuance of his illness.⁶

The revenues of the hospital amounted in 1407 to just over £50, but under the will of Thomas, earl of Arundel, in 1415 the house benefited largely, its income standing in 1437 at £101 13s. 10½d.,⁷ at about which figure it remained for a century, being about £94 in 1546, in which year it was suppressed.⁸

MASTERS OF THE MAISON DIEU,⁹

ARUNDEL

Thomas Dene, occurs 1407, died 1439
 Nicholas Ward, appointed 1439, occurs 1443
 Robert Curteys, occurs 1443-53
 John Chambers, occurs 1482
 John Aslaby, occurs 1519
 William Bushby, occurs 1524, 1544
 Henry Rede, surrendered 1546¹⁰

The circular seal of the hospital shows the Trinity in a canopied niche, with tabernacle work at sides.¹¹ Legend:—

SIGILLŪ . DOM' . ELEMOSINAR . SCĒ . T'NITAT' .
 ARŪDELL'

32. THE HOSPITAL OF BATTLE

'The house of the pilgrims which is called the hospital' is mentioned as adjoining the gate of the abbey in the survey of the vill of Battle made about 1076.¹² This hospital, which thus appears to have been, originally at least, a kind

of casual ward attached to the abbey, occurs from time to time in rentals as a landmark, and in 1345 we find one Alan Payn accused of breaking into 'the buildings of the hospital of the blessed Thomas the Martyr in the vill of Battle,' and stealing a silver chalice and other goods.¹³ But, possibly because of its complete dependence upon the abbey, we learn nothing of its history or constitution.

33. THE HOSPITAL OF BIDLINGTON

There was a hospital for lepers at Bidlington early in the thirteenth century, and possibly sometime previous to that date, as a lawsuit of 1220 mentions that William, eldest son of Nicholas Malmains, becoming a leper while still under age, was consigned for two years to a certain 'maladria' in Bidlington.¹⁴ That this church or chapel was dedicated in honour of St. Mary Magdalene is shown by a reference in 1259, when it is mentioned in the chartulary of Sele Priory;¹⁵ it was evidently identical with the 'chapel for lepers outside Bramber' mentioned in 1227, as will be shown. On the other hand, Peter de Braose in 1305 asserted that Bidlington was a manor and no hospital in 1280 and for many years afterwards, until William, son of William de Braose, converted it into a hospital. Against this assertion, John de Benestede, who was then master, produced the bishop of Chichester's letters, saying that he found from the registers that his predecessor, Bishop Gilbert, had presented Simon, vicar of Horsham,¹⁶ John de Brous, priest, and the said John de Benestede, in succession to the custody of the chantry of the hospital of the Blessed Mary at Bidlington. The master further produced letters of Ralph, formerly bishop of Chichester, testifying to the admission, on the presentation of John de Braose, of Ralph de Brembre to the chapel of the lepers outside Bramber,¹⁷ and a charter of the same Ralph in which he, under the title of 'rector and master of the house and brethren of St. Mary of Bidlington,' leased certain land to Godfrey de Horsham.¹⁸

Probably, therefore, the hospital was originally founded by a member of the Braose family, and its endowment subsequently increased between 1280 and 1305 by William de Braose. However this may have been, it was so poor in 1320 that it was excused from contributing to the

⁵ Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁶ The statutes are given by Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 664-8.

⁷ Ibid. 669.

⁸ Ibid. 670.

⁹ Ibid. 671.

¹⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, No. 5.

¹¹ B.M. lxxii, 75.

¹² *Chron. of Battle Abbey* (ed. Lower), 15.

¹³ Gaol Delivery R. 129, m. 71.

¹⁴ Curia Regis R. 72, m. 18 d.

¹⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 124.

¹⁶ He occurs as master in 1298; Assize R. 1313, m. 2.

¹⁷ The record of this admission, dated Jan. 1227, is entered in the Dean and Chapter's MS. 'Liber Y.'

¹⁸ Coram Rege R. 180, m. 26.

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subsidy that year.¹⁹ In 1366 Margaret Covert left 2s. to the poor of this hospital, but we hear no more of it until 1433, when it was in the hands of the duke of Norfolk.²⁰ Finally it appears in the Valor of 1535 as worth 20s.²¹

34. THE HOSPITAL OF BUXTED

William Heron, Lord Say and Sele, by his will made in 1404, desired his executors to complete the hospital which he had begun at Buxted for six, or at the least four, poor men, with a chantry priest to govern them, the priest receiving 10 marks and each poor man 5 marks yearly.²² There is nothing to show that this foundation was ever completed.

35. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES AND ST. MARY MAGDALEN, CHICHESTER

A hospital for lepers was founded outside the east gate of Chichester at an early date, possibly by 'the good queen Maud,' consort of Henry I. Bishop Seffrid's confirmation charter shows that it was endowed with 10s. rents from the archdeaconry of Lewes, tithes in Colworth in Oving and a rent of 4s.; the bishop added the grant of eight woollen tunics at Christmas and eight of linen at Easter, so that we may conclude that there were originally eight inmates. Further, as the church was dedicated in honour of the Magdalen whose sins were forgiven because she loved much, fifteen days' relaxation of penance were granted to those visiting and relieving the poor inmates.²³ This charter was confirmed in 1362 by Bishop William, who represents the hospital as founded in honour of St. Mary Magdalen and St. James, and grants forty days' indulgence to persons visiting the house on the days of those saints.²⁴ The hospital had already for about a hundred years previous to this date been commonly known as that of St. James, probably to avoid confusion with another house of St. Mary Magdalen—that of 'Loddesdown.'

Henry II gave a general charter of confirmation to 'the infirm of Chichester'²⁵ and Henry III in 1231 directed John de Gatesden to give whatever remained over of the money assigned to him when sheriff for the king's alms to the chaplain of the house of lepers.²⁶ The hospital was under the control of a chaplain or master, who received 2d. a day, charged on the issues of

the county,²⁷ and Bishop William's charter mentions a 'prior,' who was the senior inmate. The customs of the house were confirmed by the dean in 1408.²⁸ Candidates were admitted by consent of the chaplain and a majority of the brethren and were liable to expulsion if they married or were convicted of incontinence or of being absent without leave of the prior. This latter had to take an oath to the chaplain and brethren to look well after the affairs of the house. The infirm inmates were to be supported by the hale; each had a weekly allowance of money, but if any spent his recklessly, relying on his brethren for support, the prior might deduct part of his money. If a brother were quarrelsome, or revealed the secrets of the house to strangers, he should, after warning, pay a fine to the light of St. James. The sacrist had to rise an hour after midnight and ring a bell to summon all to prayers, consisting of memorial prayers for the king, the realm and all benefactors, the Creed and a hundred Lord's Prayers and Salutations (the knowledge of which was an essential condition of admission).

A visitation held in 1442 showed that the management of this charity had become lax and corrupt; the inmates had all secured admission by payments to the master and of the eight brethren six, including the prior, were married and usually spent the night at home with their wives, the prior himself being absent night and day and totally neglecting his duties.²⁹ In 1535 the income of the hospital was £4 14s. 10d.,³⁰ and shortly after this date alterations appear to have been made in its constitution, as in 1540 the master was a layman and there were sisters as well as brethren in the house.³¹

In 1594 the income of the house was about £6, of which, after repairs had been paid for, the master, Charles Lascelles, received half, the other moiety going to the inmates, who were at this time—

William Egle, now proctor, and Dorothy his wife, both about 50, Hugh Young impotent, age 33, Richard Mottle cripple, 35, Richard Parshaw cripple, 16, Thomas Mawrynge cripple, 18, John Pellard a diseased idiot, 30, Agnes Patchinge a maid without legs, 30, Agnes Barnes a maid without legs, Margaret Crowcher a maid about 40, a cripple, Elizabeth Vody an idiot, 17, Alice Taylor a cripple, 30, and Constance Cutt an impotent cripple in her loins, 15. All of honest conversation.

They only left the house for the purpose of obtaining alms, their income being obviously insufficient for their maintenance;³² accordingly the queen in 1597 licensed William Egly as 'guider

¹⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 124.

²⁰ Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. VI, 43.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 319.

²² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxii, 100.

²³ Add. MS. 24828, fol. 137. ²⁴ *Ibid.* 139.

²⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 27.

²⁶ Close 15 Hen. III, m. 15.

²⁷ Pat. 10 Edw. I, m. 11.

²⁸ Add. MS. 24828, fol. 143.

²⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 78.

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 305.

³¹ Add. MS. 24828, fol. 148.

³² *Ibid.* 5706, fol. 121.

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of ye s^d House' to collect money.³³ Besides the master and prior a chaplain was engaged at £1 6s. 8d. per annum and 20s. were paid to Richard Woods for 'acting as a singing-man.'³⁴ In 1618 William Lawes, the master, petitioned the justices for payment of a yearly sum of £10 formerly given to the hospital, and this was agreed to by the justices on condition that they should have the nomination of inmates, whose number was to be reduced to eight.³⁵ It is probable that not long after this date the hospital ceased to exist and the mastership became a sinecure, the issues being applied in augmentation of the stipend of one of the cathedral vicars.³⁶

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, CHICHESTER

Thomas, died 1244³⁷
William Burdun, appointed 1244³⁸
Leger de Hampton, appointed 1249,³⁹ occurs 1275⁴⁰
Peter de Lewes, appointed 1282,⁴¹ died 1284
William de Deverall, appointed 1284,⁴² died 1309
Richard Letice, appointed 1309,⁴³ died 1311
John Gilbert, appointed 1311,⁴⁴ died 1317
Adam de Anne, appointed 1317,⁴⁵ died 1317
William son of Gilbert le Bakere, appointed 1317,⁴⁶ died 1320⁴⁷
Stephen de Carleton, appointed 1320,⁴⁸ died 1336
Stephen de Ivelchestre, appointed 1336⁴⁹
John Nichole of Tangmere, appointed 1348,⁵⁰ occurs 1378⁵¹
Henry Botiller, appointed 1383⁵²
William Fissch, appointed 1383⁵³
John Sheparde, exchanged 1398⁵⁴
Henry Hikke, appointed 1398⁵⁵
Hugh Veautrey or Voytrer, appointed 1399⁵⁶

³³ Add. MS. 5706, fol. 120.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 121.

³⁵ *Rep. of Charity Com.* 249.

³⁶ Pat. 28 Hen. III, m. 6.

³⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxi, 51.

³⁸ Pipe R. 3 Edw. I.

³⁹ Pat. 10 Edw. I, m. 11.

⁴⁰ Pat. 12 Edw. I, m. 2.

⁴¹ Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 35.

⁴² Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 26.

⁴³ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁴⁴ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 34.

⁴⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23; William 'Gybeson.'

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 31.

⁴⁸ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 32.

⁴⁹ Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 37.

⁵⁰ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 6.

⁵¹ Ibid. m. 5.

⁵² Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 70.

⁵³ Ibid. ⁵⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxi, 50.

Richard Hugh, appointed 1402, exchanged 1406⁵⁷

Nicholas Cotille, appointed 1406, exchanged 1408⁵⁷

Thomas Waryn, appointed 1408⁵⁷

Thomas Gardener, occurs 1437⁵⁸

Gilbert Boxforde, occurs 1442⁵⁹

William Forden, occurs 1471⁶⁰

Hugh Gryndon, occurs 1481,⁶¹ 1490⁶²

Richard Odeby, occurs 1525⁶³

Francis Everede, gent., occurs 1540⁶⁴

Charles Lascelles, occurs 1594,⁶⁵ 1606⁶⁶

William Lawes, clerk, occurs 1618,⁶⁷ 1621⁶⁸

36. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY CHICHESTER⁶⁹

This hospital is said to have been founded in the reign of Henry II by William, dean of Chichester, and was certainly firmly established by 1229, in which year the king licensed the demolition of the poor and dilapidated church of St. Peter in the market and the annexation of its only two parishioners to the hospital of St. Mary.⁷⁰ From this, and from incidental references in contemporary deeds, it seems that the original buildings were connected with the church of St. Mary-in-the-Market near the present market cross. Whoever may have actually founded the hospital there can be no doubt that it was practically refounded by Thomas of Lichfield, dean of Chichester from 1232 to c. 1248, during which period also most of its property in Chichester and the neighbourhood was acquired.

There were at this time thirteen inmates, male and female, under a master, or prior as he is called in Dean Thomas's statutes,⁷¹ part of the inmates being sick and infirm and the others sound. The right of admission rested with the prior who, after satisfying himself of the suitability of any candidate, caused him to take the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty; after which the newly admitted person if a male kissed the brethren, or if a female the sisters, and had his, or her, hair cut short. Excellent rules were laid down for the punishment of offences, the

⁵⁷ Ibid. 49. ⁵⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 70.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Pat. 49 Hen. VI, m. 12.

⁶¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 73.

⁶² Exch. Enrolment of Pleas, 5 Hen. VII, 23 d.

⁶³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 305.

⁶⁴ Add. MS. 24828, fol. 148.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 5706, fol. 121.

⁶⁶ Ibid.; called Charles Lasie and said to have had certain rents for last 25 years.

⁶⁷ Ibid. fol. 122.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 24828, fol. 158.

⁶⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 41-62; Wright, *The Story of the Domus Dei of Chichester*.

⁷⁰ Pat. 13 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁷¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 44-7.

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usual punishment being to fast on bread and water sitting at the bottom of the table without a napkin. Sick persons without friends were to be admitted without cavi, and upon their recovery allowed to depart with their clothes and money, unless they chose to offer anything; if they died in the hospital without making any will their property was to be kept for a year and then if not claimed should go to the house. Directions were given for the care of poor persons arriving late at night and departing the next morning, and for the repetition of Paternosters, Aves, and memorial prayers for benefactors. From these statutes it appears that while it was expected that there would often be a priest present no special provision was made for one, but shortly after this Martin, a citizen of Chichester, and Julian his wife gave lands for the support of a chaplain who was to rank next to the prior and was to be present at all the canonical hours; as well as celebrating certain special masses.⁷²

In 1269 the Friars Minor left their original settlement and moved to the site of the destroyed castle of Chichester, and the king gave leave for the hospital to be removed to the place lately occupied by the friars; whether such removal took place at this time is not clear, but the warden and brethren were licensed to retain this land in 1285,⁷³ and were allowed in 1290 to close a path running across it.⁷⁴ Probably, therefore, it is to the latter date that we should ascribe the final establishment of St. Mary's in its present situation.

In spite of the wise regulations set out in the statutes there appears to have been much mismanagement, and in 1382 a commission was issued for the visitation of the hospital, to inquire as to the diminished number of inmates, waste of property, and defects in buildings and furniture.⁷⁵ This is further borne out by Bishop Reade's visitation in 1402, when it was found that the services were neglected, and the thirteen poor inmates defrauded of their ancient allowance of broth and sometimes kept for twenty weeks without their weekly salary of a groat.⁷⁶ A visitation in 1442 showed that there were then only two brethren and two sisters,⁷⁷ and in 1478 there were, besides the warden and chaplain, five inmates,⁷⁸ which number does not seem to have been exceeded after this date.

The year 1528 marked an important epoch in the life of this institution, for the dean, William Fleshmonger, drew up a fresh series of regulations for its government. The warden was in future to be a priest, and was to visit the hospital once a month, to see that mass was duly celebrated in

the chapel and by the chantry priest, to have general control of the house and to render yearly account to the dean and chapter; for this he should receive £8 yearly and 13s. 4d. for his steward. The number of poor inmates was limited to five aged and infirm persons, each having a room and garden and 8d. a week; they were all to learn, if they did not already know, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation, and the Creed. One of the brethren was to be elected as 'Prior' to maintain order in the house.⁷⁹

Thanks possibly to its recent reformation St. Mary's survived the stormy period of religious change under Henry VIII and Edward VI and prospered, its income rising from £35 6s. 3d. in 1535 to £44 17s. 7d. in 1550.⁸⁰ At last in 1582 the hospital was re-established by a charter of Queen Elizabeth on almost the same lines as the regulations of 1528, the number and stipends of the poor remaining unaltered and the patronage continuing with the dean and chapter.⁸¹ Unfortunately the latter thought more of making money out of the hospital property than of caring for its inmates, so that it was a change for the better when in 1656 Cromwell put the hospital under the control of the mayor and corporation of Chichester, authorizing them to increase the number of inmates up to ten, the greatest number that could be accommodated, and to spend the surplus upon such charitable works as they thought fit.⁸² The total income of the charity at this time was nearly £278, out of which the chapter had only allowed the brethren £42 5s. 10d.

Upon the Restoration the dean and chapter recovered their patronage and again appear to have neglected their duties, as in 1679 Archbishop Sancroft reproached the visitors of the hospital for never auditing the accounts, so that for many years a considerable sum of money belonging to the institution had gone into the warden's private purse. This fact was brought to light upon the appointment of Dr. Edes as warden, who brought an action against the estate of his predecessor, Dr. Whitby, for dilapidations and money illegally appropriated, recovering £171 14s. 8d. on the latter ground. We further learn from the account of this action⁸³ that the salaries of the poor and of the warden had alike been trebled, being respectively 2s. a week and £28 a year.

By the regulations drawn up in 1728, when Dean Sherlock was warden, and still in use, the salary of the warden was fixed at a sum equal to the whole amount received by the five poor, namely £26. A further sum of £10 was set apart for a chaplain, and amongst other rules it was laid down that if any of the inmates were

⁷² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 49.

⁷³ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 42.

⁷⁴ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 29.

⁷⁵ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 37 d.

⁷⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 26.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Praty, fol. 78. ⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Story, fol. 10.

⁷⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 50-2.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 53-4.

⁸² *Ibid.* 55-7.

⁸³ Wright, op. cit. 50-72.

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sick those who were well should nurse them if so ordered by the warden on pain of expulsion.⁸⁴ Between 1815 and 1835 the warden's income averaged within a few pence of £170, and that of each inmate was over £30.⁸⁵ A further £1,000 of stock was left to the hospital by Mr. Baker in 1840.⁸⁶

WARDENS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, CHICHESTER⁸⁷

Henry, occurs 1230⁸⁸
Walter, occurs 1248⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰
Robert de Kyngeston, occurs 1272⁹¹ and 1279⁹²
Gilbert, occurs 1285⁹³
Walter, occurs 1288⁹⁴
Gilbert, occurs 1298⁹⁵
Richard le Orfevre, appointed 1301,⁹⁶ occurs 1304⁹⁷
William de Selebourne, occurs 1316⁹⁸
Thomas, occurs 1343⁹⁹
Alan de Leverton, appointed 1385¹⁰⁰
Walter Forey, exchanged 1389¹⁰¹
John Courderay, appointed 1389¹⁰²
John Ayleston, occurs 1412¹⁰³
John Croucher, resigned 1447¹⁰⁴
John Goswell, appointed 1447¹⁰⁵
John Champion, 1475
Ivo Darrell, occurs 1478¹⁰⁶
William Fleshmonger, 1525
John Champion, occurs 1528,¹⁰⁷ 1535¹⁰⁸
John Worthyall, 1537, occurs 1542¹⁰⁹
John Peterston, B.D., 1554
William Pye, 1555
George Beaumont, D.D., 1558

⁸⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 60.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 61.

⁸⁶ An account of all the property held by the hospital in 1835 is given in *Rep. of Charity Com.* 650-8.

⁸⁷ When other references are not given, the authority for the names and dates of admission is the list compiled by Mr. W. B. B. Freeland, for a copy of which I am indebted to Canon Deedes.

⁸⁸ *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 226.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* No. 482.

⁹⁰ *Feet of F.* Suss. file 24, No. 30.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* file 28, No. 2.

⁹² *Assize R.* 922, m. 20.

⁹³ *Feet of F.* Suss. file 32, No. 12.

⁹⁴ *Assize R.* 929, m. 46 d.

⁹⁵ *Mins. Accts.* 1022, No. 2.

⁹⁶ Wright, *op. cit.* 21.

⁹⁷ *Assize R.* 1330, m. 20.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 938, m. 55.

⁹⁹ *Pat.* 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39 d.

¹⁰⁰ *Pat.* 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 7.

¹⁰¹ *Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay*, fol. 272b.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Cal. Papal Let.* vi, 318.

¹⁰⁴ Wright, *op. cit.* 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Chich. Epis. Reg. Story*, fol. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Wright, *op. cit.* 34.

¹⁰⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 305.

¹⁰⁹ *Chanc. Proc.* (ser. ii), bdle. 1, No. 42.

Hugh Turnbull, D.D., 1559
Edmund Weston, LL.B., 1567
William Overton, D.D., 1570
Richard Kitson, B.D., 1580
Randoll Barlow, 1585
Francis Cox, D.D., 1602
Hugh Perrin, 1606
Henry Challen, 1610
Humphrey Booth, M.A., 1613
Bruno Ryves, 1660
Oliver Whitby, D.D., 1666
Henry Edes, D.D., 1679
William Hayley, D.D., 1703
Edmund Gibson, D.D., 1715
John Wright, M.A., 1717
Thomas Hayley, D.D., 1720
Thomas Sherlock, D.D., 1723
William Sherwin, M.A., 1728
Thomas Gooch, D.D., 1735
Thomas Ball, M.A., 1738
William Clarke, M.A., 1754
Thomas Hurdis, D.D., 1770
John Frankland, M.A., 1772
Charles Harward, M.A., 1778
John Courtail, M.A., 1784
Combe Miller, M.A., 1806
Moses Toghill, M.A., 1814
Charles Webber, M.A., 1825
Thomas Baker, M.A., 1828
Charles Edward Hutchinson, 1829
Charles Webber, junr., 1832
George Shiffner, 1837
Charles Webber, junr., 1849
Charles Edward Hutchinson, 1850
Charles Pilkington, 1864
Charles Anthony Swainson, D.D., 1870
John Russell Walker, M.A., 1882
Thomas Francis Crosse, D.C.L., 1889
Josiah Sanders Teulon, M.A., 1889
James Hoare Masters, M.A., 1902

The thirteenth-century seal is a pointed oval; the Virgin seated on a carved throne, with crown, the Child, with nimbus, on the left knee. In the field, on the left a star of six points between two crescents, each enclosing a roundle; on the right a crescent enclosing a roundle between two stars.¹¹⁰ Legend:—

✠ SIGILL' : HOSPITALIS : SC̃E : MARIE :
CICESTRIE.

37. THE HOSPITAL OF 'LODDES- DOWN,' CHICHESTER

According to Dallaway,¹¹¹ the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Loddesdown was situated at 'Maudlins' Farm in West Hampnett; this seems probably correct, but he is apparently wrong in saying that it was united with the

¹¹⁰ B.M. xxxviii, 51; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 6.

¹¹¹ *Hist. of West Suss.* i (2), 122.

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hospital of St. James. It was originally a house for lepers;¹¹² a bequest made in 1404 by John Tregoz 'for the maintenance of the poor in the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, on the way to (*versus*) Chichester'¹¹³ must refer to this house, and there is a definite reference to 'the poor of Loddeshdowne' as late as 1418.¹¹⁴ Beyond this nothing seems to be known of this small hospital.

38. THE HOSPITAL OF RUMBOLDSWYKE, CHICHESTER

There seems to have been a small lazaret-house outside the south gate of Chichester in the suburb of Rumboldswyke, as William de Kainesham, early in the thirteenth century, gave money to 'the lepers of Wikes' amongst other Chichester charities.¹¹⁵ It was possibly the same as the 'hospital of Newykestrete' mentioned in 1374 in the will of John de Bishopstone, chancellor of Chichester.¹¹⁶

39. THE HOSPITAL OF STOCKBRIDGE, CHICHESTER

'The lepers of Stocbrigg' occur in William de Kainesham's deed, mentioned in the last entry, but are otherwise unknown.

40. THE HOSPITAL OF HARTING

Henry Hoese, or Hussey, founded a hospital for lepers, under the patronage of St. John the Baptist at Harting, early in the reign of Henry II. Agnes, wife of Hugh de Gundevile, gave 4 acres in Upton in East Harting to these lepers,¹¹⁷ and Henry II, some time before 1162, granted them a fair on St. John's Day, and its eve and morrow.¹¹⁸ Nothing more appears to be known of this lazaret-house until about 1248, when it was bought from the master of the order of St. Lazarus by the abbot of Dureford, and absorbed into the estate of that abbey.¹¹⁹

41. THE HOSPITAL OF HASTINGS

The date and circumstances in which this hospital was founded are unknown, and the first mention of it appears to be in 1294 when Petronilla de Cham, widow, gave to the brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen

in Hastings 5 acres of land in the parish of St. Margaret.¹²⁰ Protection was granted to the master and brethren in 1320,¹²¹ and in 1381 the proctors of the hospital obtained letters of commendation to the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury.¹²²

The nature of the hospital is best described in the words of the Hastings customal:—¹²³

The bailiff shall have the visitation of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen of Hastings once a year; and there shall be in the said hospital brethren and sisters, sometimes more and sometimes less; but no brother or sister shall be received into the aforesaid hospital except by the assent of the bailiff and the commonalty. And the rules of the aforesaid hospital shall be read before the bailiff at the time of the visitation, at which he shall demand and enquire whether they be well kept or not; and . . . the bailiff shall enquire into the life of all the brethren and sisters examined, and if any of them be attainted the bailiff may remove him if he will. And the bailiff by the assent of his fellows if he shall find a man in the said commonalty infirm, and who has conducted himself in accordance with the usages of the ports for all time, and who shall be impoverished . . . may put such into the said hospital to partake of the sustenance of the brethren and sisters without paying anything to the said hospital.

Apparently the hospital survived the Reformation, and was still in existence at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but came to an end before the close of the sixteenth century, its possessions being diverted to other charitable objects.

42. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, LEWES

The hospital of St. James, outside the gates of the priory of Lewes, appears to have been founded by one of the Warennes as a kind of almshouse supplementary to the priory. In it thirteen poor persons, of either sex, were supported by the priory at a yearly cost of £16 10s., in return for which support they were bound to pray for the souls of the founder and his heirs.¹²⁴ Occasional mention of this house occurs in mediaeval wills, Agnes Thetcher in 1512 leaving a pair of linen sheets to 'the most needy person in the hospital of St. James.'¹²⁵ With the fall of the priory the hospital lost its revenues, and Peter Tomson and other poor bedesmen of the hospital of St. James were driven to petition Cromwell for assistance.¹²⁶ Thus, though not actually suppressed, the hospital must have fallen into disuse soon after the dissolution of Lewes priory.

¹¹² Mun. D. & C. Chich. 'Liber Y.' fol. 125b.

¹¹³ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 214.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Chicheley, fol. 316.

¹¹⁵ Mun. of D. & C. Chich. 'Liber Y.' fol. 125b. For a copy of this deed I am indebted to Canon Deedes.

¹¹⁶ P.C.C. Rous, fol. 5b.

¹¹⁷ Suss. Arch. Coll. viii, 58.

¹¹⁸ Dugdale, Mon. vi, 938.

¹¹⁹ Suss. Arch. Coll. vii, 59.

¹²⁰ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xiii, App. pt. iv, 354.

¹²¹ Pat. 13 Edw. III, m. 11.

¹²² Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. viii, 340.

¹²³ Suss. Arch. Coll. xiv, 79.

¹²⁴ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii, 331.

¹²⁵ P.C.C. Fetiplace, 17.

¹²⁶ L. and P. Hen. VIII, xiii (1), 383.

43. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, LEWES

The hospital of St. Nicholas in Westout appears to have been established by William de Warenne as an infirmary for the poor under control of the priory of Lewes. The six principal officers of the monastery among them contributed 36s. to its support, and a further 15s. was charged upon the manors of Langney, Falmer, and Swanborough;¹²⁷ at the time of the dissolution the total payment to the support of the thirteen inmates was £5 10s.¹²⁸ The brethren and sisters at the time of the suppression of the priory put their charters and evidences into the hands of Ralph Cromwell, Mr. Pollerd, and Mr. Mylsent, who promised that they should have their charitable alms as of old, and gave them 15s. to go on with;¹²⁹ but nothing more was done, and the hospital appears to have become an irregularly constituted almshouse for the parish of St. Anne, vacancies being filled, at one period, by the simple entry of the first comer.¹³⁰

44. THE HOSPITAL OF PLAYDEN

The hospital of St. Bartholomew in the parish of Playden, but more often called 'outside Rye,' seems to have been founded either by or under the auspices of the abbey of Fécamp. The earliest notice of it appears to be a notification by Simon the priest, and the brethren and sisters of the hospital that they had received from Ralf, abbot of Fécamp (1189-1219), the chapel, buildings, and lands of the hospital in perpetual alms, saving an annual payment of 2s. to the abbot and convent, who are to have the appointment of future priests upon the nomination of the officers of the town of Rye.¹³¹ Further stipulations were made as to the abbey's share of the profits if Simon should succeed in obtaining a grant of a fair from the king, as he appears subsequently to have done; for, although no record of the grant is known a fair was long held on St. Bartholomew's Day at a spot outside Rye, in the immediate neighbourhood of the hospital.¹³²

The Custumal of Rye (Sections 59, 60) gives some details of the administration of the hospital.¹³³ From it we learn that the nomination of the chaplain or warden lay with the mayor and jurats, who submitted his name to the abbot of Fécamp in time of peace, or to the lord chancellor if there was war with France, and they

in turn presented him to the bishop of Chichester. The house was for both brothers and sisters, and the number of inmates was not fixed, but none might be received without the assent of the mayor and commonalty who, moreover, had the right of admitting thereto any—

man or woman which had competently borne charges in their time for the welfare of the town, if they be now impoverished and impotent, decayed of their goods and chattels, and little goods have to live with.

The seal of the hospital was to be kept by the mayor and jurats so that the inmates should not alienate any property without their consent. This last clause seems to date from 1249, when the barons of Rye issued a charter to that effect.¹³⁴ From this charter of 1249 we learn that there were then twelve brethren and sisters resident, of whom some were lepers.

The warden in 1262 appears to have been hardly a suitable person to have the spiritual charge of the inmates, as he employed one Sybil of Yarmouth to set fire to the buildings and ricks of Mathew de Knoll at Beckley, and when she was arrested assisted her to escape, first to the hospital, where he kept her for a day and a night, and then to Playden church, where she abjured the realm.¹³⁵ Nor were some of his successors altogether satisfactory. As a result of a commission of inquiry issued in 1380 to William Horne and William de Battesford,¹³⁶ it was found that the master, Robert de Burton, had cut down timber to the value of £20 at Brookland, had wasted and appropriated to his own use grain to the value of £10, and had allowed the hospital lands to go out of cultivation. He had further carried off muniments, bills, and indulgences which brought in 40s. a year in oblations, and had given nothing to the inmates, so that they had to beg daily in the streets; and worst of all, the brazen vessels of the poor brethren had been seized for arrears of rent, so that they had no vessels in which to prepare their dinners.¹³⁷ Some sixty years later, in January, 1442, Bishop Praty visited the hospital and found that the master, William Parker, had been absent for six or seven years, the chapel and other buildings had fallen to ruins, and no paupers were maintained there.¹³⁸ Parker was deprived,¹³⁹ but how far the hospital recovered from its grievous state is not known. It was bestowed with the other lands of Fécamp Abbey upon the abbey of Syon in 1461,¹⁴⁰ and subsequently, in 1502, upon Westminster Abbey, soon after which date it had become

¹²⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* v, 417.

¹²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 331.

¹²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1251.

¹³⁰ Lee, *Hist. of Lewes*, 369.

¹³¹ *Cal. Doc. France*, 52.

¹³² Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 607.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 156-7.

¹³⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 69.

¹³⁵ Assize R. 912, m. 4.

¹³⁶ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 313.

¹³⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 134-5, from Inq. 3 Ric. II, No. 108.

¹³⁸ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 80.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 102.

¹⁴⁰ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. v, m. 14.

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decayed past remedy, so that in 1521 Bishop Sherborn allowed the abbey to appropriate it.¹⁴¹

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF PLAYDEN

Simon, occurs *c.* 1200¹⁴²
 Robert, occurs 1262¹⁴³
 John de Garlethorpe, occurs 1330¹⁴⁴
 Hugh Pipard, appointed 1343,¹⁴⁵ appointment revoked 1344¹⁴⁶
 Randell de Wyke, appointed 1344¹⁴⁷
 Robert de Burton, appointed 1379¹⁴⁸
 John de Waldeby, appointed 1391,¹⁴⁹ died same year
 Robert Longe, appointed 1391,¹⁵⁰ died 1392
 Ralf de Repyngdon, appointed 1392,¹⁵¹ resigned 1393
 Thomas de la Chambre, appointed 1393¹⁵²
 John Bowetby, appointed 1395¹⁵³
 John Sharpe, appointed 1396¹⁵⁴
 Thomas Brygge, appointed 1397¹⁵⁵
 John Hoton, appointed 1399,¹⁵⁶ exchanged 1400
 John Deye, appointed 1400¹⁵⁷
 Robert Kyng, nominated 22 February, 1401¹⁵⁸
 John Bedeford, nominated 28 February,¹⁵⁹ instituted March 1401,¹⁶⁰ exchanged 1403
 Joseph Scovill, appointed 1403¹⁶¹
 John Preston, appointed 1405,¹⁶² resigned 1407
 John Elmeton, appointed 1407¹⁶³
 Nicholas Colnet, appointed 1413¹⁶⁴
 Thomas Chase, appointed 1420¹⁶⁵
 William Parker, appointed *c.* 1435, deprived 1442¹⁶⁶

¹⁴¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Sherborn, fol. 85.

¹⁴² *Cal. of Doc. France*, 52.

¹⁴³ Assize R. 912, m. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 508.

¹⁴⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28.

¹⁴⁶ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* m. 48.

¹⁴⁸ Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 19.

¹⁴⁹ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 21.

¹⁵⁰ Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 22.

¹⁵¹ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 36; see also *Hist. MSS.*

Com. Rep. v, 512.

¹⁵² Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 9.

¹⁵³ Pat. 18 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 136.

¹⁵⁵ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 69.

¹⁵⁶ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 12.

¹⁵⁷ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 15.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 30. ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* m. 24.

¹⁶⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 83; John Hoton called last warden.

¹⁶¹ Pat. 4 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 31.

¹⁶² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 136.

¹⁶³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 118.

¹⁶⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 136.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* He was chancellor of the university of Oxford, and a wealthy pluralist; *Cal. Papal Let.* vii, 471.

¹⁶⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 80, 102.

John Faukes, appointed 1442¹⁶⁷
 William Tracy, appointed 1461,¹⁶⁸ died 1478
 John More, appointed 1478,¹⁶⁹ died 1479
 Thomas Brent, appointed 1479¹⁷⁰

45. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, SEAFORD

The hospital of St. James of Sutton by Seaford was founded some time before 1260, in which year the brethren received a royal grant of protection for five years.¹⁷¹ It was in the patronage of the abbey of Robertsbridge, to whom the manor of Sutton belonged, and was bought from them by Bishop Sherborn, and united with the free chapel of Bargham to form a prebend in the cathedral church in October, 1523, when it was 'lying vacant and of so small rents that no one could take it.'¹⁷² But in 1534 the abbey of Robertsbridge granted to John Seman the site of the hospital of St. James and 10 acres of land called Spittelland, he paying yearly to the dean and chapter of Chichester £10, and 20s. to Thomas Gerard, clerk, master or warden of the said chapel or hospital.¹⁷³

MASTERS, OR RECTORS, OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, SEAFORD

Simon, occurs 1332¹⁷⁴
 William Crosseby, exchanged 1389¹⁷⁵
 William Haker, appointed 1389¹⁷⁶
 Philip Chyntyng, died 1404¹⁷⁷
 John Holyngbourne, appointed 1404¹⁷⁸
 Thomas Gerard, last master¹⁷⁹

46. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, SEAFORD

A house for lepers was founded outside Seaford by Roger de Fraxineto, who occurs elsewhere¹⁸⁰ in 1147 as 'the king's constable,' who gave 10 acres of land for the purpose, and caused a chapel to be consecrated by Bishop Hilary, and subsequently in 1172 made a further grant of 7 acres of land.¹⁸¹ A further endowment was

¹⁶⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 136.

¹⁶⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 11.

¹⁶⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 6.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁷¹ Pat. 44 Hen. III, m. 13.

¹⁷² Cott. Chart. xii, 80.

¹⁷³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, 906 (7).

¹⁷⁴ *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 332.

¹⁷⁵ Pat. 13 Ric. II. ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 102.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; he was a monk of Robertsbridge.

¹⁷⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv, 906 (7).

¹⁸⁰ Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 95 d.

¹⁸¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 115.

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a rent of 40s. charged upon the manor of Beddingham at least as early as 1190,¹⁸² and still paid in 1278,¹⁸³ if not later. In 1368 the archbishop of Canterbury granted an indulgence to all who assisted the brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. Leonard of Seaford, which had been ruined by the incursions of the sea,¹⁸⁴ but it may be doubted whether the hospital ever recovered, as no later mention of it appears to be known.

47. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, SHOREHAM

Practically nothing is known of this hospital beyond the fact that it was in existence in 1249, when an action was brought against the master,¹⁸⁵ and that its site and buildings were granted to John and William Meresh of London in 1574.¹⁸⁶ The space between these dates is only bridged by occasional small bequests in the wills of local testators. Whether this is the hospital mentioned in the Valor¹⁸⁷ of 1535 as worth £1 6s. 8d., or whether the reference is to that of St. Katherine is doubtful.

48. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. KATHERINE, SHOREHAM

This hospital is only known for its occurrence in mediaeval wills. Thus Margaret Covert left 2s. to the poor of the hospital of St. Katherine of Shoreham in 1366,¹⁸⁸ and John Borle, rector of West Tarring, left 6s. 8d. to 'the house of St. Katherine by Shoreham' in 1373.¹⁸⁹ It would seem to have survived the religious changes of the Reformation by abandoning its patroness, and becoming 'the hospital of Our Saviour Jesus Christ,' if we may judge from the prominence given to St. Katherine's emblem on the sixteenth-century seal, by which alone the existence of this hospital of the Saviour is known. If this conjecture is correct the reconstituted hospital was no doubt 'the spytyll at Shoreham' to which Henry Marshall, vicar of Wilmington, left 20 pence in 1550.¹⁹⁰

The seal just referred to is a pointed oval: Our Lord on the cross on a mount between two trees of peculiar form. In base, a Catherine wheel.¹⁹¹ Legend:—

+THE . SELE . OF O' . SAVIOVR .
IESVS . CHRIST . OF . THE . OSPITAL . OF .
SHORAM . IN . SVSSEX .

¹⁸² Pipe R. 2 Ric. I. ¹⁸³ Assize R. 921, m. 7 d.

¹⁸⁴ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Langham, fol. 63.

¹⁸⁵ Assize R. 909, m. 7 d.

¹⁸⁶ Memo. R., L.T.R. 17 Eliz. Trin. 4.

¹⁸⁷ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), i, 322.

¹⁸⁸ Cartwright, *Hist. of Rape of Bramber*, 120.

¹⁸⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Whittlesey, fol. 127b.

¹⁹⁰ Suss. Arch. Coll. xxiii, 52.

¹⁹¹ B. M. lxxii, 110.

49. THE HOSPITAL OF SOMPTING, OR COKEHAM

William Bernehus founded the hospital of the Blessed Virgin and St. Anthony at Cokeham in Sompting in the thirteenth century.¹⁹² It appears to have been for women (and probably also for men), as in 1288 Agnes, daughter of Michael de Launcing, brought an action against Aumary the chaplain, warden of the hospital, for disseising her of the substance which she was wont to receive in the said hospital.¹⁹³ The advowson of the hospital passed with the manor of Cokeham to Ralph de Camoys in 1324,¹⁹⁴ and was granted in 1351 to the priory of Hardham,¹⁹⁵ after which time it is not again heard of.

50. THE HOSPITAL OF WESTHAM

The particulars of this hospital, which lay in the parish of Westham, and in the lowey, 'league,' or liberty of Pevensey, can best be given in the words of the sixteenth century English version of the Pevensey Custumal:—¹⁹⁶

The Men of the Burgage of the Towne of Pevensey have an Hospital of Saynte John Baptiste, in the whiche been brothers or sisters, havyng londes and possessions within the Leege aforesaide, and the same Receyvour and the Men of the saide Burgage have the disposicion of the saide Hospitall, to graunte Corodye, as well to men as to women, as they may consente. And they have to visit and chaste after the quantitie. And one of the Men of the Burgage alway shalbe Overseer and Superior of that Hospitall, to oversee the expense, and the accompte of the Master of the saide Hospitall. Also the saide Receyvour and the Men may, yf there be to be hadde a Man or Woman of the saide Burgage, the whiche is come into povertie and have not whereof to lyve, and have borne him or her well by all his or her lyffe, that same Man or Woman in the forsaide Hospitall ther sustenances in the same shall take, nothing paying for the same.

Of its early history nothing is known, but casual references¹⁹⁷ to 'the hospital' show that some such house was in existence before the end of the thirteenth century. A Pevensey rental of 1292¹⁹⁸ mentions 'the master of the hospital of the Holy Cross,' but no other reference to this establishment is known; it may have been the predecessor of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, of which 'the brethren' are mentioned in a rental of 1354.¹⁹⁹ About the middle of the fifteenth century William Slyhand left 40s. to

¹⁹² Cartwright, *Hist. of the Rape of Bramber*, 103.

¹⁹³ Assize R. 929, m. 19 d. ¹⁹⁴ Cartwright, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁵ Pat. 25 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15.

¹⁹⁶ Suss. Arch. Coll. xviii, 50.

¹⁹⁷ In Mins. Accts. *passim*.

¹⁹⁸ Rentals and Surv. (P.R.O.), No. 663.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. No. 667.

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the hospital of St. John in Westham,²⁰⁰ and in 1489 Henry Dawson left 6s. 8d. to the same house.²⁰¹ After the Reformation the issues of the hospital were devoted to the support of almshouses, the distribution of food, and other charitable purposes.²⁰²

51. THE HOSPITAL OF WEST TARRING

The only known reference to this establishment is found in 1277, when 'the warden of the house of St. Mary of Tarring' brought an action against Thomas le Waleys of Salvington touching a tenement in Salvington.²⁰³

52. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, WINCHELSEA

This hospital was situated in the south-west of the town, near the New Gate, and was established when Winchelsea was rebuilt, as in the survey of 1292 'the house of St. Bartholomew' is entered in the thirty-ninth 'quarter.'²⁰⁴ It was for brethren and sisters, was endowed with 2 acres of land worth 6s., and was under the control of the mayor and commonalty, who had the power of admitting suitable inmates.²⁰⁵ From the copy of the Custumal of Winchelsea drawn up in 1577, it would seem to have been still in existence at that date,²⁰⁶ but in 1586 the lands of 'the dissolved priory of St. Bartholomew' were granted to the corporation.²⁰⁷

53. THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, WINCHELSEA

This hospital was originally founded in Old Winchelsea some time before 1252, in which year protection was granted to the brethren thereof.²⁰⁸ When the old town was destroyed by the sea in 1287 and rebuilt by King Edward 'the house of the Holy Cross' was established in the thirty-ninth 'quarter' near the New Gate.²⁰⁹ The original endowment was 1 acre of land, but this was subsequently increased to 6½ acres.²¹⁰ Protection was granted to the master and brethren

in 1314,²¹¹ and in 1427 Henry VI ratified the estate of Simon Morley in the 'hospital or free chapel' of Holy Cross.²¹² It is possible that this was the 'church of the lepers of Winchelsea' mentioned in 1287.²¹³

MASTERS OF THE HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, WINCHELSEA

Thomas Mille, appointed 1411²¹⁴
Simon Morley, occurs 1427²¹⁵
Henry Medwall, died 1501²¹⁶
Robert Wrothe, appointed 1501²¹⁷

The early thirteenth-century seal is circular, and bears a cross with enlarged ends somewhat resembling the heraldic cross pattee. In the field, the first word of the legend:—²¹⁸

SI - GIL - LV - M s[Ĉ]E CRVCIS DE WINCHELESE

54. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN, WINCHELSEA

Probably this was the oldest and most important of the three hospitals at Winchelsea, as certain rents were assigned to it from time immemorial from the issues of Great Yarmouth, John de Romeney, as attorney of the brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. John of Winchelsea, in the time of Edward I receiving 31s. 6d. from this source.²¹⁹ The survey of 1292 mentions the house of St. John in the thirty-fourth 'quarter' considerably nearer the business part of the town than were the other two hospitals. Its lands, granted to the corporation in 1586, amounted to 10 acres.²²⁰ It was under the control of the mayor, who had to visit it once a year, and had power to remove any objectionable inmate, and, with the consent of the jurats, might admit any poor man or woman who had been 'in good love and fame all their time.'²²¹ The Custumal²²² drawn up in 1557 suggests that this house and that of St. Bartholomew were still in use at that date; but it seems more probable that the section concerning the two hospitals was merely transcribed from an earlier copy, and that they were already dissolved, as they certainly were before 1586.²²³

²¹¹ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 31.

²¹² Pat. 5 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 14.

²¹³ Assize R. 924, m. 47.

²¹⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 147.

²¹⁵ Pat. 5 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 14.

²¹⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 11.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Egerton Chart. 385. Figured in *Arch.* xlv.

²¹⁹ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 153.

²²⁰ Ibid. 109.

²²¹ Ibid. 227.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid. 109.

²⁰⁰ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 16, No. 679.

²⁰¹ Will in P.C.C. Milles, fol. 159.

²⁰² *Rep. of Char. Com.* 773.

²⁰³ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 13 d.

²⁰⁴ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 52.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 154, 226. ²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid. 109. ²⁰⁸ Pat. 37 Hen. III, m. 12.

²⁰⁹ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 52.

²¹⁰ Ibid. 153.

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55. THE HOSPITAL OF WINDHAM

The Bollandist life of St. Richard mentions that he founded a hospital for sick and infirm clergy. This institution was the hospital of St. Edmund at Windham, and was probably founded not long before his death, as in his will²²⁴ St. Richard leaves 'to the house of Wyndeham 30 marks, exclusive of the debt in which I am bound to them,' which suggests that the endowment was still incomplete. This is borne out by the series of grants made during the episcopate of his successor, Bishop John, who was considered co-founder of the hospital.²²⁵ Simon de Bosco of Albourne sold to the bishop, 'for the support of the infirm chaplains and clerks dwelling in the hospital of Wyndham,' lands in Albourne parish, and other lands there were purchased for the same purpose from Philip Cordwaner with the consent of Nigel de Brok, lord of the fee. Sir Roger de la Hyde remitted to 'the chapel of the Blessed Edmund the Confessor and to the priests and ministers there' all his claim to the estate of Windham, and Bishop John himself in 1262 assigned an annual

rent of 20s. from the church of Ford to the support of the chaplains.

Protection for the term of ten years was granted to the hospital of St. Mary and St. Edmund of Windham in 1258,²²⁶ and in 1289 one Ralph atte Hese of Portslade, 'a brother of the house of priests at Windham,' fell off the bridge of 'Blaxinton' and was drowned;²²⁷ but beyond these two incidents the house seems to have fulfilled its useful purpose in uneventful quiet, gradually falling into decay, until Bishop Sherborn suppressed it about 1520, taking the revenues and lands to endow a new prebend in the cathedral.²²⁸

WARDENS OF THE HOSPITAL OF WINDHAM

Walter, occurs 1306²²⁹

John de Teddington, occurs 1342²³⁰

John Lucas, appointed 1387²³¹

John Candelsby, resigned 1414²³²

William Gyllyng, appointed 1414²³³

William Gloucestre, resigned 1504²³⁴

Edmund Wilkynson, appointed 1504²³⁵

Hugh Rolf, last master²³⁶

COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

56. THE COLLEGE OF ARUNDEL

Richard earl of Arundel, having divorced his first wife, obtained papal dispensation to marry Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Lancaster, although related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, on condition of founding three chaplaincies, worth 10 marks, in the parish church of his chief place of residence. Permission was given shortly afterwards for the chaplaincies to be established in the castle of Arundel instead of in the parish church.¹ In 1354 the earl obtained a further papal licence to increase this chantry and convert it into a college, but for some reason he did nothing more until 1375, when, feeling the approach of death, he made his will, and left 1,000 marks for the foundation of a chantry within the castle, to consist of six chaplains and three boys able to read and sing, all of whom were to reside in 'the Northbaillie in the new tower called Beaumont's tour,' the further provision being made that if any chaplain were disabled by illness he should have his sustenance in the priory of Tortington, to which house the earl left 200 marks for this purpose.²

Upon consideration the earl's executors decided that a castle exposed to the chances of war

offered poor security for the permanency of a religious foundation, and the community of alien monks in the priory at the parish church of Arundel having withdrawn to their mother house of Séez and left their cell desolate, the new earl obtained leave in 1379 to send representatives to treat with the abbot of Séez for the conversion of the priory of Arundel into a collegiate church.³ The following year the royal licence was obtained for the foundation of the college, subject to an annual payment to the king of 20 marks so long as the war with France should last,⁴ a payment which was annulled in 1383, when the earl gave the manor of Sevenhampton in Somerset to the king.⁵

The property which had belonged to the priory included the advowsons of the churches of Arundel, Yapton, Rustington, Billingshurst, Kirdford, Cocking, and half Littlehampton, the

²²⁶ Pat. 43 Hen. III, m. 2.

²²⁷ Assize R. 924, m. 64.

²²⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 10.

²²⁹ Ibid. 9.

²³⁰ Assize R. 631, m. 70.

²³¹ Pat. 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 10.

²³² Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 158.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid. Story, pt. ii, fol. 38.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ *Stat. of Chich. Cath.* (1904), 65.

¹ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 99.

² Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Sudbury, fol. 92b.

³ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 12.

⁴ Ibid. pt. iii, m. 12.

⁵ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 3.

²²⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 169.

²²⁵ 'Liber E.' in the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter at Chichester, fols. 233-5. For abstracts of these charters I am indebted to the kindness of Canon Deedes.

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manor of Yapton, and various lands and rents.⁶ To this was added in 1381 the advowson of Goring and 208 marks of rent,⁷ which was in 1386 partly converted into lands of the equivalent value, including the manors of Bury and West Burton.⁸ Thomas, earl of Arundel, on his death in 1415, left the sum of 500 marks to the college,⁹ and in 1423 certain of his feoffees paid £100 for leave to alienate to the same church the manors of South Stoke, Warningcamp, Climpfold, Piping, North Mundham, Angmering, and Houghton, and other lands amounting to the value of about 100 marks.¹⁰ A bequest of less value but of some interest was that of Bishop William Reade, who in 1385 left thirteen books to the college with a sum of 20 marks to be expended in chaining the books firmly in the library.¹¹

The college consisted of a master, vice-master, precentor, ten other chaplains, two deacons, two sub-deacons, and four choristers, a fifth chorister being apparently added at a later date. Elaborate injunctions were given for the conduct of the services and of the lives of the members, but as they were on the usual lines of such establishments they need not be detailed here.¹² While the college was free from gross scandals its management appears to have suffered from the prevailing laxity of the fifteenth century; a visitation in 1442 shows that the numbers had fallen to eight, the rules were ill-observed, the buildings out of repair, jewels lost, and debts to the amount of £40 incurred.¹³ In 1478 the numbers were still insufficient and the services slackly celebrated.¹⁴ The choir of the church of St. Nicholas being the chapel of the college, while the remainder of the church was parochial, there was some doubt as to the relative responsibility for repairs incurred by the college and the parish, until in 1511 an agreement was drawn up relative to 'le crosse yles,' the repairs of the south aisle (i.e. transept), commonly called the chancel of the parish church, being assigned to the college, those of the north aisle and the nave to the mayor and burgesses, and those of the central tower, with the bells, to the two parties in common.¹⁵

Arundel College survived the dissolution of the monasteries and appeared to be still secure as late as the autumn of 1541, when Henry VIII granted to the master and fellows the suppressed priory of Hayling and the possessions of the

dissolved preceptory of the Hospitallers at Poling and Shipley, in exchange for the manor of Bury.¹⁶ But before the end of the next year its dissolution was suggested by Lord Maltravers, son of the earl of Arundel, who wrote to the king offering £1,000 for the college property to enable him to pay his debts, and undertaking to obtain the consent of his father and of the master and fellows.¹⁷ This latter task possibly proved more difficult than Lord Maltravers had anticipated, as it was not until after his succession to the earldom in 1544 that the college fell, being surrendered in December of that year.¹⁸

MASTERS OF THE COLLEGE OF ARUNDEL¹⁹

Adam Ertham, first master,²⁰ died before 1383
William Whyte, occurs 1383, died 1420
John Colmorde, appointed 1420, occurs 1443
Edward Poynings, occurs 1447, died 1484
John Neele, appointed 1484, died 1497²¹
John Dogett, occurs 1499, died 1501
Henry Ediall, appointed 1501, died 1520
Edward Hygons, D.D., appointed 1520, occurs 1535
Alan Percy, occurs 1539, surrendered 1544

The seal of the college is a pointed oval: the Trinity, in a canopied niche with tabernacle work at the sides. In base, a shield of arms: quarterly, 1, 4, quarterly, uncertain; 2, 3, chequy, for RICHARD FITZ-ALAN, earl of Arundel, founder. Legend:—

S' · CŌMUNE · COLLEGII · SANCTE · TRINITATIS ·
ARUNDELLIE

57. THE COLLEGE OF BOSHAM.²³

It has already been mentioned that when St. Wilfrid came to preach to the South Saxons he found a priest called Dicul and a few companions settled at Bosham.²⁴ Here, where the lamp of Christianity was first lit in Sussex, there sprang up during the succeeding centuries a college of secular priests richly endowed with broad lands, valued in the Confessor's time at over £300. This wealthy foundation, of whose early history nothing is known, was bestowed by the Confessor upon his Norman chaplain, Osbern, bishop of Exeter, who continued to hold it under the Conqueror. Henry I subsequently assigned this 'royal free chapel' of Bosham to

⁶ Pat. 9 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.

⁷ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 24, 3.

⁸ Pat. 9 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 35.

⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Chicheley, fol. 287.

¹⁰ Pat. 1 Hen. VI, pt. iv, m. 13.

¹¹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay, fol. 213.

¹² The statutes are printed in full by Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 752-72.

¹³ Chich. Epis. Reg. Praty, fol. 82.

¹⁴ Ibid. Story, 306. ¹⁵ Ibid. Sherborn, fol. 155.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1056 (69).

¹⁷ Ibid. xvii, 861.

¹⁸ Ibid. xix (2), 734.

¹⁹ Tierney, op. cit. 639-40.

²⁰ Brass in Arundel Church.

²¹ Will in P.C.C. Horne, 19.

²² B.M. lxxii, 72; cf. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 735.

²³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 189-200.

²⁴ See above, p. 1.

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William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, who established there a college of six secular canons with prebends, their dean being the bishop of Exeter. This arrangement held good until the occupant of the western see angered Henry II by taking the part of Archbishop Becket, when the king deprived him of the chapelry and bestowed it upon the bishop of Lisieux, who retained it till 1177, when it came once more to the bishop of Exeter,²⁵ whose successors held it till its dissolution.

King John in 1200 confirmed the grant of the chapelry to the church of Exeter,²⁶ but the bishop of Chichester evidently disputed their claims, and was so far successful that in 1205 the king ordered that the chapel should be subject to the jurisdiction of the local see.²⁷ During this dispute the bishop of Chichester appears to have 'suspended' the church of Bosham, as a priest called Roger was several times excommunicated for ministering there.²⁸ This was only the beginning of a long series of quarrels between the bishops of Exeter and Chichester. The question was complicated by the fact that the nave of the collegiate church was the parish church, the vicar of which was vicar of the canon of the parochial prebend; and over this vicar and the parish church the see of Chichester had undoubted jurisdiction—arising, according to an inquest of 1294, from the fact that the parochial vicar, during the time that the chapel was in Henry II's hands, had submitted himself to the bishop's jurisdiction—but the claims of the bishops and archdeacons of Chichester to visit and control the collegiate choir and its canons, though constantly asserted, were always defeated.²⁹

The college³⁰ consisted of six prebendaries of Bosham Parochial, Walton, Appledram, Funtington, Chidham, and Westbrooke, one of whom was sacrist and head of the college under the dean (i.e. the bishop of Exeter). The sacrist, who received £4 yearly from each of the other canons, as well as the offerings of wax and other perquisites, was bound to be resident, and to be in priest's orders either when appointed or immediately afterwards; he had to see to the conduct of the services, to control the canons and vicars, and to hear their confessions; he had also to find a clerk to ring the bells and open and shut the doors, of which the keys were to be given to the sacrist after curfew; to him also it fell to provide the elements and wax and other lights, except the tapers lit at the elevation of the Host, the provision of which—as also of

books and ornaments and repairs to the chapel—lay at the charge of the other five canons. The canons were forbidden to farm their prebends, and were compelled to provide vicars, who received two marks in addition to six marks composition for tithes—except the parochial vicar, who had special tithes assigned to him. The vicars, with the exception of the parochial vicar, were removable at will, and before admission were examined by the sacrist and the other vicars as to voice and skill in reading and chanting. The services were to be according to the Sarum Use, and were to commence with mattins at daybreak during the winter, and about two hours after sunrise in summer. Immediately after mattins came the mass of the Blessed Virgin—with music or not, according to the discretion of the vicar celebrating. During this and the customary subsequent hours the parochial vicar was to visit the poor and perform the other duties of his cure, taking care to be back in time to take part in the procession and high mass in the choir about the third hour, under penalty of a fine. On Sundays and festivals the procession, after prime and the other hours had been sung, was to go so that on its return a halt was made in the nave before the Rood, where the parochial vicar or his deputy was to offer the customary prayers and to expound sermons and other matters touching his cure in English. After this the procession was to go on to the choir, where the high mass was at once to begin, at which the parochial vicar was to take his part until after the offertory, when, provided there were enough to finish singing the mass as solemnly as it had been begun, he might take one of the parish clerks with him—leaving the other to minister in the choir—and begin mass without music at the parishioners' altar; but this he should do by deputy if it were his turn to celebrate high mass or the mass of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel, which turn must be observed, no excuse being allowed of celebrating 'the so-called parish mass . . . since without doubt that is the parochial mass which is celebrated at the high altar in the choir.' Infringement of these rules involved fines, which were levied in the chapter held on Saturdays in the choir, when excuses might be made, which were to be accredited on the speaker's word without further proof. It was further ordered in 1399 that all the vicars were to live in a house which was to be built for them, £40 having been left for that purpose by Bishop Thomas de Brentingham, and the rest of the money promised by the canons. This house was to have one common entrance, but the parochial vicar was to have a room adjoining the cemetery, where his parishioners could find him whenever required.

The earliest recorded visitation of Bosham appears to be that of Bishop Wyville in 1282, when it was found that the church was in bad

²⁵ *Gesta Henrici* (Rolls Ser.), i, 181.

²⁶ Chart R. 1 John, m. 20, no. 3.

²⁷ Pat. 6 John, m. 10.

²⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 255.

²⁹ See Exeter Epis. Reg. *passim*.

³⁰ For the loan of a transcript of the statutes of the college, drawn up in 1398, I am indebted to the kindness of Canon Dalton, C.M.G., of Windsor.

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repair, rain falling even on the high altar ; the vestments were very bad, as was all the church furniture, the supply of books was inadequate, and neither the church nor any altar was dedicated. As a result of this visitation the profits of all the prebends were sequestrated.³¹ When Bishop Thomas visited the chapel in July, 1294, the fabric was still in bad repair, the chancel especially ; altar-fronts, copes and other things were lacking, and books required binding. Orders were given that the canons should be more liberal in almsgiving and should be content with their prebends, not encroaching on those of others ; moreover, lest there should be a temptation to provide unsuitable persons as vicars because they would take lower stipends, each canon was to pay his vicar two marks in addition to what he received from the church in right of his vicarage, and they were also ordered to be more punctual in paying the sacrist his dues, and further to collect certain tithes which had fallen into arrears. To the vicars the only order given was that they should not be absent from service without the sacrist's leave, under a penalty of a halfpenny for every hour which they missed.³² The next visitation was that by Bishop Walter Stapleton in 1309. The church furniture was still deficient, and an order was made that the books, vestments, and ornaments of the chapel, being provided by the canons, were not in future to be used by the priests celebrating for the parishioners in the nave of the church. At this time the five vicars refused to take the oath of obedience to the bishop, though they could not justify their refusal ; they were also accused of quarrelling in the choir, and of being absent without leave ; the canons gave nothing to the poor, one of them had bought his prebend, and two others were farming theirs to laymen ; the parochial prebendary was a non-resident pluralist who neglected his cure, and another canon had gone abroad without licence. The sacrist was accused of incontinence, but pleaded that he had already been punished and had not since sinned.³³

Bishop Stapleton was again at Bosham in March, 1321,³⁴ and his successor, Bishop Grandison, dedicated the high altar in the choir in 1354,³⁵ and made a visitation of the chapel in 1363 by command of the king, who had heard a bad report of its condition, both spiritual and material—a report not without foundation, as the vicars were found to be deficient in number, often absent from services, and when present slovenly and ill-behaved, even disturbing service by quarrels and arguments.³⁶ The prebend of Appledram at this time was held by the illustrious William of Wykeham. Bishop Grandison was to some extent a benefactor of the college, as an

inventory³⁷ of goods drawn up by the sacrist in 1371 shows that he had given them at least three service books, as well as a set of vestments worked with his arms. The most interesting of the other items in this long inventory is a copy of a 'Life of St. Richard.'

The state of the college at the end of the fourteenth century could not be called satisfactory. In 1375 Bishop Thomas de Brentingham wrote to the sacrist, appointing a date for visitation,³⁸ saying—

we have heard with grief by the report of many that the canons, though they draw their full salaries, retain them for their own use and do not appoint vicars or ministers in their places ; also they desert the chapelry and live corrupt lives in houses outside.

Again in 1380 the bishop stated that he had heard an evil report of the clergy at Bosham and had intended to visit them himself, but being too busy had deputed others to do so.³⁹ In 1384 special notice was made of one of the vicars choral, Robert Dygby, who for two years had neglected his duties and frequented taverns and gambling-houses in Chichester, leading a dissolute life and making strife between the laity and the clergy of Bosham, to whom he had made himself so obnoxious that his brother ministers used to take to flight whenever they met him.⁴⁰ Next year the bishop appointed his official to inquire whether the canons and vicars were treating his orders with contempt, as it was reported ; especially Robert Dygby, who had now gone so far as even to live openly with a certain widow at Bosham, and Peter Carsfelde, a vicar, who had assaulted the sacrist and tried to murder him.⁴¹ This same year, 1385, the vicar of Bosham complained that the sacrist and one of the vicars had usurped his parochial rights, baptizing infants and hearing confessions without his leave, and that the sacrist had deprived him of his canonical habit and his share in certain emoluments.⁴² At last, in January, 1386, the bishop issued a strict command for all the canons to appear before him as he was determined to enforce obedience.⁴³ In April of the same year orders were issued for the prevention of strangers from entering the choir, where they were in the habit of coming and causing disputes and quarrels even during the services,⁴⁴ and in June penance was enjoined upon one of the vicars who had been guilty of incontinence.⁴⁵

The college of Bosham survived until 1548, when the 'sexton,' and the other four prebendaries were pensioned off, and two of the priest vicars dismissed, a third being left to assist the vicar by the commissioners, who also recommended that the curate found by the prebend of

³¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 216.

³² *Exeter Epis. Reg. Stapleton*, 58.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid. Grandison*, i, 174.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 80.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i, 50.

³⁷ *Ibid. Brentingham*, 256.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 424. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 161.

⁴² *Ibid.* 166.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 168.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 614.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 149.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 164.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 610.

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Appledram should continue to serve the church of Appledram parish.⁴⁶

SACRISTS OF THE COLLEGE OF BOSHAM

Walter de Welewe, occurs 1308⁴⁷
 John, occurs 1318⁴⁸
 Ralph de Riburgh, appointed 1321⁴⁹
 Walter de Shireforde, occurs 1323⁵⁰
 John de Whatenhull, occurs 1334⁵¹
 William de Hardeshull, occurs 1340⁵²
 William Scote, occurs 1363,⁵³ 1375⁵⁴
 William Mewy, occurs 1379,⁵⁵ exchanged 1383
 Roger Primer, appointed 1383,⁵⁶ exchanged 1388
 Peter Carsfelde, appointed 1388,⁵⁷ exchanged 1399
 Richard Deen, appointed 1399,⁵⁸ resigned 1400
 Ralph Waterman, appointed 1400,⁵⁹ resigned 1408
 John Lamburn, appointed 1408,⁶⁰ exchanged 1410
 Robert de Gunwardby, appointed 1410,⁶¹ died 1412
 Robert Tremylet, appointed 1412,⁶² died 1415
 John Leyman, appointed 1415,⁶³ exchanged 1419
 Nicholas Pycot, appointed 1419⁶⁴
 William Spade, appointed 1424,⁶⁵ resigned 1431
 John Penycoke, appointed 1431,⁶⁶ resigned 1433
 Thomas Halle, appointed 1433,⁶⁷ resigned 1434
 John Restone, M.A., appointed 1434,⁶⁸ resigned 1439
 John Fax, appointed 1439,⁶⁹ resigned 1444
 Robert Langmane, appointed 1444,⁷⁰ resigned 1454
 Thomas Northedone, appointed 1454⁷¹
 John Belynycham, *alias* Velingham, appointed 1503,⁷² died 1504-5
 Henry Hant, appointed 1505⁷³
 Nicholas Taverner, resigned 1508-9⁷⁴
 Thomas Burley, appointed 1509⁷⁵
 John Starkey, occurs 1535⁷⁶
 John Rixman, occurs 1548⁷⁷

⁴⁶ Chant. Cert. 50.

⁴⁷ *Exeter Epis. Reg. Stapleton*, 56.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 192. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 80.

⁵¹ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 35.

⁵² Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁵³ *Exeter Epis. Reg. Grandison*, i, 50.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* *Brentingham*, i, 152. ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 392.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 85. ⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 101. ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* *Stafford*, 148.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ⁶¹ *Ibid.* ⁶² *Ibid.* ⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* For the following eleven names I am indebted to Preb. Hingston-Randolph.

⁶⁵ *Exeter Epis. Reg. Lacy*, fol. 68.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 107. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 113.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 126b. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 181b.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 207. ⁷¹ *Ibid.* fol. 280.

⁷² *Ibid.* *Arundel*, fol. 10 (4th nos.).

⁷³ *Ibid.* *Oldham*, fol. 16. ⁷⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 28.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* ⁷⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 310.

⁷⁷ Chant. Cert. 49, 50.

58. THE COLLEGE OF HASTINGS⁷⁸

The College of St. Mary of the Castle of Hastings was founded by Robert, count of Eu, probably about 1090. It is not mentioned in Domesday, when all its subsequent endowments are found in the hands of various tenants, but was presumably in existence in 1094, when Anselm consecrated Robert bishop of Lincoln in the church of St. Mary in the Castle of Hastings.⁷⁹ It was possibly the successor of an earlier collegiate establishment, as in the thirteenth century the canons claimed to be of the foundation of Edward the Confessor, and said that the Conqueror gave 'the castle and chapel with the prebends' to the count of Eu; but 'la livre domus dei' to which they appealed does not support their claim.⁸⁰

Of the original endowment of the college we derive most of our information from a charter of confirmation granted early in the twelfth century by the founder's grandson Henry, count of Eu.⁸¹ From this we learn that there were ten prebends; of these, which are here distinguished by the names of their holders, the first was that of Gwymund, to which Count Robert had given the chapels of Wartling, Hooe, and Ninfield, certain tithes of money and salt and a house in the castle and another in the bailey by the bridge. To the prebend of William fitz Allec belonged the churches of Bexhill, afterwards recovered by the bishop of Chichester as appurtenant to his see, and 'Stutinges,'⁸² the chapel of Bulverhythe and land by the 'minster' in that place,⁸³ an annual render of 2,000 herrings and other fish dues, tithes at Chiceam⁸⁴ and elsewhere, a house in the bailey and another below it. The prebend of Hugh de Floscis was founded by Walter fitz Lambert who gave the tithes of his own lands and those of his vavassours, and one 'hospes'—or squatter—at Hailsham; Walter reserved to himself and his heirs the right of appointing a canon to this prebend when vacant with the common consent of the chapter; Geoffrey, brother of Hugh de Floscis, gave the church of Guestling and certain tithes, and the count gave a house in the castle. The prebend of Ulbert had only tithes of 'Malrepast' and 'Agintune,' but Count Henry gave a meadow beyond the mill below the castle; that of Eustace was endowed by Reinbert the sheriff with the churches of Salehurst, Mountfield, and Udimore, tithes in Etchingham and elsewhere,

⁷⁸ *Suss. Arch. Col.* xiii, 132-54.

⁷⁹ Eadmer, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 47.

⁸⁰ *Anct. Pet.* E 668.

⁸¹ *Anct. D.*, D 1073 is a copy (thirteenth century) of this charter.

⁸² Stowting in Kent.

⁸³ Possibly this is the 'monasterium' founded in Bexhill in the eighth century.

⁸⁴ Probably the 'Checeham' of Domesday.

the count adding a house in the castle. The prebend of Auscher, or Anscher, possessed the church of West Thurrock⁸⁵ in Essex with land there and at 'Sistaleberga,'⁸⁶ a house in 'Esteham' and another in the castle. To that of Theobald belonged the churches of Peasmarsch, Beckley, Iham, and Iden and the chapel of Playden, with various tithes and a parcel of moor at Rye; to that of Geoffrey de Blangii the chapel of 'Weklintun,' land at 'Cyletona' and 'Horna,' tithes at 'Tyntuna' and other places and a house in the bailey. The prebend of Ralph Taiard was endowed with the church of Ewhurst, the chapels of Wilting, 'Vilesent,' Hollington and Bodiam, and the burial fees of parishioners of Bodiam chapel due to Ewhurst church, various tithes, a house in the castle and a garden outside the bailey. The prebend of Roger Daniel possessed the church of Brightling, the monastery of 'Bochehordea'⁸⁷ and certain lands and tithes. The control of the grammar school was assigned to the prebend of Thurrock and that of the choir school to the prebend of Wartling.

To the common fund of the church for food and clothing were given the church of St. Andrew at Hastings and a yearly rent of four ambers of salt from Rye, as well as certain rights of pasture. For the support of the fabric, lights and ornaments of the church, the count gave the tithes of his rents in the rape of Hastings, and other grants were made by various persons, Godfrey the priest giving the church of St. Sepulchre subject to the confirmation of Boniface, on whose land it was built and to whom the canons agreed to pay an annual rent of two shillings.

From about the beginning of the thirteenth century the prebends seem to have been as follows: Bulverhythe, Brightling, Crowhurst (sometimes with Ticehurst), Hollington (with Ewhurst and Bodiam), Marlepast, Peasmarsch, Stone, Thurrock, and the combined prebend of Wartling, Hooe, and Ninfield which was divided into three separate prebends⁸⁸; finally, there was the prebend of Salehurst, which from 1333 onward was held by the abbot of Robertsbridge. After the free chapel had been granted away from the crown these prebends seem to have gradually diminished in number, and in 1535 the *Valor* only records those of Hollington, Peasmarsch, Hooe, Wartling, Ninfield, Brightling, and Thurrock.⁸⁹

John, count of Eu, son of that Henry whose

⁸⁵ The only manor held by the count of Eu in Essex, *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 513a.

⁸⁶ ? Tilbury.

⁸⁷ This was evidently the church of Buckworth in Hunts. which belonged to a prebend of Hastings in 1246; Pat. 31 Hen. III, m. 8.

⁸⁸ Chan. Misc. R. $\frac{4}{24}$.

⁸⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 344.

charter of confirmation has already been noticed, in 1151 granted the church of St. Mary in the castle to the abbey of Tréport, so that as the canons died, resigned, or assumed the monastic habit, monks of Tréport should be introduced in their stead.⁹⁰ This grant, however, possibly owing to the confused state of England at this time and the death of Stephen in 1154, was either revoked or at least not taken advantage of—if indeed it was ever really made.⁹¹ No trace of any claim by the abbey of Tréport is to be found until, in 1470,⁹² apparently taking advantage of the brief restoration to power of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, the abbey petitioned the latter queen, who was then in France, to restore to them the church of St. Mary given, as they asserted, by Count John in 1151.⁹³ It would seem that she granted the request, as they appointed five of their number to act as their proctors 'in ruling and governing our church or priory of Hastings dependent upon our said monastery,' with power to receive the vows of those admitted into the priory according to the Benedictine rule, especially the vow of obedience, to correct all faults in the members of the priory and to call back to the cloister any who had left it if such there were.⁹⁴ Edward IV recovering his throne, this attempt of the abbey to plant a cell at Hastings came to nothing.

The college remained in the patronage of the founder's descendants until 1267, when, on the death of Alice, countess of Eu, it escheated with the castle and rape of Hastings to the crown.⁹⁵ It then became a royal chapel, and so remained until its grant to Sir Thomas Hoo in 1446. It was therefore free and exempt from the jurisdiction of ordinaries, and although the bishops of Chichester on several occasions endeavoured to enforce their rights of visitation, &c. there, they were always unsuccessful.

Although the charter of Henry, count of Eu, was witnessed by 'Hugh the Dean,' it appears doubtful whether there was a dean constantly at the head of the college before the thirteenth century. In the agreement made by Walter fitzLambert for the election of future canons to the prebend of Guestling, the 'common consent of the chapter' only is mentioned, and in a deed of about 1190⁹⁶ one Brunching, a canon, makes a grant 'by the common counsel and consent of the chapter.' Lyttleton's

⁹⁰ *Cal. Doc. France*, 81.

⁹¹ It is only known from the copy annexed to the fifteenth-century petition.

⁹² The petition is undated, but of the fifteenth century, and judging from the appointment of brethren to take control of the church in 1470—as related below—was probably of that date.

⁹³ *Exch. Transcripts*, vol. 140a, p. 359.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 379.

⁹⁵ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 23.

⁹⁶ *Campb. ch.* xvi, 17.

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statement that Becket was dean of this college appears to have arisen from his misunderstanding the fact that the count of Eu gave the patronage of the prebends of Hastings to Becket.⁹⁷ Henry de Ow occurs as dean of St. Mary's in 1195.⁹⁸

In 1275 the king ordered William of Faversham to visit the chapel and put over it some prudent member of the community in place of the dean.⁹⁹ That this was done is evident from the direction of a royal mandate next year to the vice-dean and chapter ordering them to convert to the support of the chapel and its ornaments the issues of vacant prebends and other things formerly set aside for that purpose.¹⁰⁰ A letter of 1280 addressed to the constable of Hastings Castle directs him to deliver the houses in the castle to Master Luke de Neuport, canon of the free chapel, to dwell in;¹⁰¹ and a royal charter¹⁰² was issued the following year confirming an undated grant of land made by Vincent the dean and the chapter of the free chapel.

The earliest constitutions of the college give full directions for the performance of divine service.¹⁰³ During the winter, from Michaelmas to Easter, the sacrist should ring for mattins at day-break—the first bell being rung for the time it takes to go from St. Michael's church to St. Mary's; after a reasonable interval the second bell should ring for half the time of the first, and the third for half that of the second. The full peal (*classicum*) should be rung according to the dignity of the various festivals, and when it rang all should assemble, the lights should be lit in the church and the priest should begin mattins, all facing the east, as they should do at the beginning of all the hours until the 'Alleluia' after the doxology, when they turn and face one another across the choir. Anyone arriving after the end of the first psalm should lose his commons for that day, and if constantly so offending should be removed from the church. Immediately after mattins a bell shall ring three times for the mass of the Blessed Virgin; the priest shall robe and commence the office, and after the offertory any priests who wish to celebrate private masses may do so provided the priest whose duty it is to say high mass shall remain behind, and on anniversaries another priest to celebrate the mass for the departed. At a suitable hour the prime bell shall ring the time it takes to go a league, then after a short interval the 'little prime' shall ring and all shall come to the service and remain to the end, when they assemble in chapter and any faults shall be corrected. After chapter, mass for the departed shall be said, and then terce, during which the

priest and his assistants shall robe for high mass. If any vicars are not in residence their stipends shall be divided amongst the canons and vicars who are. Two of the vicars shall note any vicars absent and read out the list in chapter, and distribute the commons according to the residence kept by the several recipients. Finally the 'proctor or dean' of the church with the advice of his brethren, and especially of those resident, shall order all things in the church to the glory of God and the good of the church.

Additions were made to these rules in 1286, when it was ordained that any minister absent for a fortnight without leave should lose his perquisites for a month, and any in residence absent from morning mass should lose his perquisites for a week. All taking part in any service should wear the customary dress and especially their hoods. Anyone causing strife or contention should be punished by the dean by the withdrawal of his commons. Finally all are strictly forbidden to submit to the jurisdiction of ordinaries to the prejudice of the chapel.

The last of these rules was doubtless due to the determined efforts of the bishops of Chichester about this period to subject the college to their jurisdiction. Some of the canons had had to appeal to the king against the bishop in 1279; and in 1299 orders were given to Robert de Burghersh to ascertain whether the bishop should have the institution and admission of the prebends,¹⁰⁴ which privilege he again claimed, but unsuccessfully, in 1307.¹⁰⁵ During the vacancy of the see of Chichester in 1305 the archbishop of Canterbury attempted to hold a visitation in the chapel but was refused admission by the keeper of the castle, whom, with certain of the canons, he excommunicated. Afterwards, while the castle was without a keeper, he sent officials who held a visitation, made divers statutes, and appointed William of Lewes dean, an appointment which the king at once annulled.¹⁰⁶

Being exempt from episcopal control the free chapel of Hastings was visited periodically by royal commissioners, and a detailed report of their proceedings in September, 1319, is still extant.¹⁰⁷ Master Edmund of London, the dean, and five canons were present in person and three canons by proctors. It was then ordained that all repairs to the fabric of the church and the provision of vestments, books, and ornaments should be defrayed from the offerings made in the chapel. Also that the vicars should be fit persons sufficiently skilled in reading and singing, that they should be constant at their duties, not wander about the country, and that they should be of good report; if any of them were thrice found guilty of infringing these rules he should

⁹⁷ *Mat. for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 20.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Robertsbridge Chart.* No. 24.

⁹⁹ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 25. ¹⁰⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 5.

¹⁰¹ Close, 8 Edw. I, m. 3.

¹⁰² Chart. R. 9 Edw. I, m. 7.

¹⁰³ Chan. Misc. R. $\frac{4}{23}$.

¹⁰⁴ Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 26 d.

¹⁰⁵ Coram Rege R. Trin. 35 Edw. I, m. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Chan. Misc. R. $\frac{4}{23}$.

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thereby forfeit his place in the church. The sacrist, into whose hands all oblations must come in the first place, should be at once removed if found unfit; also the offerings collected by the proper officers should be kept in safety in locked coffers, and the collectors should swear to collect faithfully and to keep nothing back. At the beginning of each quarter the canons should pay down the full amount due to their vicars for the ensuing quarter, at 2*d.* a day, and two of the vicars sworn for that purpose should distribute their commons to the vicars every week according to their merits; if by reason of their defaults anything remained over it should be divided between the vicars and canons in residence at the discretion of the dean. Canons in residence should reside six weeks in each quarter, attending at least one mass or one of the hours every day, and should keep up their houses. In future every canon, resident or not, should receive his share of the common revenues by the hands of his vicar to the amount which he formerly paid from his prebend to the vicar, to whose use the said money should remain. Any money left over after paying stipends and other expenses was to be divided amongst the dean and canons in residence every quarter, but if any failed to reside during the Michaelmas and Christmas quarters they should lose their shares for the year. Directions were also given about the letting of the houses belonging to the college.

The dean, being examined, said that there was a fund of £20 set aside for repairs and that the ornaments of the church were in good condition except that two antiphonaries and two graduals were wanting, and he at once presented an antiphonary of the Sarum Use to the church and appointed one of the vicars to write the other books. Of the spiritual condition of the chapel he had a worse report to make. Six of the vicars were quarrelsome and dissolute and frequently left the chapel unserved, and though often punished were incorrigible. They had also stolen a coffer fastened to the foot of the cross, from which the expenses of the church were paid, with a large sum of money: moreover they caused the constable's deputies to eject the vicars from their houses in the castle and the sacrists from their rooms in the chapel, where they used to be night and day to receive pilgrims to the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross,¹⁰⁸ and took from them the keys of the chapel, chambers, treasury, chapter and bell tower so that they might dispose as they pleased of the money; they also forcibly resisted the entrance of carpenters sent to repair the chapel and belfry, wherefore many defects still remain. In their

defence the vicars alleged that they took the coffer by order of their masters, the non-resident canons, but could produce no evidence thereof; they also accused other vicars of stealing money from another coffer, but the latter asserted that they themselves stole the second coffer from the high altar by night. To ascertain the truth a jury was sworn who found that the charges were true as far as five of the vicars were concerned. They also made certain statements about several of the vicars, the details of which resemble the charges brought against the monks by Layton and his followers at the time of the dissolution. As a result four vicars were ejected, the fifth not having been convicted three times was allowed to remain.

The jury also found that the houses on the west of the chapel in the castle were built with the money of the chapel for the use of the clergy, and that two sacrists had always dwelt in the chapel day and night to receive pilgrims and had two rooms in the same chapel, one on the ground floor by the door for their meals, and an upper chamber at the west of the chapel for their beds.

Two years later, in 1321, the king issued a commission for another visitation,¹⁰⁹ stating that the ministers of the chapel were neglecting their duties, although receiving their stipends, that some of them were leading dissolute lives, and that the oblations of the Holy Rood which ought to be devoted to the repairs of the chapel and the payment of the ministers were being otherwise disposed of by the dean. Similar commissions were issued in 1328¹¹⁰ and 1334¹¹¹ and also in 1335¹¹² and 1336,¹¹³ the visitors at the latter date being the abbots of Battle and Robertsbridge. An endeavour to effect some improvement in the condition of the chapel was also made by the canons themselves in 1335, when they assembled at Bermondsey Priory, where the prebendary of Thurrock, William de Cusancia—probably a brother of the prior—was staying, and passed certain regulations, the most important being that the dean should be always resident except for three months in the year, when he might be absent provided he left a sufficient deputy. It was also recorded that every canon upon his institution ought to present to the church a cope, or 10*s.* for the use of the choir and ornaments of the church.¹¹⁴

Misfortune now befell the college. In 1331 the dean and chapter had petitioned¹¹⁵ the king to cause the castle of Hastings to be inclosed with walls and gates and houses to be built for

¹⁰⁸ In the will of Richard, Lord Poynings, made in 1387, the 'crucifix of Hastings' is the object of a bequest with the better known miraculous roods of Boxley, Bromholm, and the north door of St. Paul's: Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Courtenay, fol. 223.

¹⁰⁹ Pat. 15 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 15 *d.*

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12 *d.*

¹¹¹ Ibid. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 25 *d.*

¹¹² Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 12 *d.*

¹¹³ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13 *d.*

¹¹⁴ Chan. Misc. R. 15.

¹¹⁵ Inq. a.q.d. ccxi, i; Anct. Pet. 11944

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the canons to dwell in, and to allow them to have the herbage of the castle within the will of Hastings towards the repairs, and also the custody of the castle in time of peace; as for lack of such inclosure, which had been destroyed partly when the castle was forfeited to the king by the count of Eu, and still more by the daily incursions of the sea, so that the king's predecessors had abandoned the castle and left it derelict, the chapel had been often broken into by malefactors, its relics, ornaments, and treasures plundered, its ministers beaten and wounded, and its cemetery defiled by wandering animals. This petition had been granted, and it was possibly owing to the castle being in such unwarlike hands that the French found it so easy a prey in 1339, when they landed and plundered the castle, free chapel, and the canons' houses. Shortly afterwards the king warned the canons of the probability of a renewed raid, and ordered them to secure the castle.¹¹⁶ This order was apparently supplemented by the appointment of William de Percy as constable, in the exercise of which office he prevented the clergy from inhabiting their houses within the castle or serving in the chapel, and also prohibited the entrance of pilgrims, by whose offerings the college was supported.¹¹⁷ Some idea of the injury done to the town at this time may be gathered from the respite granted to the canons of the annual tenth, payable from their churches of St. Michael, St. Peter, and St. Margaret, because their buildings and those of their parishioners had been burnt, so that the issues did not suffice to support any priest in these churches or for any other charges.¹¹⁸ At a later date, in 1341, it is noted that the stipends of the vicars choral had been paid since 1322 out of the oblations made to the Holy Rood, which were then sufficient, but now, on account of the notorious poverty of the neighbourhood, the oblations were so diminished that they did not suffice, and the vicars, in default of payment, which should be made from the issues of the prebends, would soon have to withdraw from the church if remedy were not applied.¹¹⁹

These misfortunes were aggravated by internal disorder due to disputes concerning the deanery. In January, 1337, a mandate was addressed to the keeper and chapter of the free chapel, which is stated to have been long without a dean and to have suffered much harm thereby, to meet and elect a dean.¹²⁰ This is the only instance in which the chapter exercised the right of election, and it is specially stipulated that if the right to collate to the deanery be in the king, it shall not be prejudiced by this

mandate. Walter de Lyndrigge was accordingly appointed, but resigned in November, 1339, upon obtaining the archdeaconry of Lewes.¹²¹ In February, 1340, Walter was again granted the custody of the deanery, which is here stated to have been long void.¹²² In March, however, Geoffrey de Clare, representing Lyndrigge to be a careless custodian, obtained his own appointment,¹²³ which was quashed in May.¹²⁴ The custody of the chapel was then granted for life to John Wade in 1342,¹²⁵ but next year Walter de Lyndrigge¹²⁶ was again appointed to administer the church, 'now greatly decayed by the neglect and insufficient rule of the keepers, whereby the vicars and other ministers are withdrawing from the service thereof.' Lyndrigge and Wade were then summoned to appear in Chancery to decide their claims,¹²⁷ and the abbot of Robertsbridge was ordered in the meanwhile to take charge of the chapel and deanery.¹²⁸ The dispute was settled in favour of Wade, who in February, 1344, was granted the deanery and wardenship of the king's chapel of Hastings.¹²⁹ It was no doubt in connexion with these disputed claims to the deanery that certain persons—

by night forcibly entered by ladders over the walls of the castle of Hastings and assaulted the minister of the king's chapel and carried away books, chalices, vestments, and ornaments of the chapel, and now keep themselves in the said chapel by armed power.¹³⁰

At the visitation held in April, 1345,¹³¹ it was found that there were defects in the roof of the chapel, the belfry, bells, books, vestments, windows, &c., whose repair would cost £20. At the last visitation Geoffrey de Clare, then dean, said that he had £15 for such repairs, but he did not expend the money for that purpose but kept it; he also allowed certain rents to remain uncollected. Master Geoffrey further carried off two papal bulls, conferring privileges on the chapel; one of these he sold to Master Walter de Lindrigge, formerly dean. He also carried away a chalice and other things, and by the carelessness of his sacrist the cross from the top of a silver-gilt monstrance was lost; his prebend of Bulverhythe was therefore sequestered. At the same time four of the vicars were ejected for continuing to keep concubines in spite of the dean's prohibition.

Another visitation was made in 1407, when it was noted that the vicars' houses at the west end

¹²¹ Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22 d.

¹²² Close, 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 39.

¹²³ Ibid. m. 30.

¹²⁴ Ibid. m. 10; and pt. ii, m. 13 d.

¹²⁵ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

¹²⁶ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

¹²⁷ Close, 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 22 d.

¹²⁸ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32 d.

¹²⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 36.

¹³⁰ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32 d.

¹³¹ Chanc. Misc. R. $\frac{4}{15}$.

¹¹⁶ Pat. 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

¹¹⁷ Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 18 d.

¹¹⁹ Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 9 d.

¹²⁰ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

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of the chapel had lately been rebuilt, but the houses below the castle called 'Godelond,' used by the dean and canons resident, were ruined, and almost uninhabitable. Recent deans had mostly been non-resident, and had allowed many rents and annual payments to be withdrawn from the college to its great loss.¹³² At last, in 1447, its privileged position as a royal free chapel was lost, Henry VI in that year granting that the collegiate church of Hastings, with its deanery and prebends, which he had given with the castle to Sir Thomas Hoo, should be exempt from visitation by the king or any other person except the bishop of Chichester and his official.¹³³ This arrangement was confirmed, in 1460, by an agreement between Sir William Hastings, then lord of the honour of Hastings, and the bishop, by which the college was declared to be entirely subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop.¹³⁴

It survived the dissolution of 1536-8, but fell under the Act suppressing colleges, &c., in the last year of Henry VIII, and was granted by the king to Sir Anthony Browne, of Battle and Cowdray, and Elizabeth his wife.¹³⁵

DEANS OF THE COLLEGE OF HASTINGS

- Hugh, early twelfth century ¹³⁶
- Henry de Ow, occurs 1195 ¹³⁷
- Vincent, before 1280 ¹³⁸
- Giles de Audenard, appointed 1302 ¹³⁹
- William de Lewes, intruded 1305 ¹⁴⁰
- Edmund de London, occurs 1319, ¹⁴¹ 1322 ¹⁴²
- Walter de Lyndrigge, appointed 1337, ¹⁴³ resigned 1339 ¹⁴⁴
- Geoffrey de Clare, appointed 1340 ¹⁴⁵
- John Wade, appointed 1342, ¹⁴⁶ occurs 1347 ¹⁴⁷
- John de Codington, occurs 1361, ¹⁴⁸ 1366 ¹⁴⁹
- Robert Leggatt, 1369 ¹⁵⁰
- William de Grysell, exchanged 1374 ¹⁵¹
- John de Hardlestone, appointed 1374, ¹⁵² resigned 1383 ¹⁵³
- John Eyr, appointed 1383, ¹⁵⁴ exchanged 1389 ¹⁵⁵

¹³² Chanc. Misc. bde. 20, file 1, No. 11.

¹³³ Chart. R. 26 Hen. VI, No. 38.

¹³⁴ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, fol. 51.

¹³⁵ Pat. 38 Hen. VIII, pt. 13, m. 11.

¹³⁶ Anct. D., D 1073.

¹³⁷ Cal. Robertsbridge Chart. No. 24.

¹³⁸ Chart. R. 9 Edw. I, m. 7.

¹³⁹ Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 15.

¹⁴⁰ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 2.

¹⁴¹ Chanc. Misc. R. 28.

¹⁴² Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 9 d.

¹⁴³ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22.

¹⁴⁴ Close 13 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 22 d.

¹⁴⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

¹⁴⁶ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

¹⁴⁷ Cal. Papal Pet. i, 127. ¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 363.

¹⁴⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Langham, fol. 39.

¹⁵⁰ Suss. Arch. Coll. xiii, 154. ¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 25.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 9.

John Notyngham, appointed 1389 ¹⁵⁶

Richard Clyfford, resigned 1398 ¹⁵⁷

Gilbert de Stone, appointed 1398, ¹⁵⁸ exchanged 1401 ¹⁵⁹

John Gamull, appointed 1401 ¹⁶⁰

Henry Rumworth, appointed 1408, ¹⁶¹ exchanged 1411 ¹⁶²

William Hawe, appointed 1411 ¹⁶³

William Tanfield, 1415 ¹⁶⁴

William Prestwick, appointed 1423, ¹⁶⁵ died 1436 ¹⁶⁶

John Kingscote, 1458 ¹⁶⁷

John Carpenter, 1460 ¹⁶⁸

John Fowkes ¹⁶⁹

Benedict Burgh, resigned 1480 ¹⁷⁰

John Pensell, appointed 1480 ¹⁷¹

Richard Brokysby, or Rokysby, occurs 1535 ¹⁷²

The seal used in 1195 was oval (3 in. long), the Virgin seated holding a model of a church in her right hand and a slip of lily in her left.¹⁷³ Legend:—

SIGILLUM ECCLIE SCE MARIE DE HASTINGES

A deed of about 1230 has a seal; oval (1½ in.) Virgin and child under a canopy.¹⁷⁴ Legend:—

S' DECANI . . . MARIE DE HASTINGE

There is also a fragment of a seal of 1334 showing a robed figure, seated, in profile.¹⁷⁵

59. THE COLLEGE OF SOUTH MALLING ¹⁷⁶

Aldulf, prince or duke of the South Saxons, about the year 765, gave lands in Stanmer, Lindfield, and Burleigh for the endowment of a monastery in honour of God and St. Michael, which he had apparently already established at Malling.¹⁷⁷ He was therefore commemorated in the list of benefactors as the first founder of the college.¹⁷⁸ The manor of Malling was

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 69.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 125.

¹⁶² Ibid. fol. 147.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Suss. Arch. Coll. xiii, 154.

¹⁶⁵ Acts of P.C. iii, 20.

¹⁶⁶ Brass in Warbleton church.

¹⁶⁷ Suss. Arch. Coll. xiii, 154.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.; presumably the same as 'Master Foxe, dean of Hastings,' in 1461; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. v*, 542.

¹⁷⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Story, pt. ii, fol. 15. ¹⁷¹ Ibid

¹⁷² Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii, 344.

¹⁷³ Cal. Robertsbridge Chart. No. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. No. 187.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. No. 262.

¹⁷⁶ Suss. Arch. Coll. v, 127-42; xxi, 159-90.

¹⁷⁷ Cart. Sax. No. 197.

¹⁷⁸ Suss. Arch. Coll. v, 129.

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subsequently bestowed upon the archbishop of Canterbury by Baldred, king of Kent, about 823, but as he was not at the time in full possession of the kingdom the grant was held to be invalid, and had to be renewed in 838 at the council of Kingston by the kings Egbert and Ethelwolf.¹⁷⁹ Nothing more is heard of the foundation until the Domesday Survey, which shows the canons of St. Michael holding 4 hides of Malling Manor and the estate of Stanmer, rated at 20 hides; as they are here spoken of as canons it is clear that the Benedictine monks—for such the inmates of Aldul's monastery would probably have been—had been replaced by seculars.

About 1150 Archbishop Theobald refounded the college, building a new church, and endowing it with all the tithes of his manor of South Malling and its appurtenances.¹⁸⁰ Of the collegiate church thus established the nominal head was the archbishop, who held the prebend of Mayfield, but active control was vested in the dean, who was also rural dean of South Malling deanery, containing the churches of Ringmer, Framfield, and Southeram, which were prebendal, Cliffe, Buxted with Uckfield chapel, Edburton, Ifield, Mayfield, Stanmer, Wadhurst, and Glynde. The church of West Tarring with Patching was also at first attached to this deanery, but was after the thirteenth century put under that of Pagham. The dean was required to be constantly resident, and the three canons, who held the offices of precentor, chancellor, and treasurer respectively, had to reside forty days every year,^{180a} but this obligation rapidly became merely nominal, the prebends being bestowed upon wealthy pluralists and papal nominees whose sole connexion with the college lay in the payment of stipends to their vicars.¹⁸¹ Originally the profits of the churches of Malling, Southeram, and Framfield had been divided between the dean and canons, that of Ringmer being held by each in turn for a year, but under Archbishop Chicheley Malling church was assigned to the dean, Southeram to the precentor, Ringmer to the chancellor, and Framfield to the treasurer.¹⁸² Two other officials of the church were the penitentiary and the sacrist, who were obliged to reside, and obtained their income mainly from oblations and certain special tithes, though the sacrist's office was further endowed in 1275 with certain lands and rents which had been left by the vicar of Ringmer to found a chantry, but had proved insufficient for the purpose.¹⁸³ Each canon had to maintain a vicar, and the rector of Buxted had to provide a sub-deacon of good character and voice to serve with the vicars.¹⁸⁴

The deans and canons from an early period had each a separate manse with a garden,¹⁸⁵ but the vicars had no fixed residence, but lived in such houses as they could obtain in the neighbourhood, until in 1515 Archbishop Warham ordered the erection of a suitable manse for their use.¹⁸⁶

In spite of its antiquity this college has singularly little history attached to it; beyond its frequent occurrence in the archbishop's registers as the place from which letters were dated or where ordinations were held few notices of it occur. The statutes revised by Archbishops Stafford (1443) and Warham (1515) have already been dealt with, and the visitations held in 1298¹⁸⁷ and 1376¹⁸⁸ contain only injunctions of a technical nature; this absence of history, though disappointing to the chronicler, may be taken as evidence of the satisfactory morality of the establishment. It must be remembered that the prebends were mostly held by ecclesiastics who made no endeavour to reside on the spot, even the deanery being occasionally bestowed upon persons who could not execute the duties, as in 1395 when the pope dispensed Richard Courtenay, the archbishop's nephew, then in his fourteenth year, to hold the deanery of South Malling with canonries of Chichester, Bosham, Lincoln, London, Wells, and Wilton.¹⁸⁹ The deanery was indeed a sufficiently valuable benefice to attract the attention of Cromwell, who demanded the patronage of it from the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, during the vacancy of the primacy in 1534.¹⁹⁰

South Malling College was valued in 1535 at £45 12s. 5½d. clear,¹⁹¹ and was suppressed in 1547,¹⁹² its site and possessions being granted to Sir Thomas Palmer,¹⁹³ but recovered by the archbishop in 1553 upon petition showing that the college had only held of the archbishopric as tenants at will.¹⁹⁴ Surveys were made in 1555 of the dilapidated church with its six bells, its lead, its 'xxix marbyll stones wherein werre Images and scrypturs of brasse,' and its stone and timber.¹⁹⁵

DEANS OF THE COLLEGE OF SOUTH MALLING

William de Bosco, occurs 1230¹⁹⁶
Nicholas de Wich, appointed 1261¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. xxi, 161.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. v, 136.

¹⁸⁷ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 69b.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. Sudbury, fol. 49.

¹⁸⁹ Cal. Papal Let. iv, 510.

¹⁹⁰ L. and P. Hen. VIII, vii, 763.

¹⁹¹ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii, 337.

¹⁹² Suss. Arch. Coll. xxi, 164-8.

¹⁹³ Ibid. 169-72, 174-8.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 173-4.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 181-5.

¹⁹⁶ Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 310'.

¹⁹⁷ Cal. Papal Let. i, 377.

¹⁷⁹ Cart. Sax. No. 421.

¹⁸⁰ Suss. Arch. Coll. v, 130.

^{180a} Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 69.

¹⁸¹ See Cal. of Papal Let. passim.

¹⁸² Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 12, No. 85.

¹⁸³ Suss. Arch. Coll. v, 136.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 137.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Reginald de Gressenhale, occurs 1287,¹⁹⁸ died 1293¹⁹⁹
 John de Berewyk, appointed 1293,²⁰⁰ occurs 1310²⁰¹
 William de Swanton, occurs 1314,²⁰² 1326²⁰³
 Nicholas Wardedyeu, appointed c. 1327, died c. 1333²⁰⁴
 John de Aylesbury, occurs 1353,²⁰⁵ died 1357²⁰⁶
 John de Echingham, appointed 1357,²⁰⁷ died 1371²⁰⁸
 John Pateney, appointed March, 1371,²⁰⁹ exchanged April, 1371²¹⁰
 Richard de Apulderham, appointed and exchanged April, 1371²¹¹
 Thomas Ocle, appointed 1371,²¹² exchanged 1375
 Giles de Wyngremouth, appointed 1375,²¹³ died 1380
 Adam de Wykemer, appointed 1380,²¹⁴ died 1385²¹⁵

John de Kirkeby, appointed 1385,²¹⁶ occurs 1392²¹⁷
 Richard Corteney, occurs 1395²¹⁸
 Henry Winchestre, appointed 1399,²¹⁹ exchanged 1406
 William Piers, appointed 1406,²²⁰ died 1439²²¹
 Thomas Hanwelle, occurs 1458,²²² 1462,²²³ died 1473²²⁴
 Thomas Edmond, died 1481²²⁵
 Thomas Brent, appointed 1481,²²⁵ died 1515
 Robert Wykes, appointed 1515²²⁶
 John Piers, occurs 1535,²²⁷ died 1536
 Thomas Heritage, appointed 1536,²²⁸ died 1537
 Nicholas Heth, appointed 1537,²²⁹ resigned 1540
 Robert Peterson, appointed 1540,²³⁰ surrendered 1547²³¹
 A fragmentary example of the collegiate seal shows that it bore the winged figure of St. Michael.²³²

ALIEN HOUSES

60. THE PRIORY OF ARUNDEL

Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, not long after he had obtained the earldom of Sussex, gave certain lands and advowsons to the abbey of Séez, with a vacant site in Arundel to erect a priory, which was done in 1102 when Gratian, a monk of Séez, became first prior. The priory continued here for some seventy years, but in 1177 the then earl of Arundel removed the English secular canons from the church of St. Nicholas at Arundel, and introduced in their place this small priory of four or five monks, which continued a cell to St. Martin of Séez.¹ Of its history very little is known. Its endowment eventually included the advowsons of the parish churches of Arundel, Yapton, Rustington, Billingshurst, Kirdford, Cocking, and half Littlehampton, as well as the manor of Yapton and lands and rents in other West Sussex parishes, but of individual benefactors and their grants there is no record. The church of Cocking was also claimed by the monks of Séez

in 1200 as belonging to the prebend of Arundel, given them by Earl Roger.² In 1291 the temporalities of the priory were valued at £14 10s. 6d., with an additional £5 in pensions arising from various tithes.³

In 1340 the prior of St. Nicholas obtained royal licence to acquire lands to the value of 60s.,⁴ and at the same time the earl of Arundel had leave to grant to the same prior a piece of land in Arundel 40 ft. long by 36 ft. broad, with an oratory built thereon in honour of St. Mary.⁵ Apparently the monks found that this oratory was a source of expense and not of income, as three years later the earl obtained a fresh licence to grant to them 30 acres in Arundel that they should celebrate service daily in honour of Christ

¹⁹⁸ Assize R. 924, m. 5.

¹⁹⁹ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 25.

²⁰¹ Pipe R. 3 Edw. II.

²⁰² Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9 d.

²⁰³ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 5.

²⁰⁴ County Placita, Sussex, No. 14.

²⁰⁵ Assize R. 941, m. 5 D.

²⁰⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 275.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. Whittlesey, fol. 84.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 84 b.

²¹¹ Ibid. fol. 85 b.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid. Sudbury, fol. 119 b.

²¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 134.

²¹⁵ Ibid. Courtenay, fol. 212.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 259.

²¹⁷ Assize R. 1503, m. 68.

²¹⁸ Cal. Papal Let. iv, 510.

²¹⁹ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 263.

²²⁰ Ibid. fol. 313.

²²¹ Ibid. Chicheley, pt. i, fol. 478.

²²² De Banc. R. 36 Hen. VI.

²²³ Muniments of Magd. Coll. Oxon, 'Sele H.'

²²⁴ P.C.C. Wattys, fol. 9 b.

²²⁵ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Bourchier, fol. 128.

²²⁶ Ibid. Warham, fol. 358.

²²⁷ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii, 337.

²²⁸ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Cranmer, fol. 360.

²²⁹ Ibid. fol. 363.

²³⁰ Ibid. fol. 373.

²³¹ Suss. Arch. Coll. xxi, 168.

²³² Ibid. viii, 270.

¹ Cal. Papal Let. iv, 239; Inq. a.q.d. 3 Ric. II, No. 160, printed in Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, 747-57.

² Curia Regis. R. 20, m. 10 d.

³ Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.), 141.

⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 12.

⁵ Ibid. m. 21.

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and the Blessed Virgin in the chapel newly founded at the north gate of the town,⁶ which was presumably the same as the oratory above mentioned.

Practically nothing is known of the inner history of this small monastery, the most interesting fact being an arrangement made in 1269, by which the priory granted Master William de Wedon, in return for various gifts, board and lodging, and a room in the priory in which he might conduct a school.⁷

As an alien house Arundel Priory was frequently seized into the king's hands during the wars with France, the prior, as a rule, being allowed to farm it of the king. When Edward I took it into his hands it was valued at £54 3s. 11½d. and was committed to the prior, Denis, for an annual payment of £35, but as this only left £19 3s. 11½d. for the support of the prior and five monks he obtained a deduction of £8. When, however, Edward III seized the priory in 1337 he again raised the farm to £35, and it was not until 1340 that, out of favour to the earl of Arundel, he lowered it again to £27, and also ordered the prior to be credited with the £24 extra farm which he had paid during the last three years.⁸

The farm exacted at the beginning of Richard II's reign was 20 marks, and at this time the patronage of the priory was in the king's hands, by descent from his father,⁹ who had no doubt obtained it through Queen Isabella, to whom it was granted by Robert de Morley, heir of Robert de Montalt, in 1335.¹⁰

When Richard earl of Arundel died in 1376 he left 1,000 marks for the founding of a chantry within the castle of Arundel; but his son, considering the vicissitudes to which a castle is exposed, and that a chantry in a castle was likely not to be permanent, and seeing also that owing to the long war with France the alien monks had all, with the exception of the prior, abandoned the priory of St. Nicholas, so that service was no longer performed there, decided to found the chantry in the church. He accordingly obtained the king's leave in 1379 for messengers to go to Sééz and treat with the abbot for the suppression of their cell of Arundel.¹¹ The sanction of the abbot, the pope,¹² and King Richard having been obtained, and the earl having undertaken to pay the 20 marks farm due to the crown so long as the war with France should last, the priory was dissolved in 1380 and replaced by the college of the Holy Trinity,¹³ whose history has been traced above.

⁶ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 26.

⁷ Add. MSS. 5701, fol. 18.

⁸ Close, 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 38.

⁹ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 12.

¹⁰ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

¹¹ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 12.

¹² Cal. Papal Let. iv, 239.

¹³ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 12.

PRIORS OF ARUNDEL

Gratian, appointed 1102¹⁴

Walter, occurs 1200¹⁵

Warner, occurs 1241¹⁶

Gervase, occurs c. 1255¹⁷

Denis, occurs 1269¹⁸–1303¹⁹

Michael de Nauchal, occurs 1351,²⁰ 1354²¹

John Messier, occurs 1364²²

John Mercer, occurs 1377²³

61. THE BALLIVATE OF ATHERINGTON-TON

Besides their priory at Arundel the abbey of Sééz had certain estates in the neighbourhood of Littlehampton which were under the charge of one of their monks settled at Atherington, where there was a grange with a chapel of which there are still considerable remains. This monk was usually called the bailiff of Atherington, though he appears in 1332 on an application for an aid towards the marriage of the king's sister as prior of Atherington.²⁴ In 1349 Edward St. John had licence to alienate to the abbey of Sééz, namely to their cell or house of Atherington, property up to the value of £10.²⁵ Upon the suppression of the alien houses by Henry V the estates of the bailiff of Atherington passed to the abbess of Syon.

BAILIFFS OF ATHERINGTON

William Olyver, occurs c. 1304²⁶

Peter de Orgericus, occurs 1325²⁷

Emerick, occurs 1337²⁸

Michael, occurs 1345²⁹–9³⁰

Michael Nauchal, occurs 1353³¹

Richard, occurs 1376³²

Oliver Miche (?), occurs 1403³³

¹⁴ See above.

¹⁵ Feet of F. (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 48.

¹⁶ Ibid. No. 379.

¹⁷ Dugdale, Mon. viii, 1171.

¹⁸ Add MSS. 5901, fol. 18.

¹⁹ Assize R. 1330, m. 18.

²⁰ Pipe R. 25 Edw. III. Apparently elected in 1349; Suss. Arch. Coll. xxxv, 118.

²¹ Pat. 27 Edw. III, m. 3 d.

²² Cal. Papal Let. iv, 46.

²³ Trevelyan, The Peasants' Rising, 67.

²⁴ Close, 6 Edw. III, m. 163.

²⁵ Pat. 23, Edw. III, pt. i, m. 10.

²⁶ Anct. D., B. 3485.

²⁷ Pat. 19 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14.

²⁸ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13.

²⁹ Cal. Papal Pet. i, 102.

³⁰ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28 d.

³¹ Anct. D., B. 3753.

³² Ibid. 173.

³³ Acts of P.C. i, 195; he is called 'occupator possessionum abbatis de Sagio,' and was probably bailiff of Atherington.

62. THE PRIORY OF LYMINSTER

Roger de Montgomery, earl of Sussex, granted an estate at Lyminster to the abbey of St. Peter of Almenesches, of which his daughter was abbess. Shortly after the death of his wife in 1082 he gave for the good of her soul half the manor of Climping, with the church of that vill. These two estates constituted the abbey's possessions in Sussex at the time of the Domesday Survey, but the church of Poling was probably added shortly after this date, and in 1178 Pope Alexander III confirmed to the nuns of Almenesches all their rights in the churches of Lyminster, Climping, Poling, Ford, and Rustington, as well as in the manors of Climping, Rustington, Ford, Preston, and Poling. Some twenty years later Seffrid II, bishop of Chichester, in consideration of the poverty and good fame of the nuns of Almenesches granted them pensions of 100s. from the church of Climping, 60s. from that of Rustington, and 40s. from that of Ford.³⁴ So far there is no reference to any priory at Lyminster, but later tradition asserted that it was founded by Earl Roger,³⁵ and the fact that the abbey's portion of Lyminster was called 'Nonneminstre' in 1086 (and 'Nummenistre' in the bull of 1178) suggests that there may have been nuns resident here from an early date.

The first actual mention of the priory of St. Mary of Lyminster appears to be in an action brought in 1263 with reference to lands granted some years earlier to a former prioress, Mabel.³⁶ Of history this priory had none, and its name only occurs in connexion with its periodic seizure into the king's hands during war with France. It was a very small house; in 1380 there were only two sisters, Julia and Margaret, besides the prioress, Katherine,³⁷ and it came to an end when the alien houses were suppressed by Henry V, its property being granted by Henry VI to Eton College.

PRIORESSES OF LYMINSTER

- Mabel, before 1263³⁸
 Agatha, occurs 1277³⁹
 Agatha de la Poynte, occurs 1294,⁴⁰ 1296⁴¹
 Omelina, occurs 1320⁴²
 Joan del Isle occurs 1346⁴³
 Joan de Ferrariis, occurs 1364⁴⁴
 Katherine de Lisle, occurs 1377,⁴⁵ died 1400⁴⁶

³⁴ *Cal. Doc. France*, 246.

³⁵ Inq. p.m. 14 Ric. II, 118.

³⁶ Assize R. 912.

³⁷ Cler. Subs. $\frac{1}{5}$. ³⁸ Assize R. 912.

³⁹ Feet of F. Suss. file 25, No. 35.

⁴⁰ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 5.

⁴¹ Pat. 24 Edw. I, m. 21.

⁴² Close, 13 Edw. II, m. 6 d.

⁴³ Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.

⁴⁴ Pipe R. 37 Edw. III.

⁴⁵ Chan. Misc. bdl. 18, No. 3.

⁴⁶ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 79.

Georgia la Cloustiere,⁴⁶ Gloustiere,⁴⁷ Glover-nestre,⁴⁸ appointed 1400,⁴⁶ died 1409⁴⁹
 Nichola de Hercez, appointed 1409⁵⁰

63. THE PRIORY OF RUNCTON

Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury and Chichester, gave the manor of Runcton to the Norman abbey of Troarn, some time before 1086, and several of his undertenants followed his example and bestowed lands and tithes in West Sussex upon the same abbey, which had further obtained the church of St. Cyriac in Chichester by 1155, when Henry II confirmed these grants.⁵¹ A small cell was therefore established at Runcton under the charge of a prior some time in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. Accordingly, when Hugh de Neville confirmed his ancestors' grants of land in Waltham he stipulated that the prior of Runcton should hold the tene-ment in the name of the abbot of Troarn.⁵² This deed being attested by 'William the fourth, earl of Arundel,' must have been executed between 1226 and 1230, and a few years later, in 1233, we find the rector of South Stoke abandoning a suit against the abbot of Troarn and prior of Runcton for the tithes of Offham.⁵³ An undated charter by John Sturmy conferring lands near Chichester upon the abbey, with reservation of the services therefrom to the prior of Runcton, gives us the only known name of any of the heads of this small house: 'For this grant William prior of Runcton has given me 40s. and a horse worth 1 mark and to Rose my wife a cloak of violet (*pallium de violetta*) and a bezant.'⁵⁴

In 1260 the priory of Boxgrove made an agreement with the abbey about the tithes of Richard de St. John's lands, by which they undertook to pay 8s. annually to the prior of Runcton in exchange for the said tithes.⁵⁵ But in the same year, 1260, an arrangement was come to between Troarn and its daughter house the priory of Bruton in Somerset, by which the latter took over all the English lands of the abbey,⁵⁶ and as a result the priory of Runcton ceased to exist and became only a grange of Bruton.

64. THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF STEYNING

It is rather remarkable that the list of religious foundations in England drawn up about 1200 by the chronicler Gervase, mentions only three 'decanatus' of secular canons, those namely of St. Martin's, London, Wells, and this of Steyning.

⁴⁷ Pipe R. 6 Hen. IV.

⁴⁸ Mem. R., K.R. Hil. 3 Hen. IV.

⁴⁹ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade, fol. 130. ⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, 170.

⁵² *Bruton Cartul.* (Somers. Rec. Soc.), No. 352.

⁵³ Ibid. 344. ⁵⁴ Ibid. 351.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 345. ⁵⁶ Ibid. 310-13.

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Yet its claim to notice rests rather with its antiquity than with its size or importance, and its history is meagre and obscure. The church and manor of Steyning were granted to the Norman abbey of Fécamp by Edward the Confessor, taken from them by Harold⁵⁷ and restored by William the Conqueror.⁵⁸ According to an inquisition made in 1290 the church was a royal free chapel exempt from the jurisdiction alike of the archbishop and of the bishop of Chichester, and had so been from the time that it was bestowed upon the abbey of Fécamp 'by King Alfred (*sic*),' the abbots having cognizance of matrimonial and similar cases by their bailiffs.⁵⁹ By 1290, apparently, the college had been dissolved and the church appropriated to the abbey, but before that time there were three separate portions, or prebends, to which when vacant the abbots appointed clerks at their pleasure, instituting them through their bailiff without presentation to any ordinary.⁶⁰ This exemption of the 'canons and clergy' of Steyning from episcopal jurisdiction had been confirmed at an earlier date,⁶¹ apparently about 1230.⁶² Possibly the collegiate establishment may really have dated back to the time of King Alfred, as the church of Steyning was evidently of importance in his time, his father Ethelwulf being buried there.⁶³

In 1254 there was a dispute between the priory of Sele and Nicholas de Plumpton and his fellow canons of Steyning concerning tithes in the neighbourhood of Steyning, decision⁶⁴ being given that the tithes belonged to Sele and should remain 'as in the time of William de Faukeham, canon of Steyning.' This Nicholas occurs as a canon of Steyning in 1250, when he was licensed to hold a cure of souls with his canonry,⁶⁵ and also in 1252, when he is termed 'provost of the church.'⁶⁶ During the primacy of Robert Kilwardby (1272-8) the archbishop's commissioners contrived to enter the church without the knowledge of either the abbot of Fécamp or his bailiff and held a visitation, but a similar attempt by the deputies of Archbishop Peckham was foiled by the abbot's bailiff, whom Peckham excommunicated,⁶⁷ as he did also the prior of the Dominicans of Chichester, who preached at Steyning and declared his interdict void and of none effect.⁶⁸ This was in 1283, and, as already noticed, it seems as if the college had been absorbed between that date and 1290, after which year no further reference is found to these canons.

The seal appended to the deed of 1254 is a pointed oval; three heads in pale, with the sun and moon on both sides in the field. Legend:—

CAPIT . CANONICORUM . DE . STANINGES

65. THE PRIORY OF WILMINGTON⁶⁹

Robert, count of Mortain, proved himself a munificent benefactor to the abbey founded by his father at Grestein in Normandy, and not the least important of his donations was the grant of the manors of Wilmington and Frog Firle in Alfriston, which, with two hides in Beddingham given by his wife the Countess Maud, constituted the abbey's holding in Sussex at the time of the Domesday Survey. To this he added a burgage in Pevensey and forest rights in Ashdown Forest; his son William gave other lands in Pevensey, Jevington, Tilton, Heighton, Milton and elsewhere, fishing rights at Langney, and the churches of Firle, East Dean, and West Dean. Amongst other benefactors may be noticed Alvred the count's butler, a Domesday tenant of importance in several counties and apparently founder of the house of Montague, who gave tithes at Charlston in West Dean; Richard son of Haming, who gave tithes at Exceit, Sherrington, and elsewhere, as did Roger Marmion at Berwick, and Roger de Fraxinetto at Sutton. Alvred's son William gave four acres near the church of St. Mary of Pevensey (i.e. Westham), and Hugh de Cahaigues another four acres in Pevensey, and Richer of Laigle gave lands and tithes in his lordship of Pevensey. All these gifts were confirmed to the abbey by Richard I in 1189.⁷⁰

There can be little doubt that by the end of the twelfth century the abbey of Grestein had some kind of establishment at Wilmington, where at least one of their monks could reside as bailiff of their English estates, but there is no evidence of the existence of a priory here earlier than 1243.

Meanwhile the abbey's possessions in Sussex continued to increase, and between 1189 and 1315,⁷¹ when they were again confirmed by the king, lands and tithes had been obtained in Westham, Willingdon, Natwood, Hailsham, Jevington, and the neighbouring parishes. The abbot's temporalities in this diocese in 1291 were worth £24 15s.⁷² The frequent seizures of the priory as an alien house during the French wars afford a certain amount of information as to its value; the prior of Wilmington, being the proctor of the abbey in England, was in charge of lands in seven counties, valued in 1370 at nearly £200, though

⁵⁷ Dom. Bk. fol. 17. ⁵⁸ *Cal. Doc. France*, 38.

⁵⁹ Chan. Misc. Inq. file 49, No. 4. ⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ P.R.O. Trans. vol. 140 a, fol. 350.

⁶² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v, 122.

⁶³ Asser, *Life of King Alfred* (ed. Stevenson), 132.

⁶⁴ Mun. of Magd. Coll. Oxon. 'Bidlington,' No. 19.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Papal Let.* i, 261.

⁶⁶ Feet of F. Suss.

⁶⁷ Chan. Misc. Inq. file 49, No. 4.

⁶⁸ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 620.

⁶⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1091; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iv, 37-57.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁷² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 141.

at this date almost all the manors outside Sussex had been granted to 'Tideman de Lynberg' by the king's licence, and half the manor of Jevington, as well as tithes in many places, had also passed out of the prior's possession.⁷³ In 1337 the prior was ordered to pay the king £50 in addition to the £20 which he had already paid to be allowed to have the custody of the priory's lands at a yearly farm of £170,⁷⁴ and these extra payments proved so vexatious that in 1342 he offered to pay £200 yearly instead of £170 if he might thereby be quit of all other exactions.⁷⁵

Mention has already been made of the gift of the churches of Firle, East Dean, and West Dean. The latter was granted to Richard de Cumbe and Sybil his wife in 1200 in exchange for the church of Friston by Robert abbot of Grestein,⁷⁶ who at about the same time gave the church of Firle to the bishop of Chichester on condition that the abbots in future should be canons holding a prebend in the church of Chichester. This prebend was constituted by Bishop Seffrid II out of the churches of Wilmington, Willingdon, and East Dean,⁷⁷ to which was added Westham, bringing the value up to 55 marks.⁷⁸ The advowson of Hartfield rectory was obtained from William Filliol in 1318,⁷⁹ and completed the prior's spiritualities in the diocese of Sussex.

The history of this alien house previous to its suppression in 1414 is practically a blank. The grant of the honour of Pevensey to John of Gaunt in 1372 included the advowson or patronage of the priory of Wilmington.⁸⁰ When it was seized by Richard II in 1380 the prior of the neighbouring convent of Michelham obtained the custody of it and its possessions, agreeing to pay a rent of £100 to the king, another 20 marks to the prior during his lifetime and afterwards to the king, and to discharge the services, alms, and works of charity customary.⁸¹ In 1385, however, the king bestowed the priory upon Sir James Berners in discharge of a promised annuity of £100, and in spite of the prior of Michelham's protest, he was put in possession, and probably so remained until 1389, when custody was granted to Sir Edward Dalingregge and Thomas Wysebech, chaplain—the latter possibly undertaking the spiritual affairs of the priory—at a rent of 110 marks, of which 100 marks was regranted to Sir Edward.

In 1414 Wilmington was suppressed with the

other alien houses, and its possessions granted by Henry V to the dean and chapter of Chichester to found a chantry for two priests for the good of the souls of the king's parents and his servant Nicholas Mortimer.

PRIORS OF WILMINGTON

John, occurs 1243⁸²
 Reynold, occurs 1270⁸³
 William, occurs 1299⁸⁴
 William, occurs 1320⁸⁵
 William de Blainville, occurs 1338⁸⁶
 Peter Crispyn, occurs 1341,⁸⁷ 1344⁸⁸
 William de Banvilla, occurs 1343,⁸⁹ 1345⁹⁰
 John Pykot, occurs 1352⁹¹
 John de Valle, occurs 1371⁹²
 Walter Bristowe, occurs 1400⁹³–1403⁹⁴

66. THE PRIORY OF WITHYHAM

Robert, count of Mortain, some time before 1086, gave to the priory of Mortain, a cell of Marmoutier, eight burgages in Pevensey worth 5s. 6d., and probably also the manor of Withyham and the hamlet of Blackham in that parish.⁹⁵ These two estates were temporarily usurped by Walter de Richardeville, but were restored to the monks about 1095,⁹⁶ and further confirmed to them by Robert's son William, as count, about 1100.⁹⁷ A single monk appears to have been put in charge of their Sussex estates and dignified with the title of prior of Withyham at least as early as 1249.⁹⁸

In 1325 the monks of Mortain, by their proctor the prior of Withyham, had property in the parish worth £26 15s.,⁹⁹ and in 1370 are returned as holding the manor and advowson of Withyham, the manor being farmed at £20.¹⁰⁰

⁸² *Feet of F. Suss.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 416.

⁸³ Assize R. 913, m. 1 d.

⁸⁴ Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 35.

⁸⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2 d. This appears to be W. de Blanville; *Anct. Correspondence*, xxxvii, 55.

⁸⁶ Pipe R. 12 Edw. III. ⁸⁷ Ibid. 15 Edw. III.

⁸⁸ Close, 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁸⁹ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9, 10.

⁹⁰ Summoned before the Council at London with other alien priors. Close, 19 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22 d.

⁹¹ Assize R. 941, m. 56 d.

⁹² Charter in library of Chichester Cathedral; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* 1901, p. 203.

⁹³ *Coram Rege R. Hil.* 2 Hen. IV, m. 51.

⁹⁴ *Acts of P.C.* i, 195. He had custody of the priory until 4 Hen. IV, when it was granted to Ric. Leyntwardyn, clerk, and Hen. Pountfrey; Pipe R. 6 Hen. IV. He is in this place called a Cluniac monk, and appears to have belonged to the priory of Lewes.

⁹⁵ See *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 376. ⁹⁶ *Cal. Doc. France*, 434.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 436. ⁹⁸ Assize R. 909, m. 4 d.

⁹⁹ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 340. ¹⁰⁰ Ibid. fol. 415.

⁷³ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 417.

⁷⁴ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 37.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 16 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 21.

⁷⁶ *Feet of F. Suss.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 47.

⁷⁷ Swainson, *Hist. of Chich. Cath.* 26.

⁷⁸ Add. MSS. 6164, fol. 417.

⁷⁹ Inq. a. q. d. 132, No. 21.

⁸⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxvi, 37.

⁸¹ *Anct. Pet.* 6229, printed in Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 222.

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Rather earlier than this a return of alien religious mentions that the prior of Withyham was an Englishman and had no fellow monk.¹⁰¹ The grant made by Edward III in 1372 to John of Gaunt of those possessions in Sussex which afterwards became part of the Duchy of Lancaster included the advowson of this alien cell,¹⁰² which only existed for another forty years, being suppressed with the other alien houses in 1413, and given first to the New Priory of Hastings,¹⁰³ and afterwards to King's College, Cambridge.¹⁰⁴

67. THE BALLIVATE OF WARMINGHURST

Edward the Confessor gave to the abbey of Fécamp the extensive manor of Steyning, which included the chapelry of Warminghurst, and William the Conqueror added the manor of Bury in 1085.¹⁰⁵ To manage this important property the abbots were accustomed from an early period to send one of their monks to act as their proctor or bailiff, his residence being at Warminghurst. Although usually, and correctly, referred to as the 'ballivatus' of Warminghurst, this grange and chapel were occasionally dignified with the title of 'priory,' as in 1380, when the king presented to the living of West Angmering 'by reason of the alien priory of Warminghurst being

in his hands,'¹⁰⁶ and again about 1414, when the prior or farmer of the priory of Warminghurst was ordered to give the earl of Arundel 100 oaks from the priory woods for the munition of Calais.¹⁰⁷

Under the bailiff's control were the churches of Steyning, East and West Angmering, Burpham and Clapham, worth in all £73 13s. 4d., and temporalities to the value of £145; whether he was also responsible for the abbey's valuable estates at Brede in the extreme east of the county is not quite clear. Being aliens the abbey's estates were constantly seized into the king's hands, but were usually farmed to the bailiff at a heavy rent—250 marks, besides an additional 50 marks for the privilege of custody, being exacted in 1337,¹⁰⁸ and as much as 500 marks in 1341.¹⁰⁹ The bailiff was ordered in 1377 not to send any 'aport' or contribution to Fécamp without leave,¹¹⁰ and in 1400, when it was found that the bailiff had taken timber from the woods of Warminghurst and was building a ship of 80 tons at Shoreham, the ship was seized while still on the stocks and given to one John Marsh.¹¹¹

When the lands of the alien houses were finally seized by the crown in 1414, the property of Fécamp was granted to the great nunnery of Syon.

¹⁰⁶ Pat. 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 11.

¹⁰⁷ *Acts of P.C.* ii, 337.

¹⁰⁸ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 36.

¹⁰⁹ Close, 15 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹¹⁰ Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 2.

¹¹¹ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 9; Memoranda R., K.R. East. 3 Hen. IV, m. 16.

¹⁰¹ Chan. Misc. bdl. 18, file 1, No. 6.

¹⁰² *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxxi, 37.

¹⁰³ Pat. 14 Hen. IV, m. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 23.

¹⁰⁶ *Cal. Doc. France*, 38.

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The seas that wash the shores of Britain being at once her main defence and the only means by which she can be attacked, one of the first things to be examined in considering the maritime history of an English county is the accessibility of its coast and its desirability as a landing-place from the point of view of an invading enemy. Marshal Saxe and General Dumouriez, both strategists of reputation, were of opinion that the true way to strike at London was for an invader to land in the Thames. Such a course presupposes a maritime superiority on the part of the invader, and on the only occasion in English history when an enemy was in naval command of the Thames invasion was neither intended nor attempted. France has often threatened invasion, but has seldom or never been in undisputed command of the Channel long enough to carry out her designs methodically and in the best way. Therefore as the British navy grew to an equal, and then to a greater, strength the shortest possible sea voyage had to be accepted as the best in the plans of French admirals and generals, and excellence of strategy sacrificed to the necessity for a short passage. Sussex and Kent, as the counties nearest to the continental shore, and as offering harbours and landing places, were, as well in mediaeval as in later centuries, both peculiarly attractive to an enemy who proposed either raiding or a more serious enterprise, and, militarily, their history should be considered together. Confining our attention, however, to Sussex it is to be observed that in early times it was even more inviting to an invader than in subsequent centuries, when such harbours as Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Pevensey, Bulverhythe, Cuckmere, Shoreham, and Pagham, more or less capable of receiving mediaeval fleets, had deteriorated or ceased to exist; and in cases where these harbours, formerly covered by the sea, were dry land but liable to inundation they became sources of strength instead of weakness to the defence.

Convenient for attack as is the coast of Sussex, it, like all other coasts, varies in degree of accessibility along its 77 miles of seaboard. Chichester Harbour cannot be entered at all at low water, and at no time is it possible to go in without a pilot. From Chichester to Selsey Bill, and round Selsey Bill to Littlehampton, a chain of reefs, shoals, and strong and uncertain tidal currents render navigation so intricate and dangerous that that stretch of coast is protected naturally. Pagham, as a mediaeval harbour, formed by the remains of the 'fleet' which once made Selsey an island, can never, at its best, have been of any value. From Littlehampton commences the danger zone. Newhaven is practically modern, its place being taken in mediaeval times by Seaford; but if such harbours as Shoreham, Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea attracted an enemy in former ages it must also be remembered that in such times those places were relatively strong and populous naval ports, often able to protect themselves and the adjacent districts.

Most of the mediaeval attacks on the Sussex ports were for plunder and destruction and with no view to invasion. Later, when ships and fleets were larger, the harbours were not big enough to receive scores of transports, and the attention of the French government was turned elsewhere. Later yet, Sussex again became part of a danger belt when, after the peace of Paris in 1763, the French ministry, longing for revenge, listened to the Comte de Broglie's advice to ignore ports and throw an army across in small craft to the nearest beach, a suggestion taken up by the Directory and adopted and improved by Napoleon. It is obvious that from a strategical point of view such a course is, even under the most favourable circumstances possible for it, utterly unsound, and would only be followed when it was found that the conditions prescribed by the art of war were unattainable. The threat and the possibility, however, caused some anxious fears in England and some nervous moments in Sussex, the preparations in France showing that east Sussex and west Kent was the region selected for the principal descent. For a flotilla invasion no finer landing place than Pevensey Bay could be desired, although when the troops were once ashore it would have been found that, given equal skill in leadership, the topographical situation was favourable to the defence. Between Fairlight and Rye, also, disembarkation would be easy, with the additional advantage that the flotilla lying inside the Boulder bank would have a certain amount of shelter. Westward of Beachy Head the invader would have been compelled to undertake a sea journey of undesirable length, and to weigh the consequences of the fact that the landing of an auxiliary force there would not be simultaneous with that to the eastward.

The shore bordering the Straits of Dover, offering the shortest passage to Gaul, must have been the principal centre of any shipping industry practised by the British tribes, while Regnum and Anderida, together with other remains along the coast, indicate the Roman use of the sea. Any

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attack from the eastward, having Kent for its objective, would naturally be extended to Sussex; therefore the appearance of the Jutes in the former county was soon followed by the first recorded maritime invasion of Sussex in 477 by the South Saxons under Ælle. If the place of landing—Cymenes Ora—be correctly assigned to the Selsey district it shows that the Romanized Britons were still able to defend the more desirable ports to the eastward which the Saxons must have passed on their way down the coast.¹ The essential strength of the Germanic attack on Britain lay in a feature which the English, in their turn, felt to their disadvantage when they were exposed to the Norse raids, namely the possession of a movable base in their ships which enabled them to choose time and place of appearance. The coast was easily won, but, weak in numbers, the conquest of the interior was slow and, where natural barriers supervened, did not progress at all. Thus the South Saxons, hemmed in by the Andredsweald to the north and by more powerful tribes to the east and west, mainly settled along the coast-line and lived obscurely and perhaps peaceably while the other and stronger kingdoms were fighting for supremacy. Besides the customary occupation of husbandry the same adventurous spirit that had brought them across the North Sea may have taken them farther afield in the Channel for purposes of commerce or war. The story told by a monk² that the South Saxons were ignorant of the art of fishing until taught by Bishop Wilfrid in 681 is quite incredible in association with a seafaring people who, irrespective of their earlier history, had been living for two centuries on the sea-shore and in a country intersected by rivers. Moreover, there is evidence that boats from the Kentish ports were frequenting the Yarmouth herring fishery long before the Conquest; to imagine that men of the same race, traditions, and occupations, living in communication within a few miles, should have been dependent on a Northumbrian bishop for their knowledge of sea-fishing requires a devout believer. The utmost that Wilfrid can have done would be to introduce some improvement.

From the first appearance of the Northmen, close at hand, in Sheppey in 835 to the peace of Wedmore in 878 Sussex is not once mentioned in connexion with them through the long years of murderous struggle during which the Danes were sailing, marching, and fighting for conquest. Their fleets came from the east, from the west, and from France, but passed Sussex by; to the east, north, and west their armies fought and plundered, but made no attempt to turn, if they could not pass, the Andredsweald. The silence is significant of the poverty and unimportance of such towns as existed in the former South Saxon kingdom, now a part of Wessex. The Danish harrying recommenced in 893, and a raid near Chichester in 895, undertaken merely in passing, was easily repulsed. The next recorded incident affecting the county during these years was the coming ashore in 897 of two battered Danish ships escaping from a defeat in Southampton Water, or Portsmouth Harbour, and unable, it would seem, to round Selsey Bill. Their crews were captured by the country people, taken to Alfred at Winchester, and by him promptly hanged. In 911 Edward, then in Kent, collected a hundred ships or more with which to hold the straits, and Sussex probably supplied some of them. There was a long interval of comparative peace until the struggle recommenced towards the end of the tenth century; then, in 998, we find that a Danish army wintering in the Isle of Wight was ravaging Sussex for supplies. During this interval of peace and the reign of Æthelstan (925-40) mints were working at Hastings and Chichester, and one at Winchelsea a few years later; this, as a mark of increasing importance, may explain why the raiders now gave more attention to the county. The beginning of the eleventh century showed signs of Danish preparation for complete conquest; the English were quite unable to meet the Danes at sea, but a determined effort was made to obtain a fleet, and to that end a law of 1008 commanded that every 310 hides of land should build and equip a ship. If Sussex was less advanced than its neighbours in maritime strength and practice such a law must have helped to bring it into line with them and tended to a bolder use of the sea than there is any sign of previously. The first essay of the new fleet was not very successful, for 80 ships, sent in chase of an English rebel, were wrecked, possibly on the coast of Sussex.³ In 1009 the Danes again descended on the county and burnt several towns on the sea-shore, but then the storm of war passed away elsewhere.⁴

During the reign of Edward the Confessor the Sussex ports begin to come into historical notice; towards this it is probable that the influence and encouragement of Godwin, the powerful earl of Wessex, who himself often showed his appreciation of the use of sea-power, contributed not a little. In 1049 a strong fleet was collected at Sandwich to act on the coast of Flanders, to which Sussex must have contributed its quota. In the same year both Pevensey and Hastings are mentioned. Forty-two ships put into the former port, and it need hardly be remarked that in

¹ Ingram and Earle identify 'Cymenes Ora' with Shoreham, but it is generally supposed to be the 'Cumeneshora' of Cadwalla's charter (*Cart. Sax.* 64), near Wittering. From the naval standpoint it may be considered certain that the Saxon invaders would not have run along the coast without some attempts, then or formerly, to land before rounding Selsey Bill.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* bk. iv, c. 13.

³ *Flor. Wigorn.* (ed. Thorpe), i, 160.

⁴ *Ibid.* 161.

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considering the early naval history of Sussex the reader must picture an entirely different coast-line from that which now exists. Hastings sent out vessels, apparently at short notice, to chase Sweyn, Godwin's son, and both pursuers and pursued went far down Channel. With the exception of a reference in 771 by Simeon of Durham¹ to an attack by Offa of Mercia on the Hastings district, and another reference in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to a similar attack made by the Danes in 1011, this is the first time that Hastings appears in English history and is its first appearance in naval annals.

When Earl Godwin fled from England in 1051 he took ship from Thorney Island in Chichester Harbour, another slight indication of the confidence he felt in the affection of the Sussex seamen for him, an affection he must have won by care for their interests.² When he returned in the following year we are especially told that the sailors of Hastings and the neighbouring ports flocked to join him, saying that they were ready 'to live or die with him,' and for a short time his fleet sheltered at Pevensey. It is important to notice that in Hampshire, Dorset, and north of Sandwich Godwin and Harold plundered and burnt as in an enemy's country, while in the intervening district—practically that of the Cinque Ports—they were received and behaved as friends. It may be that in this circumstance we have the key to some of the obscure questions connected with the rise of the confederacy. Three Kentish ports are described in Domesday, and charters granted by the Confessor to Hythe and Dover are referred to in those given by John. It is evident that before the Conquest, and perhaps for long after it, there was no perfected system among the ports either of duties or privileges, but it is possible that in the reign of the Confessor the first lines of union and common action were sketched in by Godwin. If that be the case it is singular that no charter is known to have been obtained for any port in a county obviously devoted to him, unless the explanation is that he preferred that Hastings and the other towns should serve him rather than the king. Edward gave the manor of 'Rameslie,' which included Rye, Winchelsea, and a part of Hastings, to the abbey of Fécamp; but a grant of the manor need not necessarily have prevented Godwin from keeping the maritime strength, to which he attached the most importance, under his own control or influence. If the earl first drew together the threads which were afterwards to bind the ports into a confederation he must have found that a common situation and common interests among them rendered his work easy, and in fact marked out the lines it was to follow. The geographical situation of the ports from the North Foreland to Beachy Head was one which rendered all of them almost equally liable to attack from three out of the four quarters of the compass, and the same conditions which had enforced the fortification of the 'Litus Saxonicum' were reproduced in the Middle Ages and in 1804. The first brunt of any assault from seaward was most likely to fall upon them, and the constant raids by the Danes must have speedily taught the Kentish ports the advantages of united action when that was possible. It was a necessity for continued existence that the Kent and Sussex ports should hold their own coast and territorial waters; it was to their profit as well that they should have the command of all that portion of the Channel fronting them. To do either was out of the power of any one or two ports, but not out of the power of a group when they had learned or been taught the wisdom of combination. The motive for association, therefore, came from within, and it was the product of centuries of stern experience; the deciding impulse may have come from without, and of the two men, Edward and Godwin, whose political position rendered them able to lay the foundation of co-ordinate action, only the latter showed political capacity in his career, while his personal interests coincided with an innovation of national utility. In the *English Chronicle*, under the year 1046, we find Godwin sailing from Sandwich with two of the 'king's ships' and 42 'people's ships';³ it is the first occurrence of such a phrase, and happening where and when it does may well be the first indication known to us of the new coalition.

As between Kent and Sussex there was, besides the common motive of defence, a common commercial interest drawing them together. It has been noticed⁴ that there are signs in the civil history of the Cinque Ports of the existence of distinct Kent and Sussex groups, united later, but perhaps at one time independent, and if this separation was the original state it may have been owing to the fact that while the Kentish union was mainly due to the welding effects of war, that of Sussex, a county far less troubled by the Danes, was the outcome of the fishery at Yarmouth. Entries in Domesday show that several Sussex manors paid heavy rents of herrings, and among John's charters of 1205 that to Hastings is the only one of the seven which specifically allots the right of 'den and strond' at Yarmouth. Such evidence and tradition as has survived tends to the conclusion that the boats of both counties met on the eastern fishing grounds long before the Conquest. From conjoint action where commercial interests were involved there was only one step further, under the pressure of necessity or the will of a common over-lord, to conjoint action in

¹ *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 44.

² At Bosham, close at hand, he had a residence, and the place was also well liked by Harold.

³ 'Landes manna scipa,' translated as 'ships of the country people,' in *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Rolls ed.),

⁴ J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 507.

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warfare. Why Hastings, which was one of the weakest of the Cinque Ports in men and ships, should have taken the first place in the confederation is an obscure point of which the explanation is perhaps to be found in an antecedence of appearance in the North Sea and in the local conditions existing after the Conquest.

Harold was too good a soldier to leave to chance more than he was compelled to risk, and when invasion was preparing in 1066 collected a fleet and army with which he kept watch on the south coast during the summer; of the squadrons two were stationed at Hastings and Pevensey.¹ There must have been reasons we can only guess at why the fleet was not used during the summer to attack the Norman ports where vessels and men were collecting. The local situation was very similar to that reproduced in 1801 and 1804, and the Saxons and Danes knew quite as well as Nelson and Keith the advantage of striking at an enemy in his own ports and on his own coast.² There must have been overwhelming reasons, perhaps political, for the discharge of the fleet when invasion was seen to be imminent in September, for the cause given by the chroniclers—lack of provisions—is obviously inadequate, seeing that Harold had previously shown himself to be a capable organizer and still had sufficient provisions, or was able to obtain sufficient, to take an army into Yorkshire and back to Sussex.³ Mr. Freeman suggested that the need for getting in the harvest made it impossible to keep an army composed chiefly of husbandmen away from their homes, but that explanation will not meet the dismissal or removal of the fleet. It is possible that the mackerel fishery, which commences in the eastern Channel in August, was a potent influence in causing desertion on a large scale, and thus destroying the fighting value of the fleet. A fisherman to-day expects to earn sufficient during the season to support himself and his family through the remainder of the year; and no doubt the need was still keener in 1066, for there were then no auxiliary ways of retrieving the effects of a lost or bad season. The tepid Saxon sense of national unity, unbacked by organization or *esprit de corps*, would have yielded easily to the urgent call of self-interest. It would be an interesting speculation to consider what course Duke William would have adopted, and the possible consequences, had the fleet still remained on its station. As it was he knew that it had gone, that Tostig and Harold of Norway were effecting a diversion in the north of priceless value to him, and that his path was cleared. But had the English held the Channel he would have had to face the crossing in a fleet largely consisting of small and weakly-built vessels hastily got together, many of them probably fishing boats, manned by crews from many provinces strangers to each other when not enemies, and loaded with horses and the impedimenta of an army. Definite leadership and tactical handling of such a fleet would have been impossible in the battle which would have followed; it would not even have been possible to ensure that any considerable portion would have come into action at all. William was in every way a greater leader than Harold and he must have had his solution of the problem ready, but if he was prepared to take the risk, and his artificially attracted force could not have been kept together long, it was one from which even Napoleon flinched, so that we may conclude that English sea power had not yet acquired any great reputation.

Pevensey lies about 60 geographical miles NW. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. (true) from St. Valéry sur Somme. William left St. Valéry with a fair wind on the evening of 27 September and disembarked at Pevensey during the forenoon of the 28th. His landfall was probably Beachy Head or the high land about Hastings, and to make either he must have crossed the whole or a part of one western and one eastern stream of the tide. No doubt there were many seamen in his fleet skilled in working the Channel tides. Whether by design or accident Pevensey was the best spot that could have been chosen, for the flats east and west of Dungeness, preferred by Napoleon, were only coming into existence. The harbour was, then, probably nearly or quite as good as that of Hastings; William's reason for pushing on to Hastings must have been because it offered a stronger position for a fortification, and perhaps commanded a better road, rather than because of any value he attached to the harbour over that of Pevensey. Mr. F. Baring, tracing the Conqueror's movements by the entries in Domesday⁴, finds evidence that the fleet raided the West Sussex coast after the battle of Hastings and finally used Chichester harbour as a base.

If the union of the coast ports was in its tentative stage before the Conquest that event was the deciding factor which rendered development certain and rapid. For nearly a century and a half the English Channel no longer separated powers more or less hostile, but was a sea road uniting territories subject to the same sovereign. From the point of view of domestic policy it was to the interest of the king to have, in what was the strategic portion of the Channel at that date, subjects on whom he could rely either for a quick and sure passage between his island and continental

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* bk. iii, c. xiv.

² Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, iii, 338, 393, 716) thinks that there may have been some slight action by sea 'of no great importance.'

³ We read that Harold marched night and day. That need not be taken literally, but it implies movement too rapid to permit supplies of any volume to be swept up along the line of march.

⁴ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xiii, 23.

dominions or for a speedy concentration of ships and trained seamen in the event of a revolt or other urgent necessity. It was further the king's aim so to bind to himself, by grants of favours and privileges, the people holding the gate opening on the vital centre of his new kingdom that they could be relied on not only to refuse to join an enemy, but also to repulse him. The same idea of rendering the coast itself an impassable barrier is indicated in the Conqueror's division of Sussex among his kinsmen or his most trusted followers.¹ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Calais and the other French harbours nearest to Dover and Sandwich belonged to the count of Flanders; Sussex was the county whose ports offered the quickest passage to Normandy. Thus we find both military reasons and motives of state policy for the charters granted by William and his sons establishing the position of the ports and conducing to a closer union between them. In the case of Hastings its situation as the selected passage port for Normandy,² the importance of its castle, and the possible magnitude of its fishery in the North Sea, may explain why it took the nominal first place in the confederacy. The circumstances in which these ports were placed after the Conquest thus fostered a continuous growth in wealth and strength. Their privileges gave them commercial advantages which, used profitably, resulted in an increase in men and ships, the instruments of maritime power; their strategical position for war was more potent than it had ever been now that the central portion of the north coast of France was ruled by the same monarch, for, with doubled strength, they and the Normans could close the sea passage of communication between north and south Europe and dominate the hither portion of the North Sea.

William I was not a sovereign likely to neglect maritime power, and if just after the Conquest there seem to be signs of carelessness it must have been because there was little for a navy to effect. By 1071, at any rate, there was a fleet in existence, and in 1072 another was acting in Scotch waters; to these expeditions the Cinque Ports, as we may begin to call them, no doubt contributed effectively, but not until much later have we any details of the demands made upon them. Hastings is hardly mentioned in Domesday, and it is only by Richard's charter of 27 March, 1191, to Rye and Winchelsea, confirming that granted by Henry II, that we find its service to have then been 20 ships, towards which the other two Sussex towns were to supply two. The reign of Henry therefore marks the time when the two eastern ports were rising into importance; it has been inferred that it also marks the commencement of the decline of Hastings,³ as requiring assistance; but it seems unsafe to draw such a conclusion, for we do not know whether the Rye and Winchelsea ships were an addition or a substitution. Between the last threat of a Danish invasion in 1083 and the loss of Normandy in 1204 there were few occasions for great maritime levies, but the Sussex ports must have been required to assist in the squadrons raised to take part in the desultory dynastic wars of the period, and to provide for the passage of the sovereign and his troops between England and Normandy. There can, however, have been no continuous strain; that began with the appearance of France on the Channel coast, and was intensified when the wars of territorial expansion, initiated by Edward I and continued by Edward III, were carried on. In 1101 Henry I awaited at Pevensey invasion by his brother Robert, but the latter arrived at Portsmouth. A contingent of Sussex ships and men, in which Hastings was largely represented, formed part of the fleet and army which took Lisbon from the Moors in 1147 and established the kingdom of Portugal.⁴

On 25 May, 1199, John, coming to obtain the crown, landed at Seaford⁵ and left Shoreham in June with a fleet and army for Normandy. The series of confirmations of their privileges granted to the Cinque Ports in 1205 bore evident relation to the loss of Normandy and the necessity for energetic action by sea. In the same year there is a list of 51 galleys belonging to the crown, of which two were stationed, or laid up, at Rye, two at Winchelsea, and five at Shoreham.⁶ Although vessels were often collected for John's service they were usually directed to meet at Portsmouth, probably owing to its convenient proximity to Winchester. An order of 1214⁷ directed that a list of all ships of 80 tons and upwards, belonging to the ports throughout England, should be sent to the king by Christmas; so far as the Cinque Ports were concerned this standard of size points to a fact of which we shall meet other evidence, namely, that although the ships they were bound by their charters to supply for their 'service' were very small, most of them possessed others much larger.⁸ It also points to a fact too often forgotten, in that although the deeds of the Cinque Ports

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 353.

² By a charter from Henry I Hugh de Bek held lands in Beakesbourne as in charge of the king's passage ship 'ministerium de esnecca sua de Hastings' (*Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)*, 34-9; *Testa de Nevill*, 216-19). See also remarks by Sir N. H. Nicolas in *Hist. of the Royal Navy*, i, 261, 432.

³ Burrows, *The Cinque Ports*, 73.

⁴ *Itin. Peregrinorum* (Rolls Ser.), cxlii.

⁵ Gervase of Canterbury (ii, 92) says Seaford; Matthew Paris and other historians say Shoreham. As the latter was much the better known port it is more likely that Shoreham should be erroneously substituted for Seaford than the contrary.

⁶ Close, 6 John, m. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.* 16 John, pt. ii, m. 16.

⁸ There was a Rye ship of at least 120 tons in 1212 (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 23).

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show up bravely for two centuries, their exploits were mainly performed within a limited area and under special conditions, for royal fleets gathered on a large scale for important operations were made up of levies drawn from the English coast towns generally. The particular value to the crown of the Cinque Ports service was that, although they were entitled by prescription to a warning of 40 days when the full number of 57 ships was required, probably a few vessels could always be relied upon at a few days' notice for a small employment. When large fleets were collected the Sussex and Kent ships formed only an inconsiderable portion of the whole.

In April, 1216, the bailiffs of Rye were ordered to send to the Thames all the vessels belonging to the town, together with four of the townsmen to inform the king of all the shipping details of the port. By this time Rye and Winchelsea were clearly outstripping their head port, Hastings, in importance. On the whole, the Cinque Ports had been faithful to John; but they had wavered in the middle of the reign, and again, at the end, their allegiance was doubtful, for the king found it necessary in 1216 to promise Hastings, Pevensey, Rye, Winchelsea, and Shoreham additional privileges if they would remain true to him.¹ His death terminated such embarrassments and there was no doubt of their loyalty to Henry III, but no Sussex ships are known to have taken part in the decisive battle of August, 1217, in the Straits of Dover, by which any possibility of a French conquest was overthrown. Louis had taken Winchelsea in 1216, but being blockaded from Rye was unable to leave the town by sea; a French squadron arrived, which enabled him to take the latter place also.² The naval history of the reign of Henry III is not important, but the services of the Cinque Ports were in continual request for minor duties. Those duties were no doubt usually made sufficiently profitable; an early writ of this reign, while thanking the Ports for what they had done, informs them that the king is sending two of his servants to inquire into plunder lately taken and to secure the royal share of it.³ An order of 1224, to prepare for service at sea, is addressed, independently, to Shoreham, Seaford, Pagham, and Pevensey, as well as to Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea.⁴ Seaford is said to have been a member of Hastings at least as early as 1229-30, and Pevensey at about the same date.⁵ The destruction of Hastings Harbour and coast line was proceeding rapidly during the first half of the thirteenth century, and explains the necessity for obtaining external support. Of the 21 Hastings ships 10 now came from Winchelsea and five from Rye;⁶ we know that not much more than a century later the six from Hastings were then made up of three from that town, one from Pevensey, one from Bulverhythe and Little Iham, and one from Bokesbourne in Kent, and probably their assistance dates from that given by Seaford.⁷ The help obtained from the smaller members, Hidney, Northeye, and Greenech (near Gillingham), was only in money and men;⁸ the position of Seaford was anomalous, for it was sometimes called upon for ships irrespective of its head port, its connexion with which seems to have been ill-defined.

There is a suggestion of a shipbuilding trade at Rye in an order of 1223 forbidding the export of timber from there, as the king was proposing to build ships and galleys,⁹ and in 1231 ship carpenters were ordered to go to Portsmouth from Winchelsea and Shoreham.¹⁰ Between 1237 and 1243 the king's galleys were lying at Rye and Winchelsea, and in the last year there were seven laid up at Rye;¹¹ there were also some royal dockyards and storehouses at both towns.¹² Everything points to the conclusion that this was the most flourishing era of Rye and Winchelsea. The fishery must have been pursued on a large scale in view of the heavy supplies required for the royal household, which can have formed only a fraction of the catches,¹³ and there is some evidence that the Rye boats were following the cod fishery in the North Sea in the twelfth century.¹⁴ There must have been an overseas trade extending over a far greater radius than is usually supposed, for in 1253 both Rye and Winchelsea were required to send vessels to scout off the coast of Castile and Leon, with which power war was threatening, and they were to be manned by men who knew the Spanish coast.¹⁵ In 1235 a council was held at Dover for the discussion of naval affairs, to which Winchelsea sent 18 townsmen and Rye 12, but Hastings only six;¹⁶ it is noticeable that no other of the Cinque Ports sent as many as Winchelsea. Again, in 1253, at a council at Oxford, that town sent more delegates than any of the other ports.

¹ Pat. 18 John, m. 3.

² Pat. 1 Hen. III, m. 4.

³ Jeake, *Charters of the Cinque Ports*, 122.

⁴ Ibid. 27. In regard to the Bokesbourne ship there must have been some change in the relation to the crown; see *ante*, p. 129, note 2.

⁵ In 1348 Rich. Smelt held the manor of Greenech by service of finding two men with two oars for the Hastings contingent (Close, 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20 d.).

⁶ Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁷ Ibid. 21 Hen. III, m. 8; 26 Hen. III, m. 4 d.; Rot. Liberate, 28 Hen. III, m. 19.

⁸ Rot. Liberate, 38 Hen. III, m. 1; Close, 22 Hen. III, m. 2; ibid. 48 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 118; xxiii, 27.

¹⁰ Close, 36 Hen. III, m. 13 d.

¹¹ Mr. G. J. Turner in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* xviii, 262.

¹² Ibid. 8 Hen. III, m. 8 d.

¹³ Ibid. 25.

¹⁴ Close, 15 Hen. III, m. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid. 21 Hen. III, m. 8; 26 Hen. III, m. 4 d.; Rot. Liberate, 28 Hen. III, m. 19.

¹⁶ Rot. Liberate, 38 Hen. III, m. 1; Close, 22 Hen. III, m. 2; ibid. 48 Hen. III, m. 4.

¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 118; xxiii, 27.

¹⁸ Close, 36 Hen. III, m. 13 d.

Calls to arms were frequent during the reign of Henry III, but they were seldom followed by any action worth notice. Complaints relating to the piratical proceedings of the Cinque Ports ships also gave frequent cause for inquiry. In 1225 there is a licence for a London merchantman loading at Bosham, no doubt from Chichester, to sail in spite of an embargo laid upon shipping;¹ another embargo of 1226 is addressed to the bailiffs of Bulverhythe and 'Wythering,' as well as to those of the better known ports.² A five years' truce with France expired in 1241, and in the following year sporadic raptorial proceedings commenced again at sea. During the preparation of a large fleet to transport an army to Poitou, the Cinque Ports, with which Dunwich was coupled, were ordered at once to ravage the French coasts;³ this they did *more piratico rapinis*, says Matthew Paris, sparing their fellow-countrymen as little as their enemies. Another order of the same period directs the arrest of all vessels in the Cinque Ports capable of carrying sixteen or more horses.⁴ This is one of several items of evidence that, besides the 'service' by charter, which was mainly of local application, the Kent and Sussex ports were also sometimes called upon for ships in the same manner as those of the rest of the coast. In 1235 Hastings was required to send one vessel for forty days' service, instead of the normal fifteen, at its own cost,⁵ and there are instances where seamen to serve in the royal ships were demanded from the Cinque Ports; this was not textually authorized by the charters even if the 'service,' either in part or whole, was not in commission at the moment.

A feature of the maritime history of the thirteenth century is the appointment of one or more persons, sometimes for one county and sometimes for a group of counties, as keepers of the coast, a step towards the organization of systematic defence. As the Warden of the Cinque Ports was in control in east and south Kent and part of Sussex the keepers had little authority in those counties; we find in 1224 that when Geoffrey de Lucy was appointed his command began at Pevensey, the Warden being ordered to act in unison with him.⁶ The existence of the keepers, whose duties were both military and judicial in keeping the peace at sea and punishing crime, should however be mentioned here, seeing that, historically, they were the ancestors of the conservators of truces instituted locally by Henry V, and of the later vice-admirals of counties established by Henry VIII. Possibly a large measure of the saturnalia of piracy and murder which characterized the maritime proceedings of the Cinque Ports during the reign of Henry III was due to the fact that the only restraint to which they were subject, nominal and ineffective, was that of the Warden, and that they were seldom under the command of the king's captains and keepers. A part of the system of defence under the care of the keepers was the line of beacons, corresponding to the modern coast-guard stations, which encircled the coast. They were usually placed on the hills nearest to the shore, and in war time were guarded by a watch from the neighbouring parishes.⁷

The Cinque Ports favoured Simon de Montfort during the civil troubles of the later years of Henry's reign, but there is no doubt that the positive value of the maritime assistance they gave him has been considerably exaggerated. Pevensey Castle was held for the king, but that does not necessarily predicate the sympathy of the townsmen. After the death of the elder Simon at Evesham the Ports, or some of them, still held out for the principles he had upheld, or for the licence to which they had become accustomed; the younger Simon found a refuge and followers among men to whom piracy had become the ordinary business of life.⁸ Edward was compelled to storm Winchelsea in 1265, but he did not seek revenge, and after causing as little bloodshed as was possible in that age, told the townsmen 'henceforth not to apply themselves to plundering like pirates.'

The Welsh wars of 1277 and 1282, and the Scotch war of 1295, were mainly fought by the feudal armies, but squadrons of Cinque Ports ships assisted in all the campaigns, and the services rendered in 1277 were so strategically important as to be rewarded by the charter of incorporation of 1278. In August, 1277, Edward granted the Portsmen all plunder taken from the Welsh, and the ransom of all prisoners except those desired by himself, but with the proviso that the grant was not to be a precedent.⁹ In 1277, however, there were only 18 Cinque Ports ships out of the total of 27 with Edward; in 1282 there were 40, most or all of which came from the Ports,¹⁰ the barons being

¹ Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 6.

² Close, 10 Hen. III, m. 27 d. This is Wittering in West Sussex; it occurs again as 'Wodering' (Pat. 26 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 11).

³ Pat. 26 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 11. A similar writ issued in 1254 to Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Pevensey, Seaford, and Shoreham (ibid. 38 Hen. III, m. 5).

⁴ Ibid. 8 Hen. III, m. 4. In 1295, however, Wm. de Stokes was keeper of the maritime portions of the rapes of Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings independently of the Warden (ibid. 23 Edw. I, m. 2).

⁵ 'Signa consueta vocata beknes per ignem.' See Southey, *Lives of the Admirals*, i, 360 (quoting Froissart), for the method of constructing them.

⁶ *Cronica Maiorum* . . . *Londiniarum* (Camd. Soc.), pt. ii, p. 82.

⁹ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 6.

¹⁰ Morris, *Welsh Wars of Edw. I*, 128, 173.

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ordered to send out vessels to deal with Channel piracy 'from the remainder' of those due from them.¹ The year 1293 was signalized by a sea battle, the outcome of a long series of provocations on both sides, fought at a pre-arranged spot in the Channel between the Cinque Ports, with their Irish, Dutch, and Gascon allies, and the Normans, French, and Genoese. Prizes were brought into Pevensey, Shoreham, and the new Winchelsea; no doubt Rye and Hastings were also well represented. Wrecking was common everywhere round the coast, and Sussex was no exception to the rule. A typical case occurred in 1289 when a Bayonne ship went ashore near Shoreham; the crew reached land and made a salvage agreement for 123 marks, but although the Shoreham men received payment they were accused of stealing much of the cargo.² The town was probably of some importance, for in 1291 it was the only one in Sussex, besides the Cinque Ports, to which a writ was addressed ordering a truce with France to be observed.³ In the early years of Edward's reign it had suffered from the oppression of its lord, William de Braose, whose exactions caused both English and foreign ships to shun the port.⁴ Rye does not now appear so often, but in 1294 it provided a 'king's mariner,' Richard Marchand, to go in command of two royal galleys to guard the Channel Islands.⁵

In consequence of the war with France which followed the Channel battle of 1293 general preparations for offence and defence were made in England in 1294 and 1295, although Edward himself was engaged in a Scotch campaign. Two large galleys, each of 120 oars, were ordered in 1294 to be built at Winchelsea for the king; the competence of the town for such work in the matter of shipwrights and an ample supply of material is shown by the fact that it and Bristol were the only two out of ten places, including London, where more than one galley was to be constructed.⁶ In September, 1295, there was a general arrest of ships of 40 tons and upwards, Thomas Alard of Winchelsea being one of the commissioners for Sussex and the southern counties.⁷

On 22 August, 1297, Edward, with an army and a large fleet, the product of a general arrest of shipping,⁸ sailed from Winchelsea for Sluys, and his arrival there was marked by an outburst, more than ordinary in its violence, of the hatred always existing between the Cinque Ports and Yarmouth. As far back as the reign of King John the men of Yarmouth had resented the use of their shore by the Cinque Ports fishermen, and on one occasion when the bigger ships from Hastings were absent on the king's service in Ireland, they placed timber where the Hastings men spread their nets to dry and set fire to it.⁹ At the same time the men of Yarmouth complained against the Sussex men and demanded a royal inquiry;¹⁰ the result of this is not known, but in 1219 Henry III, then a boy, had been made to say that he heard that there were quarrels every year between the Portsmen and the Yarmouth burgesses, and that the former, who seem to have been regarded as the aggressors, were not to interfere with the rights, or disturb the peace, of their unwilling hosts. This order was repeated almost in the same words in 1221 and 1222;¹¹ in 1252 some Yarmouth men were imprisoned at Winchelsea, and the crown had difficulty in obtaining their release. An affray occurred in 1254 when the queen and Prince Edward were about to sail for Bordeaux; probably in order to avoid jealousy it had been arranged that the queen should go in a ship of Winchelsea and the prince in one of Yarmouth. The Sussex men were content to supply a good seaworthy vessel, but the Norfolk port provided a far handsomer ship, and no doubt taunted their rivals upon its superiority; the latter retorted by attacking and destroying the Yarmouth ship, with the result that the royal party refused to trust to either escort and crossed from Portsmouth.¹² As Yarmouth grew in wealth and strength the burgesses became more and more unwilling to suffer the dictation, none too gently exercised, of the Cinque Ports bailiffs, and although we have only occasional notices of the constant friction its existence is proved by the necessity Edward was under, in 1277, of issuing a long and carefully-worded award defining the respective rights of the contestants.¹³ In reality it was a triple quarrel, for Yarmouth was hated as

¹ Close, 10 Edw. I, m. 4.

² Ibid. 19 Edw. I, m. 17.

³ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 4.

⁴ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 6.

⁵ Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 20 d.

⁶ Rot. Hund. ii, 203.

⁷ K.R. Memo. R. 69, m. 77.

⁸ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 6. Reginald Alard is mentioned as owner of *La Vache* in 1285 (ibid. 13 Edw. I, m. 22), and in 1293 a vessel belonging to Robert Brede of Winchelsea was granted to John Alard as the former had committed piracies with it (ibid. 21 Edw. I, m. 13). In 1298 Nicholas Alard was forgiven £25 due to the king in part payment of a vessel bought from the crown (ibid. 26 Edw. I, m. 22).

⁹ Close, 25 Edw. I, m. 18 d. In the case of the Cinque Ports they were required to send all ships of 40 tons and upwards as well as their 'service,' but the king allowed that it was not to be a precedent.

¹⁰ Plac. Abbrev. (Rec. Com.), 75. For this and the following extract and for those from the Assize Rolls I have to thank the courtesy of Mr. L. F. Salzmann.

¹¹ Ibid. 76.

¹² Pat. 3 Hen. III, m. 2; 5 Hen. III, m. 2; 6 Hen. III, m. 2.

¹³ Matt. Paris, *Hist. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 335.

¹⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 17. See also Walter of Hemingburgh, 'odium quod inter ipsos et marinarios de Jarnemue ab antiquo duraverat.'

bitterly by her neighbours on the east coast as she hated the Ports. Edward's award not only settled nothing, but probably intensified, indirectly, the enmity existing, so that in 1289 and 1290 both parties were directed to send deputies to argue out their grievances before king and Parliament.¹ For all we can tell the meetings may have been considered a success, since the Portsmen were only accused, formally, of attacking nine Yarmouth ships between 1290 and 1297;² three of the offenders were Winchelsea crews.³ The quarrel, as has already been noted, reached its height in 1297, in which year while Laurence Quakehand of Winchelsea with a crew of 27 men was lying off Orford watching for pirates from Calais, three armed barges put out from Yarmouth by night and attacked the Sussex men, killing them all. The same year boats of Hastings and Winchelsea were destroyed, with their crews, in Yarmouth Harbour, and when the whole fleet assembled at Winchelsea for the passage to Flanders the sailors of the eastern squadron killed five of the townsmen.⁴ It was only when exceptionally large fleets were collected that the Cinque Ports and Yarmouth levies were required to work together, for usually the employment of the latter was confined to the east coast and North Sea. In this case both appear to have sailed to Sluys (five days), peaceably, but then a street brawl occurred which kindled latent passion into flame. The Cinque Ports squadron fell upon that of Yarmouth and nearly annihilated it; 32 vessels, of which 16 were burnt, were destroyed or plundered, and nearly 200 men were killed in 20 of them.⁵

Whether the Sussex ports took a large or a small share in this deed we do not know, but it is distinctly stated that all the Cinque Ports were involved in it. The king required letters of submission from both Yarmouth and the Ports concerning 'the disputes that have lately arisen . . . after the king's arrival in Flanders,' and insisted that both sides should observe a truce to last until three months after his return to England.⁶ The task of inquiry into the circumstances devolved upon Prince Edward, and the two adversaries were called upon to send deputies to London to state their case.⁷ It may have been in consequence of this inquiry that the king took into his hands the liberties enjoyed by the Cinque Ports at Yarmouth and, no doubt to prevent more bloodshed, they were not restored until 1299.⁸ Edward issued an award in 1298⁹ which the master and two of the superior officers of each Cinque Ports and Yarmouth ship were, before going to sea, to swear to observe and to keep the peace. It is evident that the political and military importance of the maritime levies of the two contending powers made it impossible for Edward to deal with them as he would have dealt with ordinary law-breakers. His attempt to enforce peace clearly had little result, for in 1300 there was another conference and in 1301 another award. At this time the contending parties put in records of their losses in men and money; the men of Yarmouth returned losses to the extent of £6,257 and 135 men, which must have been exclusive of the affair at Sluys.¹⁰ Against this the Cinque Ports of Kent showed 180 men killed and £12,953 10s. 8d. damages;¹¹ those of Sussex put their killed at 100 men, and their monetary losses at £12,485 18s. 7d., of which £1,130 was set down as the cost of their preparations for fishing at Yarmouth during the last five seasons, which had been profitless owing to their not being allowed to sell their fish.¹² The Ports carried on another quarrel to the southward with Bayonne, of which evidence often shows in the records; in 1277 and 1294 the king negotiated a peace between the combatants.¹³ The feud must have been of old standing, for in 1242, when the Portsmen were given a free hand against France, they were especially warned to act discreetly in regard to the Bayonnais, with whom they seem to have been at open war five years previously.¹⁴

In the same year as the fight at Sluys certain persons were appointed to take up 'and maintain' 12 ships at the cost of the inhabitants of Sussex and the adjoining counties, and of such merchants as should be trading in those counties, apparently to form a cruising squadron during the summer.¹⁵ A body of Londoners, horsed and armed, marched into Kent and Sussex to defend the coast during Edward's absence, and obtained in 1299 a promise that their action should not prejudice them as a precedent.¹⁶ Edward and his troops returned to England in March, 1298, and from the Thames to Southampton there was a general arrest of ships for his passage.¹⁷ Both this and the levy of the 12 ships are examples of the application to the privileged districts of the system in use throughout the rest of the country; in the later instance Winchelsea and Portsmouth were excepted; but the fact that it is coupled with Portsmouth shows that the exception of Winchelsea was for reasons other than its position as a Cinque Port. We see that after the events at Sluys Edward issued more regulations intended to keep the peace, but, so far from the Cinque Ports being punished, they were granted further privileges in 1298, including that of being quit of all tallages and

¹ Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 8; 18 Edw. I, m. 42.

² Exch. Misc. ii. 16.

³ Ibid. ii.

⁴ Assize R. 945.

⁵ Exch. Misc. ii.

⁶ Close, 25 Edw. I, m. 5; 26 Edw. I, m. 17.

⁷ Ibid. 25 Edw. I, m. 6.

⁸ Ibid. 27 Edw. I, m. 9d.

⁹ Ibid. 26 Edw. I, m. 11d.

¹⁰ Assize R. 945.

¹¹ Ibid. 395.

¹² Ibid. 945.

¹³ Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1816), ii, 82, 632.

¹⁴ Ibid. i, 406.

¹⁵ Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 14.

¹⁶ Ibid. 27 Edw. I, m. 29.

¹⁷ Ibid. 26 Edw. I, m. 26.

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aids on the hulls and gear of their ships.¹ In December they were warned that the full service would be required in Scotch waters in June, 1299,² but in the result only 32 ships were needed, which served in 1300.³ Of these one came from Pevensy, two from Hastings, three from Rye, and six from Winchelsea; Gervase Alard, the 'admiral of the said fleet,' which included vessels from various English and Irish ports, was paid 2s. a day. In the meantime what may be supposed to be a squadron of picked ships, consisting of four from Winchelsea and three from Rye, was commissioned in the summer of 1299 to watch Damme for two months to prevent assistance crossing to Scotland.⁴

In 1301 orders were given to the ports in March, all round the coast, to send ships to meet at Berwick and Dublin by midsummer; Seaford was assessed at one vessel, Aldrington one, and Shoreham, Brighton, and Portsmouth, together, for one.⁵ Possibly experience proved that Aldrington by itself was not equal to the cost of equipping a ship, for in 1302 it was grouped with Shoreham, Hove, and Brighton for one, while the abbot of Battle was also required to send another.⁶ Several towns on the south coast, among them Seaford and Shoreham, incurred the royal displeasure by neglecting the orders of 1301, and in the following year two of the king's servants were sent down with instructions to inflict punishment at their discretion.⁷ In 1303 there was another commission to inquire into the desertion of Sussex sailors, who were to give security to answer for their contempt.⁸ Probably both shipowners and seamen found piracy or privateering more attractive than the royal service, but notwithstanding these incidents there was no general disinclination to respond to the demands of the crown. The constant levies of ships and men would seem to be destructive of commerce, but in reality were not nearly so injurious to it as they appear. A trading voyage involved great risk of loss from wreck, piracy, and privateering, or in the sale of the cargo; the king's service meant certain pay for the fitting and hire of the ship, 6*d.* a day for the officers and 3*d.* a day for the men—very liberal wages allowing for the greater value of money. The incessant embargoes that harassed trade—then much increased—under Edward III were not yet common, and the alacrity with which most of the ports answered to the demands made upon them shows that the assistance required was neither oppressive nor unwelcome, especially as those who contributed to the sea service were freed from any aid towards that by land. There was no permanent naval organization at this time. The king possessed some ships of his own, and the commanders were usually charged with their maintenance. When a fleet was to be raised from the merchant navy a certain extent of coast was allotted to one of the king's clerks, or to a sergeant-at-arms, who acted with the bailiffs of the port towns in selecting ships and men and seeing them dispatched to the place of meeting. If a ship did not appear, or the men deserted, they or the owner might be required to find security to come before the king and, although there was as yet no statute dealing with the offence,⁹ they might, as we see, be disciplined at the pleasure of the king or his representatives.

What were blandly called the 'discords' between the Cinque Ports and Yarmouth still continued, and in 1302 and 1303 there were commissions of inquiry; in the latter year Sussex men were parties to the search after truth.¹⁰ It must, however, be remembered that there was a commercial, as well as a military and piratical, side to the maritime history of the Ports, for of course the Winchelsea wine trade, to confine ourselves to Sussex, is well known. Another sign of merchant traffic is a complaint from the Ports in 1293 that freighters took their goods out of chartered ships, but did not afterwards pay for the use of the vessel, and it was ordered that merchants should give security for such debts before removing the cargo.¹¹ The actual, if not nominal, supremacy of Winchelsea was maintained during this reign as well by its naval strength as by the personality of Gervase Alard, the most famous member of his family, who, after commanding the Cinque Ports squadrons, became 'captain and admiral' in 1303 of the fleet composed of all the ships taken up from Dover to Cornwall.¹² He held the same rank again in 1306.¹³ In that year the full service of 57 ships ordered from the Ports was commuted to 27 provided they carried as many men as the 57 would have done; ¹⁴ it may be presumed that the need was felt for men more than for ships, and that the steady increase in the size of vessels was diminishing the fighting value of the small ships due under the service by charter.

¹ Pat. 26 Edw. I, m. 17. Yarmouth was given the same favour.

² *Wardrobe Accts.* of 28 Edw. I, Lond. 1787, p. 271 et seq.

³ Ibid. 29 Edw. I, m. 20.

⁴ Ibid. m. 14.

⁵ The first statute was 2 Rich. II, st. 1. cap. 4, by which deserters were fined double their wages and imprisoned for a year.

⁶ Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 35 *d.*

⁷ Ibid. 21 Edw. I, m. 14, m. 13. In 1314 *La Luk* of Rye was a wine ship of 120 tons (ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9 *d.*).

⁸ Ibid. 31 Edw. I, m. 38.

⁹ Ibid. 34 Edw. I, m. 21.

¹⁰ Ibid. 34 Edw. I, m. 25

In 1308 there was a levy of ships for the Scotch war, and Shoreham—outside the Sussex Cinque Ports—was asked for one to be manned with 42 men.¹ The next year Seaford also was included in a writ directed to the passage ports of the kingdom.² Shipowners quickly found that the methods of Edward II were in unpleasant contrast to those of his father, who, if he often raised fleets, did so at the expense of the crown. His son's extravagance soon forced him to require the ports to provide vessels at their own cost, and Shoreham was assessed for one in this way in 1310, when operations by sea and land were necessary against Robert Bruce.³ A larger fleet was required in 1311, and on this occasion Shoreham was rated for two ships, but at the king's charges.⁴ The Scotch war was again the cause, in 1314, of heavy levies, Shoreham and Seaford being each ordered to send one ship and Chichester two.⁵ In all these levies the Cinque Ports supplied their usual 'service,' or such part of it as was demanded; but in that of 1314 there was a default, for which pardons were subsequently granted to four barons of Winchelsea and four of Hastings, Pevensey, and Rye.⁶ In 1316 the Warden of the Ports was directed to visit all the coast towns between Greenwich and Southampton and persuade their inhabitants to equip as many ships as they could, or would, to serve as long as possible at their expense, 'for the better keeping of the English sea' and to put down piracy.⁷ This was a request, but it was soon followed by commands—a general order issued in 1319 to many ports, including Winchelsea, Rye, and Hastings in Sussex, to supply ships for three or four months at their own cost.⁸ Such an exaction seems a distinct infringement of their privileges, and could only be defended as a national necessity consequent on the exhaustion caused by the long war. The Cinque Ports, and the coast towns generally, must have welcomed a two years' truce in 1320 with Scotland.

When the war was renewed the squadron from the Ports was again in request, but it does not appear that any non-privileged place in Sussex was troubled, and another truce with Scotland, for thirteen years, was arranged in 1323. War then threatened with France, and writs were addressed direct to Winchelsea, Rye, Hastings, Seaford, and Shoreham to send respectively six, two, one, one, and two of the largest ships they possessed to convey troops to Aquitaine.⁹ It was possibly because this was a supplementary and unusual service that the king 'agreed' with them that they were to have three-fourths of all prize goods, reserving the remaining fourth for himself.¹⁰ During the absence of the Cinque Ports fleet a keeper of the port of Winchelsea was appointed, as, 'on account of its ample size,' a large number of enemy's ships might put in and endanger the town.¹¹ Shoreham, perhaps, saw an advantageous opportunity to act for itself, and, in response to their application, the burgesses received encouragement to make vigorous war against the French on their own account.¹² In the meanwhile Isabella and Prince Edward were in France, and invasion was known to be imminent. In August, 1326, officials were nominated to survey and take up all ships of 50 tons and upwards; the list of ports is very full, but in Sussex we find only Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Pevensey, Seaford, and Shoreham.¹³ The concentration of the southern fleet was to be effected at Portsmouth, and shortly afterwards it was decided to strengthen the royal fleets still further by calling upon those who had not been affected by the first levy to contribute to the equipment of more ships. Rye was put down for three vessels and 114 men, Hastings two ships and 63 men, Shoreham two ships and 46 men, Seaford one ship and 37 men, and Winchelsea 18 ships and 654 men.¹⁴ The predominance of Winchelsea, not only in the confederation, but over such places as Southampton, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Bristol, stands out markedly here, and it will be observed that in both these levies the legal liability of the Cinque Ports in the matter of size and number of ships is entirely set aside. The measures taken by Edward or his advisers were remarkably well considered strategically; but perhaps they came too late or were not loyally executed, for Isabella experienced no difficulty in crossing in September.

While helping the king against foreigners, the Cinque Ports appear to have found it easy simultaneously to carry on private war on their own account. The enmity between Yarmouth and the Ports still continued, if only because the fight of 1297 was yet remembered on the east coast and remained unavenged. In 1316 the smouldering fire seemed about to break into flame again, for Yarmouth ships were sinking and burning those of the Ports off the coast of Sussex.¹⁵ The Ports prepared for war, a challenge readily taken up by Yarmouth, but the king hastened to intervene by issuing a proclamation forbidding hostilities, ordering security to be taken from owners and masters to keep the peace, and calling upon both sides to send representatives to discuss their

¹ Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 22 d.

³ Rot. Scot. 3 Edw. II, m. 1.

⁵ Rot. Scot. 7 Edw. II, m. 6.

⁷ Close, 9 Edw. II, m. 13 d.

⁹ Close, 17 Edw. II, m. 11 d. m. 9 d.

¹¹ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23. Keepers of the coast of Sussex were also appointed.

¹² Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1816), ii, 635.

¹⁴ Close, 20 Edw. II, m. 8.

² Ibid. 3 Edw. II, m. 19 d.

⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. II, m. 7.

⁶ Pat. 8 Edw. II, m. 9.

⁸ Rot. Scot. 12 Edw. II, m. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. 19 Edw. II, m. 26.

¹³ Pat. 20 Edw. II, m. 21; Close, 20 Edw. II, m. 11 d.

¹⁵ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2.

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grievances before him and the council.¹ The Portsmen were unusually peaceably inclined, perhaps, because they had on their hands a quarrel with the Flemings and an internecine war with the western counties, so they obeyed the royal orders; towards the end of the year the Yarmouth men were pardoned their offences as to life and limb, but condemned to pay £1,000 to the Cinque Ports owners they had injured. There was consequently no outbreak, but the animosity that continued between the East Anglians and the southern men is shown by the fact that the king thought it necessary, in 1319, to issue an especial inhibition to both, when they were to come together in a fleet destined for service against Scotland, warning them not to attack each other as heretofore, 'whereby the affairs of the king and his progenitors have been frequently retarded.'²

Leland has a story, assigned by him to the next reign, of the Fowey men refusing to 'vail bonnet' to the Portsmen, fighting them off Rye, and earning the title of 'the gallants of Fowey.'³ The quarrel seems to have been of this reign, and arose from a Fowey crew taking a man accused of murder—when, no doubt, either the accused or the victim was a Cornishman—out of a Cinque Ports ship and killing some of the men on board her; as a consequence the Portsmen were hunting down all vessels hailing from the Fowey river.⁴ How long the warfare had continued is not known, but in January, 1321, the Cornishmen appealed to the king for protection; the Cinque Ports appear to have ignored the inhibition which followed, for another was necessary in August, and from this last it is evident that they were also fighting and holding their own against the coast towns of Hampshire and Dorset as well.⁵ Probably a complaint to Parliament from the people of Southampton that in 1321 Robert Bataille of Winchelsea came there and burnt and robbed ships and goods to the value of £11,000 relates to one incident of this county war.⁶ Cornish writers, relying on the complimentary epithet won by the Fowey men, have taken for granted that they fought on at least equal terms with the Cinque Ports, but the phrasing of the writs implies that it was they, and not the Portsmen, who were longing for an end to the strife.

Besides this illegitimate warfare on a large scale the Ports also pursued the customary practice of piracy, although much of what was then called piracy was simply the seizure of enemy's goods in neutral bottoms, and would, later, only have provided suits for the adjudication of the Admiralty Court. Before and after 1312 there were many complaints from foreign merchants which probably related to occurrences of this character, but there was also real piracy committed under pretence of attacking the Scots. Often, neither this nor any excuse was considered necessary. In August, 1314, Edward granted a licence to the barons of Winchelsea to fit out two ships to protect the coast; by September the men of one of them, the *St. John* of Rye, had boarded, plundered, and scuttled several ships in the Swyn, and murdered many of their crews; they then came over to Orwell Haven and dealt similarly with two Flemings lying there.⁷ As the ships in the Swyn were bound for Harwich, this must have been pure piracy. Another flagrant affair happened towards the end of the reign, and it may be considered certain that for every such case in which the magnitude of the loss made it worth while to appeal to the king there were dozens where the victims were silent or too poor to take any action. In this last instance a Fleming was boarded off the Isle of Wight by Winchelsea and Sandwich men; they took cargo to the value of £600, brought the ship to the Downs, forced the owners to sign an acquittance to the effect that they sought no redress in respect of the goods seized, and then put them in a boat to find their way home.⁸ At the time they no doubt thought themselves fortunate that they were not thrown overboard. The same lawlessness was shown ashore when inquiry was set on foot. In 1315 a Spanish ship was wrecked on Dungeness and the cargo carried off by men of Winchelsea, Rye, and Romney; a writ of inquiry issued to the Warden of the Ports, but on the day appointed for the hearing at Winchelsea a riotous assembly, made up from the three towns, prevented him by force from carrying it into effect.⁹ Judging from a writ of 1309¹⁰ prohibiting the men of the Cinque Ports from taking fish without payment from Dutch fishermen, much of their fishery also was carried on at the expense of others.

Within a few months of the accession of Edward III the full service of the Ports was required against Scotland, but peace was made in 1328. This levy from the Ports deserves notice because Waresius de Valoignes, the admiral of the western fleet, was occupied within their liberties in pressing men both for their ships and for those taken up along the south coast.¹¹ Later, the Ports

¹ Close, 10 Edw. II, m. 30 d.; Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 35.

² Close, 12 Edw. II, m. 5 d.

³ *Itinerary*, iii, 22. The bonnet was an additional sail which laced on to the foot of the main sail for use in fair weather. The word was also in general use as meaning a head-covering; Leland may have employed it either in its nautical or its figurative sense.

⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 24.

⁵ Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 32 d. m. 31 d.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 413. The French swooped on Southampton in 1338, but it is doubtful whether they did much more damage.

⁷ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 29, m. 21 d.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6 d.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.* i, 329.

¹⁰ Close, 3 Edw. II, m. 23.

¹¹ Close, 3 Edw. III, m. 18.

claimed that the Admiralty had no power of impressment within their liberties, and that the government could act only through the Lord Warden; but it is evident that precedent, and this is not the only one,¹ was against them; it also destroyed the contention that their liability to serve was confined to their own squadron. An interval of peace abroad was turned to account for a renewal of the broil with Yarmouth, necessitating a warning to both to keep the peace pending an award from Edward, who, with youthful optimism, had 'undertaken to terminate the matter in a friendly way.'² This happened in 1330, but in 1336 another conference was requisite, and relations between the east and south were so strained that the admirals of the north and west were directed to keep the Yarmouth and Cinque Ports crews, in their respective commands, well apart.³ There are indications, too, that the old quarrel with the western counties had been renewed. In 1348 the king caused representatives from Dartmouth and the Cinque Ports to meet him at Porchester, where he arranged terms of peace between them, and the agreement was solemnly sealed by the corporations on both sides.⁴ War with Scotland broke out again in 1332, followed by general arrests of shipping in which Chichester was included. The continual embargoes, and consequent injury to trade, were now causing some murmurs in the port towns, but Edward knew when to persuade rather than to command, and in December, 1336, sent John de Watenhull to the Cinque Ports and other places westward to take the townsmen, apparently, into his confidence and explain 'certain things near the king's heart.'⁵ At the same time the coast towns were requested to send representatives to London to discuss matters; in Sussex they came from Chichester, Shoreham, Seaford, Pevensey, Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea.⁶

The late Sir Harris Nicolas, than whom no one had a more profound knowledge of the sources of English naval history, described the Cinque Ports as 'nests of robbers';⁷ their latest serious historian⁸ ignores, as far as possible, that side of their story, but it was one which must have helped on their decadence in the fourteenth century as sovereign and subjects recognized that the evil done for their own profit far outweighed any good done for the kingdom, and that they were, indirectly, a most expensive form of defence.⁹ In 1336 a king's ship lying at Winchelsea was boarded by men of the town, who stripped her of all her tackling and gear.¹⁰ If they had sufficient audacity to do that with a king's ship lying in harbour, what fate awaited strangers at sea! There were other causes in operation conducing to their decline. The great increase in the size of fleets and ships which marked the fourteenth century considerably minimized the relative importance of their contribution to the national armaments. With the exception of Winchelsea none of them was rich enough, probably, to hold its own with other ports, rising into importance, in the equipment of larger ships, and the French raids on Kent and Sussex after the middle of Edward's reign still further reduced their resources. Added to these disabilities was the progressive deterioration of the harbours, which must have been going on in all of them, although that of Winchelsea is the only one whose condition is noticed at this date. In 1336 there was a grant of dues that the barons might build a dam or breakwater (*exclusa*) there as the fairway was filling up with sand so badly that even 20-ton vessels could hardly enter the port.¹¹ It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the fact that now and later Winchelsea was often the port of concentration for fleets unless we suppose that it referred to the inner port, while the fleet anchorage also included Rye harbour and bay.¹²

Chichester, too, notwithstanding that it had been summoned to send maritime representatives in 1336, was losing any naval importance it may have had, and no doubt the same agency was at work. In 1339 the admiral of the west was directed not to trouble the city for ships, because when the king had lately ordered three the citizens had petitioned for relief, and at the subsequent inquiry it had been found that 'ships do not ply at the city, and no men of the city have ships or boats, and that there are no mariners dwelling there.'¹³ However, in spite of coming decay, the day of the Cinque Ports was not yet done, and Winchelsea, at least, retained its ascendancy. An undated paper of this reign¹⁴ relates to four ships belonging to the town of from 100 to 180 tons, and it also gives details of 10 owned at Shoreham, of which two were of 110 and 120 tons, the others being only of 40 and 45 tons. Another document of 1335¹⁵ affords striking confirmation of the naval strength of Winchelsea and Rye. It is an account of the expenses of preparing a Cinque

¹ Another instance is of 1337 (Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37 d.).

² Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 39 d.

⁴ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 15.

⁶ Rot. Scot. 10 Edw. III, m. 3 d.

⁸ Burrows, *The Cinque Ports*, Lond. 1888.

⁹ e.g. in 1336 Edward paid 8,000 marks compensation to the Genoese owners of a ship the Portsmen had taken in 1321 (*Foedera*, ed. 1816, ii, 948, 1011).

¹⁰ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14 d.

¹³ Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.

¹⁵ Exch. Accts. K.R. bdle. 79, No. 22.

³ Ibid. 10 Edw. III, m. 21 d.

⁵ Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 4 d.

⁷ *Hist. of the Royal Navy*, i, 357.

¹¹ Ibid. m. 17. Perhaps a sluice.

¹⁴ Chan. Misc. 17.

¹² See *post*, p. 142.

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Ports squadron of 30 ships of 3,340 tons, manned by 60 officers, 1,915 men, and 93 boys; it was paid for by the crown as extra to, and independent of, the charter 'service.' Here, Winchelsea provides nine ships, of which one is of 160 tons, two of 140, and the four smallest each of 100 tons; Rye sent four ships, of which one was of 240 tons, one of 170, one of 120, and one of 60 tons. Neither Hastings nor any other of the remaining Sussex ports is represented, but if Winchelsea and Rye had been able to maintain the standard of tonnage shown here the fall of the Ports might have been long delayed. In 1337 one of three prizes, recently taken, was given by the king to the inhabitants of Winchelsea, and in 1338 he was building a galley there.¹

In 1338 and 1339, when France had joined the Scots, the balance of maritime war went against England until the victory of Sluys in 1340 restored our supremacy for many years. In 1339 the French raided the south coast from Kent to Cornwall; on 27 May they landed at Hastings, doing more or less mischief, and in July they appeared at Rye, burning some fifty houses, but the town was saved by the arrival of an English fleet which chased away the assailants. The *Inquisitiones Nonarum* of 1340² afford evidence of many raids important enough to the victims, but too unimportant historically to be recorded by the chroniclers. In Friston 100 acres were uncultivated, *pro dubio Normannorum*, as also another 100 acres in Eastdean; Seaford had been *saepe et multipliciter* destroyed by enemies from France, and in Patcham much land was uncultivated because the men of the parish had been nearly exterminated. A three years' grant of dues for the murage of Rye had been made in 1336, and another was given in 1343 to run five years, extended for another five years in 1348.³ This last mentions that the enemy's galleys came more often in the vicinity of the town than anywhere else on the coast. New Winchelsea had been walled from its foundation, and in 1321 had a murage grant for repairs.⁴ By 1340 the continuous strain was telling upon the English reserve of shipping, and the sheriffs of the maritime counties were ordered to prevent any sale of ships to foreigners.⁵ In consequence of the poverty of the coast towns it was necessary for the crown to come to their assistance everywhere; for a Cinque Ports levy in the same year the Council promised to pay half the cost 'as an especial grace.'⁶ In 1341 another advisory council from the ports was convened at Westminster;⁷ the more important places, among them Winchelsea, sent two delegates; the others, including Rye, Hastings, Pevensey, Seaford, and Shoreham, one each. The plan may have been found successful in conciliating and persuading shipowners, and it was repeated in 1342, 1344, and 1347. In 1342 and 1344 the same towns, together with Chichester, were summoned; in 1347 Pevensey was omitted.⁸

In 1342 complications arose in Brittany, owing to the death of the duke without direct heirs, leading to the despatch of a large fleet and army under Sir Walter de Mauny; Edward himself crossed later in the year. In one fleet there were 357 vessels, of which Winchelsea sent 24, Rye 5, Shoreham 21, Hastings and Bourne 2 each, and Pevensey, 'Codelawe,' and Seaford each one.⁹ An undated list, probably relating to another fleet prepared for this expedition, gives a total of 119 vessels, for which Seaford, Ford, and Lewes sent two ships and a barge, Shoreham the same, Chichester and Wittering ('Wycheryng') two barges each.¹⁰ After Edward's arrival many of the vessels deserted from Brest, leaving the king and his troops 'in very great peril'; therefore writs were directed to the bailiffs of the ports to arrest the deserters and seize their property. Two ships each of Rye, Seaford, Bourne, and Shoreham, one of 'Codelawe,' and eight of Winchelsea are enumerated; the masters and mariners were to be committed to Newgate.¹¹ For the campaign of Crecy and the siege of Calais a large armament was collected—from 1,000 to 1,600 sail, say the chroniclers. According to the Roll of Calais, which purports to be a copy of a Wardrobe Account of Edward III, the fleet gathered for the siege included 21 ships and 596 men from Winchelsea, 9 ships and 156 men from Rye, 5 ships and 96 men from Hastings, 20 ships and 329 men from Shoreham, and 5 ships and 80 men from Seaford. All the existing copies of this Wardrobe Account are of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, and the character of the discrepancies affecting many of the ports affords internal evidence that the original record was in some places nearly or quite illegible when it was transcribed. In the case of Sussex the variations are not important.

¹ Close, 10 Edw. III, m. 4; 12 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 19.

² Rec. Com. 1807.

³ Pat. 10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37; 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 15; 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 39. Holloway (*Hist. of Rye*, 274) prints a grant for fortification he assigns to 5 Ric. I, but which is evidently Richard II, probably wrongly transcribed as to the regnal year.

⁴ Pat. 15 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19.

⁵ Rymer, *Foedera*, v, 210.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.* ii, 108.

⁷ *Foedera*, v, 231.

⁸ *Ibid.* 231, 405, 548; *ibid.* (ed. 1816), ii, 1193. The delegates were paid 2s. a day (Close, 18 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18 d.).

⁹ *Chanc. Misc.* ii, 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 35.

¹¹ Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17 d.; Close, 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 4 d. 3 d. Codelawe is Cudlo Haven, formerly a manor in Anesford hundred (*Cal. Inq. p.m.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 19; *Rot. Hund.* ii, 214). It existed as a 'townlet' in Leland's day (*Itin.* vi, 29), and is marked as 'Codlow,' on the western side of the mouth of the Arun, in Wagenhaer's *Mariners Mirrour* of 1588, after which it disappears.

Three MSS.¹ allot Shoreham 329 men, while two others² give it 339, and a sixth³ 429 men; the disagreement is only noticeable as one of many indications that the copies cannot be accepted as authoritative. The names in the list are in no geographical order, but after Shoreham and Seaford, and before Hamble, occurs Newmouth with two vessels, which must have been mere fishing boats, and 18 men. The place is unidentified, but may possibly be connected with the Ouse or the Shoreham river. It will be observed that 40 ships came from the Sussex Cinque Ports, and the total from Kent and Sussex was double the number of their service by charter. On 29 August, 1350, the battle of L'Espagnols sur Mer was fought and won off Winchelsea by Edward in person, and although most of the vessels present were king's ships there were no doubt many Portsmer amongst the crews. The Black Prince and John of Ghent were with the king.

The naval history of Edward III is an illustration of the fact that the almost invariable consequence in former times of the destruction of an enemy's military fleets was an increase in raids and privateering. Although sea victories were won, and no resistance was or could be made to the transport of Edward's armies, the coasts were continually harrassed by French incursions or the fear of them, and the sense of helplessness was aggravated by the losses suffered from privateers and the exhaustion of the shipowning classes. On Sunday, 15 March, 1359-60, the French surprised Winchelsea, partly burnt the town, ravaged the surrounding country, and did not retire until the county levies were gathering in force. The French had many old scores to settle with Winchelsea and Rye, and the Normans still feared them; but if Shoreham had continued the progress it seems to have been making during this reign it might have won some of the attention paid by the French to the greater ports. We have seen that its quota to the Calais fleet was not much behind that of Winchelsea; many entries on the patent rolls show its commercial importance, and a writ of 1346⁴ directing the inhabitants to make war on the French by sea and land testifies to its military strength. Seaford, about 1357, had almost ceased to exist, having been burnt down and devastated both by war and pestilence, so that it was unable to supply ships;⁵ probably it had never recovered from the losses referred to in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*.

An unstable peace existed between 1360 and 1369; the commencement of war in the latter year caused the king to convoke another council of provincial experts at Westminster in November, to which Chichester and the Cinque Ports sent representatives.⁶ The renewal of the war was attended by the complete loss of English supremacy in the Channel. Levy followed levy without result; the Commons laid before the king their views as to the causes to which they attributed the decay of shipping, and in June, 1372, after the defeat of the earl of Pembroke before Rochelle, the crown was reduced to issuing commissions of array for the maritime counties instead of defending them by fleets at sea. The ordinary rate of hire for ships impressed was 3s. 4d. a ton for three months, and now both that and wages were left unpaid, in contrast to the liberality Edward had displayed 30 years earlier when he made extra and unusual payments to help the equipment of the fleets. The year 1375 was marked by another maritime disaster in the shape of the capture or destruction in Bourneuf Bay of 39 merchantmen ranging from 300 tons downwards; only one Sussex ship, the *Paul* of Rye, of 220 tons, was taken.⁷ Edward III died 21 June, 1377, and on the 29th the French took Rye, slaughtering 'without sparing man or woman,' says Froissart. In 1369 the townsmen had obtained a licence to wall, or extend the walls, but courage was needed as well as defences, and in that essential the men of Rye are said to have been wanting on this occasion.⁸ While holding the town Jean de Vienne, the Admiral of France, who commanded the French fleet, proceeded to threaten Winchelsea, but that place was garrisoned by the abbot of Battle, and Vienne retreated. The Admiral rejected a proposal from his second in command to hold Rye, burnt it, and sailed to Rottingdean, where, having routed a force raised by the prior of Lewes, he marched inland burning and plundering. Hastings suffered the same fate later in the year when Vienne, returning from the westward in August, also assaulted Winchelsea but was repulsed by the abbot of Battle.⁹ In 1339 the Commons had said that the Cinque Ports had been enfranchised as 'a guard and wall between us and foreigners'; the French, even 40 years later, regarded them in the same light if it be true that on their return to France several were hanged for their refusal to keep Rye when it was captured and the barrier thus broken down.¹⁰ The late Admiral Colomb¹¹

¹ Cott. MSS. Titus, F. III, fol. 262; Stowe MSS. 570, fol. 230; Harl. MSS. 246.

² Stowe MSS. 574, fol. 28; Harl. MSS. 3698, fol. 130.

³ Rawlinson MSS. (Bodl.), C. 846, fol. 17.

⁴ Close, 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13 d.

⁵ Ibid. 30 Edw. III, m. 13.

⁶ *Foedera* (ed. 1816), iii, 880.

⁷ Chanc. Dipl. Doc. P. 324.

⁸ Stow, *Chron.* (ed. 1615), 278.

⁹ The contemporary chroniclers are not in agreement as to the sequence of these events.

¹⁰ *Rot. Parl.* iii, 70. There is some doubt as to the reading of the old French of the Rolls of Parliament, most historians having considered the meaning to be that some of the Rye men were hanged for their weak defence, but the version in the text is also supported by the opinion of Mr. Edward Salisbury, of the Record Office.

¹¹ *Naval Warfare*, 3.

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regarded these attacks as examples of useless 'cross-ravaging,' i.e. raids for plunder, inflicting loss and misery on private individuals but of no value in deciding a war. It may be questioned, however, whether these raids were either aimless or valueless. The troops were no doubt animated only by a desire for plunder, but to the leaders Rye and Winchelsea were important naval bases, and their destruction was desired for the same reasons that would lead to similar attempts on Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth to-day.

Towards the end of 1377 the need for ships was so great that it was agreed in Parliament in November to call upon many of the inland towns, as well as the ports, to build vessels by the following March; as an encouragement the burgesses were promised that after the necessity had passed away the vessels should be returned for private use to those who had paid for their building and equipment.¹ The Cinque Ports, as a whole, were charged with the provision of five balingers, but Rye was treated exceptionally, being granted certain customs for five years, including 2*d.* on every seine of fish exported, in aid of the refortification of the town and the construction of two balingers of 34 oars each.² Whatever their losses the spirit and strength of Rye and Winchelsea were not yet broken, and early in 1378 they effected a raid of revenge in Normandy; as it was directed against 'Portus Petri' and 'Wylet,'³ and as we are told that the Portsmen did in those places as they had been done unto, recovering much of their property, it may be inferred that the French fleet of 1377 was manned largely from those towns. In 1380 the French, still in the ascendant, fell again upon Winchelsea; this time the abbot of Battle was unable to save the town, and it was more or less destroyed.⁴ It may not be true to say that this blow was fatal to its prosperity, because there were other factors at work, but it certainly set the seal upon its decline. In September the Warden of the Ports was directed to convoke a meeting of the mayors, barons, and leading seamen, point out to them the dangers to be feared if the command of the sea was not regained, ask their advice as to the measures expedient, and induce them to contribute towards the cost.⁵ The Portsmen were probably in no condition to contribute money, or even to provide their full service, and if the command of the sea was to be recovered it could only be by the whole maritime strength of England well organized and directed. A writ of 1382,⁶ directing a general press of seamen in Sussex and Kent, seems to point to a temporary paralysis of the Cinque Ports service and the consequent application of general custom to the counties.

In 1384 Winchelsea was still desolate, and the ship service was temporarily diminished.⁷ In the same year the Commons petitioned the king that some steps might be taken towards the defence of Rye and Winchelsea, 'because if those towns were taken . . . the whole country would be destroyed.'⁸ Rye was, perhaps, regarded as in the more hopeful condition, and the fact that it was 'understood that the French were trying to take it themselves to keep and fortify it'⁹ was a very good reason why the English should look closely to it. The Warden of the Ports was instructed to explain 'the imminent danger' to the inhabitants, and, if necessary, compel them to refortify it. They were assisted by a tax of 3*d.* on every noble's worth of fish landed in the Kent and Sussex ports which money was to be used for the defence of the coast and the fortification of Rye.¹⁰ In Sussex the French fury fell almost entirely upon Rye and Winchelsea during these years, and probably only upon Hastings because being so near at hand and practically defenceless it could be attacked by a detachment from the main body. The other ports are hardly mentioned in the military sense; it is curious, for several reasons, to find a Spanish ship arrested at Pagham during the first year of Richard's reign and unloaded there.¹¹ A sign of the exhaustion of the Cinque Ports is the fact that in such fleet lists of this reign as exist, some of them long ones of levies extending from Newcastle to Bristol, none comes from the Ports; that Shoreham is also absent suggests that it must have shared, in some way, in the misfortunes of its neighbours. A list of 57 ships sailing to Spain with John of Ghent's army in 1386 includes one, nearly the smallest of the fleet, from Winchelsea. Rye, however, could still send ships to sea, and in May, 1382, a squadron won a small victory in the Channel. There is a payment in 1387 of £135 from the Exchequer for its fortification, so that some results followed the efforts of 1384-5.¹²

In 1385 and 1386 a great fleet and army was collected at Sluys for the invasion of England; in both years proclamation was made that persons living within six miles of Rye should collect their property and retire within the town. It was fortunate that several causes combined to disorganize

¹ Close, 1 Ric. II, m. 22.

² Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17. The balingers would be small ones of their class.

³ Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana* (Rolls Ser.), i, 366. St. Pierre en Port and Veulettes. I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Wylie for these identifications.

⁴ Holinshed says that Rye and Hastings were also burnt, but this is doubtful.

⁵ Close, 4 Ric. II, m. 35.

⁶ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

⁷ Ibid. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 13 *d.*

⁸ *Rot. Parl.* iii, 201. 'Tout le pays' may here only mean the surrounding district.

⁹ Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 38.

¹⁰ Ibid. m. 32 *d.*

¹¹ Exch. Accts. K.R. bdle. 37, No. 6.

¹² Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 234.

the French plans, for nothing but a half-hearted land defence was contemplated here. It seems, from a reference made by Walsingham in 1387,¹ that the French were still raiding the coast of Sussex but we are left in ignorance of the details. Hostilities with France ceased in 1389, and for some years maritime commerce suffered only its normal afflictions, for, although official peace existed, private war always continued. In 1394 and 1396 the Cinque Ports were required to provide the full service for the king's passages to Ireland and Calais, so that we may suppose that they had somewhat recovered from the effects of the war. In February, 1394, a new agreement was come to between Hastings, Winchelsea, and Rye, by which the first port, with its members, supplied five ships, Winchelsea ten, and Rye five.² Rye had some shipbuilding, judging from a certificate of 1392 in favour of John Wickham, shipwright, who had carried on his business there for 16 years, and the fact that in 1390 the townsmen were making a trade of selling ships to foreigners.³

An early writ of the reign of Henry IV is a commission to William Prince, master of *Le Cristofre* of Arundel, as a privateer against the Scots.⁴ Shortly afterwards a survey of Winchelsea Harbour was ordered, from which it appears that it was still deteriorating.⁵ In consequence of the uncertainty of the truce with France not only the ports but many of the inland towns were ordered on 11 January, 1400-1, to build ships, singly or in combination, at their own cost by the following April.⁶ Shoreham and Arundel were each assessed for one balinger, but the Cinque Ports were not affected. When Parliament met it protested against this proceeding, and as Henry's position was too uncertain to allow him to insist, as he might have done, on the strict legality of his action, the order was withdrawn. For many years of this reign, while Parliament was complaining of foreign pirates, the French chroniclers say that English seamen were incessantly ravaging the French coast. The Cinque Ports, however, play little part in these recriminations; the French attacks were now directed against Hampshire, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, from which may be inferred the decline of the military value of the Cinque Ports and the rise of the western coast towns. There are signs that the service from the Ports was becoming voluntary, or at least taking on the character of that due from the remainder of the English coast, although that also was approaching its period of decay and extinction. In 1405 Thomas of Lancaster, the king's second son, was appointed to the command of a large fleet, and he wrote to the mayor of Rye inviting any who possessed suitable ships to join him, promising them all prize money.⁷ In 1407 a squadron which was largely made up of Cinque Ports ships, under Henry Pay, the privateersman, took a merchant fleet of 120 ships off the coast of Brittany, and if in their reduced condition the Ports were able to send many vessels to sea for themselves it shows that the crown was not pressing them for their 'service.'

To crush privateering and piracy Henry V, in 1414, instituted officials, called conservators of truces, in every port who, assisted by two legal assessors, and holding their authority from the High Admiral except in the Cinque Ports, where they were appointed by the Warden, were to have power of inquiry and punishment concerning all guilty of illegal practices at sea.⁸ They were to keep a register of the ships and seamen belonging to each port, and acted as adjudicators in such cases as did not go before the Admiralty Court. They seem, so far as related to judicial functions, to have been a link on the civil side between the earlier keepers of the coast and the vice-admirals of counties created in the sixteenth century. That the statute was strictly enforced and helped to preserve a little peace at sea is shown by the fact that two years later the king consented to some modification of its stringency by promising to issue letters of marque when equitable. In 1435 it was entirely suspended, being found 'so rigorous and grievous,' said the Commons, taking advantage of a weak rule; in 1451 it was brought into force again for a short time, and once more renewed by Edward IV. The statute when first promulgated and actively executed, under a monarch who was determined to make his will obeyed, must have been a further blow to the piratical disposition of the Ports.

Henry V began his reign with the intention of having a great fleet of his own. The custom of general impressment was now expensive both for the shipowner and the crown, slow and inefficient, and the continual complaints of the merchant class, as voiced in Parliament, were not safely to be ignored. The system could not be, and was not, at once abolished, but it became much less frequent during the fifteenth century, and there is quite a modern note in the establishment of cruisers along the coast in 1415, of which four were stationed between the Isle of Wight and Orford Ness.⁹ Formerly, in theory if not in practice, it would have been the special duty of the Cinque Ports to guard that particular stretch of sea. The large fleet required for the campaign of Agincourt included a contingent from Sussex, but very many ships were hired in Holland and Zealand, the resources of the kingdom being insufficient, or Henry resolved not to tax them unduly;

¹ *Hist. Anglica*, ii, 153.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 500, 501.

³ *Ibid.* pt. viii, m. 39 d.

⁴ *Foedera*, viii, 172.

⁵ 2 Hen. V, cap. 6.

² Jeake, *Charters*, 95.

⁴ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. vi, m. 6 d.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 501.

⁹ *Proc. of P.C.* (1st Ser.), ii, 145.

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Winchelsea was one of the ports of concentration.¹ The 'port' of Winchelsea comprised the Camber of Rye and extended to Bodiam²; the exact extent of the Camber is itself a matter of doubt, for it may have reached from Lydd to Winchelsea.³ Another large fleet was collected for the campaign of 1417, but out of 217 vessels of which we have details 117 belonged to Holland and Zealand.⁴ Many of the English ports were unrepresented, and it may be surmised that for political reasons the king preferred to hire foreign ships as transports rather than disturb English trade. No Sussex ship appears in this list, but from another source we know that the Cinque Ports were called upon for their service.⁵ Shoreham, like Hastings, Winchelsea, and Rye, was in its period of decline; in 1421 the inhabitants petitioned for a reduction in the tenths on account of the damage done by the sea, and Rottingdean as well begged a reduction of taxation because lately burnt and also in great part destroyed by the sea.⁶

An important branch of English maritime traffic in the fifteenth century was the transport of pilgrims to enable them to perform their devotions at the shrine of St. James of Compostella. They could only be carried in licensed ships, and nobles and merchants seem to have been equally eager to obtain a share in what must have been a profitable trade. Most of the ships engaged in the traffic belonged to the southern ports, but those of Sussex took no great part in it, although vessels from Winchelsea, Shoreham, and Chichester were occasionally licensed. The tonnage is not usually stated in the licence, but the ships hailing from the western ports, now rapidly growing in wealth and energy, were larger and in every way more suitable than those from the eastern Channel. There is a contemporary song on the miseries suffered by the pilgrims at sea,⁷ and in this song Winchelsea is coupled with Sandwich and Bristol as a leading port for their embarkation, but that may be due to the exigencies of rhyme.

After the death of Henry V one of the first measures taken by the Regency was to sell off the Royal Navy by auction, but the loss was not at once felt because there was no French navy to contest the mastery of the sea. There were arrests of shipping in 1428 and 1430, but there was now a general feeling that in this method 'the long coming together of the ships is the destruction of the country.'⁸ Vessels were still impressed for the transport of troops, but the military service was handed over to contractors who undertook to keep the sea with a certain number of ships and men for a specified time. No doubt the contractors desired to obtain as much money and go to as little expense as possible, and in 1442 Parliament, dissatisfied with the results, prepared a scheme by which a squadron was to be made up of ships from various ports.⁹ Sussex did not supply any of the large ships, but among the barges two were selected from Winchelsea, and among the pinnaces one from Hastings. William Morfote was the owner of one of the Winchelsea barges, and it appears that in 1435 he had been at sea with 100 men on his own account 'to do the king service'—*Anglice*, privateering. Some similar service previously had led him into Dover Castle, from which he 'came out as well as he might,' in other words, escaped. Then he was compelled to keep at sea with his 100 men while suing for pardon, which, at the especial request of the Commons, was granted for a small fine, probably much to the advantage of peaceful traders.¹⁰ The owner of the other barge was one Pratte, and he, or someone of his name, was stigmatized as a pirate in 1464.¹¹ There are in existence several lists of ships taken up for the transport of troops in 1439, 1440, 1443, 1447, and 1452.¹² Seeing that they represent only a portion, large or small, of the merchant marine they show that notwithstanding war and weak government it was still flourishing both in number and tonnage, some of the vessels being of 300 and 400 tons. The Sussex contribution, however, was insignificant, only three ships of Winchelsea, of which the largest was of 130 tons, one of Rye of 70 tons, and one of Pevensey of 20 tons, being named. Compared with the many vessels from other coast towns, and taken in conjunction with the small number of ships employed in the transport of pilgrims, this is convincing evidence of the decay of the Sussex ports. Seaford obtained a licence in 1422 to wall and ditch the town,¹³ but this was never done; there must have been many small French raids not recorded, but which explain the nervousness of the dwellers on the coast, judging from a petition of 1445 from the men of Tarring in which they refer to divers attacks by the French.¹⁴

¹ *Foedera*, ix, 218. The Cinque Ports fishermen were ordered to go over and fish on the Norman coast, during the siege of Harfleur, to supply the army (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 341).

² Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. viii, m. 39 d.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, App. 517.

⁴ *Rot. Norman* (ed. Hardy, 1835), pp. 320-9.

⁵ Close, 5 Hen. V, m. 17.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.* iv, 159, 160.

⁷ Wright and Halliwell, *Rel. Antiquae*, pt. 1.

⁸ *Proc. of P.C.* (1st Ser.), v, 102.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.* v, 59.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iv, 489. Morfote had been member for Winchelsea in 1428 and 1429.

¹¹ Pat. 4 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 16 d.

¹² Exch. Accts. K.R. bdle. 53, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 39; bdle. 54, Nos. 10, 14.

¹³ Pat. 1 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 30 d.

¹⁴ Dallaway, *Hist. of Western Sussex*, ii, pt. ii, p. 2.

It is said that Rye and Winchelsea were again burnt by the French, but the date is given vaguely as the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh regnal year of Henry VI,¹ and there is no historical evidence whatever that such an event occurred, while such collateral evidence as exists negatives it. For example, a paper assigned by Mr. James Gairdner to 1450² is a detailed list of charges brought by the duke of York against the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy and practically regent in France. If a French surprise of the two ports could have been ascribed to Somerset's treacherous rupture of the truce, and included among the misfortunes which followed, it would assuredly have been one of the accusations. It is assumed that a patent of 1 August, 1449,³ annexing Tenterden to Rye to assist the latter because impoverished by the action of the sea and 'often burning by the king's enemies,' is corroboration of the loss caused by the latest supposed French attack, but it is nearly certain that any recent occurrence of the kind would have been specified. The chief cause of the town's necessity was the mischief done by the sea, and the reference to the 'often burning' is only a general amplification in the usual form, certain to occur here where the memory of the troubles of the reign of Richard II was still vivid. Exactly the same form occurs, in reference to Hastings, in the patent of incorporation of Seaford in 1543, but a long period had then elapsed since Hastings had been burnt.

Sea-power played no great part in the Wars of the Roses, but the Cinque Ports were Yorkist in sentiment. Discontent, due to their failing resources, would probably have made them ready to welcome any change, but the presence of Warwick, as captain of Calais on the other side of the Channel, and able to make things very disagreeable for his enemies, was doubtless an important factor in shaping their political beliefs. In 1458 there were some 60 sail of French off the Sussex coast, practically blockading it, but the experience cannot have been exceptional during those years.⁴ Henry VII engaged in few maritime enterprises, but resuscitated the Royal Navy as a nucleus for the armed merchantmen which were still the body of fighting fleets. The few vessels required during his reign were hired from various ports, and one came from Winchelsea in 1487; the 'service' was required for transport purposes in 1491, during the troubles in Brittany. In 1495, after the unsuccessful attempt to land at Deal, Perkin Warbeck appears to have put in to the Camber of Rye, but probably did not attempt to set men ashore.⁵ Sir Clements Markham has suggested that one of the crew of Columbus's flagship in 1492, Tallarte de Lajes, was an Alard of the Winchelsea family.⁶ He is noted on the muster roll as an Englishman, and Tallarte might be the Spanish form of Alard. Lajes is near Coruña.

With the reign of Henry VIII the era of general arrests and impressment of shipping may be said to have terminated. The coast towns were still sometimes to be called upon to provide ships, but such towns were usually associated in order to lessen the expense, and eventually the county to which they belonged contributed, as a whole, to the cost. The non-corporate portion of maritime Sussex naturally fell into line with the rest of England, and the Cinque Ports were, in time, assimilated to the system. Improvements in building and armament had now differentiated the man-of-war from the merchantman; the latter was of little use in fleets except, as an Elizabethan seaman said, 'to make a show,' and to have required the Ports to furnish real men-of-war would have ruined them. If places like Southampton, Plymouth, Bristol, and Newcastle were unable now to send true fighting ships to sea, it may be imagined that the antiquated 'service' of the Cinque Ports had become only an interesting survival. Three times during the reign of Henry they were called upon for it, but only for purposes of transport; on one occasion, in 1531, it was reduced to ten vessels for horse and baggage transport, as men and ships were away at the herring fishery. In 1556 they nominally conveyed Philip from England,⁷ and in 1562 they answered the old call for the last time, again for transport and not for fighting, when Elizabeth was trying to hold Havre.

It was one of the aims of Henry's statesmanship to create a national navy, and there was not a year of his reign that did not witness some accretion to its strength. Such merchantmen as he required were hired without the exercise of the prerogative; it is not until the reign of Elizabeth that we find in force the further development of the right of impressment, the demand for fully-armed ships at the cost of the ports and counties, the principle upon which the subsequent ship-money levies were based. The first war with France of 1512-14 was fought out chiefly by men-of-war; there were upwards of twenty hired ships in pay, but there was no Sussex ship among them. Warfare by sea was mainly confined to the western Channel, but both in 1513 and 1514 Prigent de Bidoux, the commander of the French galleys, landed in Sussex—in the first instance burning a few cottages, and in the second plundering and destroying Brighton, then 'a poor village.'⁸ Some doubt has been thrown on the credibility of the chroniclers, but the fact that the

¹ Jeake, *Charters*, 108.

² Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. xiv, fol. 40.

³ Pat. 27 Hen. VI, pt. iii, m. 9. By an agreement of 1492 Tenterden bore one-fifth part of the service and expenses of Rye.

⁴ *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner), i, 425.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 388.

⁶ Markham, *Life of Christopher Columbus*, 69.

⁷ See *post*, p. 150.

⁸ Grafton, *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), ii, 252, 281; Holinshed, iii, 817, 831.

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second descent occurred is proved by a letter of 1514, in which the writer says that he had heard from the Lord Admiral that he intended to raid the French coast to avenge the burning of Brighton.¹ The Cinque Ports had a closer connexion with the land operations of this war than with those at sea, for in 1513 Henry invaded France himself, and the 'service' was required to convey the army. In 1512 there was a payment for 'a new tower and bridge' in the Camber;² the tower may be 'the blockhouse at Cavell';³ a French corsair ran past in 1522, attacking some English ships supposed to be protected by it.⁴ The Cinque Ports were ordered to keep scouts at sea in 1522, when war with France and Scotland was expected; when it broke out the naval operations were of a minor character, but one Rye vessel of 60 tons, and two from Hastings, of which the largest was 50 tons, took part in them.⁵ The local squadron cruising on the coast, between Rye and the Thames, consisted of three men-of-war and one hired ship of Sandwich;⁶ in earlier centuries the protection of this area would have been undertaken by the ports of Sussex and Kent. There was some intention of laying up the *Henry*, a first-class ship, in the Camber for the winter, but when soundings were taken it was found that there was not sufficient depth of water.⁷ During the troubled reign of Henry there was always more or less expectation of war, and in 1528 Sir Edward Guldeford again drew Wolsey's attention to 'the blockhouse at Kevill,' which required six guns; he added that Rye was in more danger than ever, as it was surrounded by the sea, and ships could lie within a stone's throw of the town walls.⁸ In 1536 there were altogether 19 guns in the town and bulwark,⁹ and a king's gunner was appointed to take charge of one particular brass gun.¹⁰

About 1539 Henry feared the formation of a continental alliance against the kingdom. The new navy, although more powerful than even its creator dreamed it to be, was as yet an untried weapon, and it was natural to rely as well upon the orthodox defences of castles, sconces, and bulwarks to prevent a landing or support a defending force. As early as 1535 the idea of fortifying the strategic points round the coast was in the air, for Cromwell then noted in his 'Remembrances' that a small tax, formerly paid to Rome, might well be diverted 'towards the defence of the realm to be employed in making fortresses.' At that time the only places upon which money was being spent lavishly were Calais and Dover, and it was not until 1539, when the political conditions rendered the question urgent, that the fortification of the coast generally was taken in hand. Early in that year commissioners were appointed 'to search and defend' the coast line, but little was done in Sussex.¹¹ The town of Rye was fortified; Winchelsea, Hastings, Seaford, and Shoreham were no longer worth any especial defence, and Pevensey, Bulverhythe, and Pagham had practically ceased to exist except for coasters. Therefore only one castle was designed in Sussex, that on the spit of shingle, then close to the sea, commanding the entrance of the Camber. It was under construction in 1539,¹² and the fear of French hostilities and of surprise no doubt hastened its erection. In February the mayor of Rye wrote to Cromwell that four large French ships had put in to purchase ordnance before proceeding to the Mediterranean, and that he had taken precautions against a treacherous attack.¹³ In 1540 Camber Castle was under its first captain, Philip Chewitt, or Chowte, with a garrison of 24 men; but there was as yet no artillery.¹⁴ Except within the liberties of the Cinque Ports, where they were under the control of the Warden, the new fortifications everywhere were in the charge of the Lord Admiral.

War with France and Scotland was renewed in 1543, and the vessels of the Cinque Ports were required once more for the usual service of transport to which they had descended. To help Hastings, Seaford was incorporated and charged with assistance;¹⁵ probably the earlier tie had been but a slack one, for we have seen that Seaford had been sometimes called upon independently of the Ports. Henry crossed to Calais with an army in 1544, and hoys to carry the troops were taken up along the coast, eight coming from Rye and six from Winchelsea;¹⁶ there were no others from Sussex. In June, all that Lord Russell, writing from Dover, could find to say about them was that 'the ships of the Ports are here and do no service.'¹⁷ But there are indications that the old spirit was not extinct, and if the age of Cinque Ports fleets was gone by there was still scope for individual enterprise. Three Rye and Winchelsea men took out letters of marque, and it seems that their privateers were only of 20 tons each.¹⁸ In July, 1544, a Scotch ship was taken off

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* i, 5151.

² *Ibid.* ii, 1455. 'Bridge' is used for a landing-place as late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

³ Or Cabell, the site of the later Camber Castle (*ibid.* xvi, 456).

⁴ *Ibid.* iii, pt. ii, 1935.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv, pt. i, 398.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, pt. ii, 2296.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 2302.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 5031.

⁹ *Ibid.* x, 807.

¹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* Rye MSS. 183.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv, pt. i, 398. For Sussex the earls of Arundel and Southampton (the Lord Admiral); lords Maltravers, De la Warr, and Dacre; Sir John Gage, Sir Rich. Shirley, Sir Edw. Bray, and others; the Warden of the Ports was not one of them.

¹² *Ibid.* pt. ii, 236.

¹³ *Ibid.* pt. i, 274.

¹⁴ Cott. MSS. App. xxviii, 19.

¹⁵ Pat. 35 Hen. VIII, pt. xvi, m. 5.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xix, pt. i, 491.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 708.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xviii, pt. i, 392, 431; *Acts of P.C.* 10, 21 April, 1543.

Scarborough by a Rye fishing-boat, whose crew were equal to an opportunity, and, later in the year, someone wrote that 'the town of Rye has all this year had three or four vessels abroad, and gained much by it.'¹ One of these Rye owners was John Fletcher, whose name also occurs as one of those acting at sea in the previous wars of the reign; he was sent for to London, and directed to bring with him three or four of his men capable of pilotage on the French coast.² The French, on their side, were of the same mind, for later, when Francis I was about to take the offensive, the constable of Bosham hundred reported that two French boats had been observed taking soundings in Chichester Harbour.³ They may have mistaken it for Portsmouth, but in any case they might have been left in peace to pursue their harmless inquiries. Rye must still have had some reputation for shipbuilding, for the *Grand Mistress*, a 300 or 400 ton man-of-war built at Smallhythe in 1545, was constructed under the superintendence of a shipwright from Rye.⁴

The English fleet was under the command of Lord Lisle, better known afterwards as duke of Northumberland, a wretchedly incapable admiral. In June, 1545, he was off Havre, and after exchanging shots with the French fleet retreated to Portsmouth because he heard that the French intended coming to the Isle of Wight. The Admiral of France, Claude D'Annebault, put to sea in July and was off the coast of Sussex on the 18th, when some men were sent ashore at Brighton. The attack was so easily repulsed that it gives the impression that it was only made because Brighton was the French landfall and the habit of ravage was too strong to be broken, but that D'Annebault would waste no time in any systematic shore operations when he knew where to find his enemy's fleet.⁵ He proceeded to the Isle of Wight, and about the end of the month was again on the Sussex coast, where a landing party which came ashore between Seaford and Newhaven was beaten off by Sir Nicholas Pelham. Here, again, the weakness of the attack suggests that D'Annebault knew better than to entangle himself in earnest in landing operations with an unbeaten English fleet at his heels. If so he was wise, for a few days later Lisle was following along the coast of Sussex, and writing to Henry that he trusted 'the goodness of God' would serve instead of the skill and seamanship he knew he lacked.⁶ About 11 August the French were off Rye Bay, and on the 15th Lisle was in sight of them off Shoreham. An indecisive action followed; the French went over to their own coast and Lisle lost touch of them, thus ending the movements in the eastern Channel.

The Cinque Ports had long ceased to count militarily, and their ambiguous position in retaining privileges without being able to render services was beginning to provoke question. In 1546 the collectors of the fifteenths were demanding payment within the liberties, as elsewhere. An appeal to the Privy Council caused the matter to be laid before Henry; apparently it was decided that no destructive innovation should be made, for the archbishop of Canterbury was requested to persuade the Portsmen to submit to the same taxation as the rest of the country, but there was no hint of any compulsion.⁷ Beyond the coasting traffic probably the fishery was nearly the only legitimate trade left for any of the Sussex ports, except perhaps Chichester and Rye, which latter had still a considerable vogue as a place of export for woollen goods from Southwark and elsewhere.⁸ In 1528 Hastings sent 30 'crayers' to the North Sea fishery, and Rye and Winchelsea 50;⁹ at some later date, when the paper was endorsed by Cecil, the numbers had fallen to 10 for Hastings and 16 for the other two towns. The question of the French use of the Sussex fishing grounds was as acute in the sixteenth as in the following three centuries. In 1549 French men-of-war, under colour of convoying their fishermen, were taking English coasters and fishing boats on the Sussex coast, and a squadron of six men-of-war under Sir Thomas Cotton was sent to capture both convoyers and convoyed.¹⁰ There was at this time no defined limit to territorial waters, and it was not uncommon to exchange safe-conducts for fishing fleets even in war time; in 1543 Francis I requested such a guarantee for nearly 1,000 boats and the Sussex fishermen at least must have been well pleased when Henry refused it.¹¹ The fishing industry seems to have improved somewhat during the second half of the sixteenth century. An incomplete return of 1565 gives details of some of the coast towns.¹² Bulverhythe had ceased to exist as a port, Seaford had 1 fishing boat, Eastbourne 4, Hastings 25, Selsey 11, Pagham 3, Bosham 1, Arundel 2, and Rye 66 vessels of all kinds. In 1581 the Trinity House sent in a certificate of the

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix, pt. i, 1010; pt. ii, 560.

² *Acts of P. C.* 12 June, 1543.

³ *Ibid.* 21 July, 1545.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 20 Aug. 1545.

⁵ A contemporary drawing of the landing at Brighton (Cott. MSS. Aug. I. i, 18), assigned to 1545, perhaps really relates to the attack of 1514. See Mr. Jas. Gairdner in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* for 1907.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, 12 Aug. 1545.

⁷ *Acts of P. C.* 11 June, 1546.

⁸ Customs Accts. 17⁴⁷/₂₀.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5101.

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, vii, 12.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xviii, pt. ii, 259. Henry told the emperor's ambassador 1,000 boats, but it sounds a deliberate exaggeration.

¹² S.P. Dom. Eliz. xxxviii, 28; xxxix, 11, 12. See also *post*, p. 151.

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increase in the number of boats at the various ports since 1576; Rye, Hastings, Pevensey, Meeching, and Brighton were returned as stationary with the 20, 16, 2, 4, and 30 fishing boats they had previously possessed, but Shoreham and Arundel, with four boats each, and Chichester with two, showed an improvement.¹ For Brighton, however, the 'Book of Ancient Customs' of 1580 gives a far more favourable return of 80 boats;² the discrepancy may probably be explained by the Trinity House report dealing with only deep-sea fishing boats, and in this branch Brighton had taken part in the North Sea cod fishery for forty years before it was compiled. The Rye share of the cod fishery improved, temporarily, after the middle of the century, for in 1572 its fishermen petitioned that during the past fifteen years they had had an average of 34 boats working, although the number had fallen to three in 1571.³ They ascribed their failure to the foreign importation of fish. In 1580 the town possessed 31 boats of from 10 to 22 tons, employing 200 men besides boys.⁴

Through many centuries the right of wreck was coveted by both manorial lords and corporations, both for profit and, incidentally, as evidence of exemption from the inquisition of the High Admiral. Legally, if man, dog, or cat escaped alive from a ship it was no wreck; but if the cargo once came into the hands of the dwellers on the coast there was small chance of recovery. Every corporation used what influence it possessed to obtain local jurisdiction in admiralty matters, not only as a question of dignity and profit, but even more with the object of escaping the arbitrary and expensive proceedings of the Admiral's deputies, who brought much odium on their master. The question of wreck and admiralty rights is more than usually obscure in Sussex and Kent on account of the complicated relation between private privileges, those of the Lord Admiral, and those of the Cinque Ports. From the Hundred Rolls we find that in 1275 Earl de Warenne and the queen-mother had wreck rights in Seaford and Pevensey; less important persons possessed them in Bexhill, Birling, and other coast manors. How these claims were reconciled with the undoubted exercise of the same rights by the Cinque Ports it is impossible to say. Perhaps a *quo warranto* of 7 Edward I, concerning the relation of Hastings to the manor of Bexhill in the matter of wreck, was one of the first-fruits of the charter of 1278. The limits of the Cinque Ports were very uncertain; it is said that 'anciently' they extended on the south coast to the Red Nore, or Redware, by Newhaven.⁵ Wreck at Seaford belonged to the Cinque Ports in the fifteenth century,⁶ but in 1263 a rock called 'Whasbetel,' standing in that port, had formed the boundary between the liberties of Peter of Savoy and Earl de Warenne, the latter having all wrecks to the westward and as far east as a man standing on the said rock could throw a hatchet with his right hand while holding with his left hand part of the hair behind his right ear, the right arm during the act of throwing not rising above the left.⁷ In 1525 and 1526 the boundary of the Cinque Ports claim had receded to Beachy Head, but notwithstanding this the Warden came to an agreement in 1526, which included Seaford, as to the respective shares of wrecks and 'findalls' which he and the sailors were to have.⁸ The Ports had their own admiralty court, 'the type and original of all our admiralty and maritime courts,' dating from at least the thirteenth century.⁹ The earliest document known connected with admiralty jurisdiction is a return to a writ of inquiry of 1357;¹⁰ in this case the inquisition took place at Rye, but, later, the Cinque Ports courts were held in the church of St. James at Dover. Unlike many ancient institutions, the admiralty court of the Ports has undergone little change nominally, and was the only one preserved when all other local admiralty courts were abolished by the 5 and 6 Wm. IV, cap. 76; practically it is obsolete. No coast town in Sussex, outside the Cinque Ports, obtained any admiralty rights; such exemptions were usually confined to the great ports whose services were valuable to the crown and whom it was well to reward.

The question of piracy and wrecking became more prominent during the reign of Henry VIII, not because such offences were more prevalent—there were probably fewer cases than during preceding centuries—but because suppression was taken in hand more seriously. A king so well acquainted with the political value of the mastery of the sea was little likely to permit a continuation of licence in a field he regarded as peculiarly his own. It had been found that the existing system of trial for piracy was nearly useless, the offender having to confess before he could be sentenced, or his guilt having to be proved by disinterested witnesses, who, naturally, could seldom be present at sea. By two statutes, 27 Henry VIII, cap. 4, and 28 Henry VIII, cap. 15, such crimes were in future to be tried according to the forms of the common, and not as hitherto the civil, law. Probably for the better administration of these statutes and for other reasons connected with international obligations in maritime matters, the protection of the king's and Lord Admiral's rights in wreck, the

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvii, 21.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 18.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 148.

⁷ Assize R. 912, m. 7.

⁹ R. G. Marsden, *Select Pleas*, II, xxi.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* 71.

⁶ R. G. Marsden, *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, II, xxix.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2250 (4).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xxi, lviii.

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registration of ships and men available and the levy of seamen, and the execution of domestic regulations intended to prevent unlawful practices at sea, it was deemed advisable to have round the coast permanent representatives of the Lord Admiral, who should be of higher social standing and armed with greater authority than were the deputies who had hitherto visited each county or district collecting the Lord Admiral's profits or maintaining his rights. The new officers, the vice-admirals of the counties, were in their civil functions the successors historically of the keepers of the coast and the conservators of truces of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there is not one of the duties of the vice-admirals which cannot be paralleled among those performed by the earlier officials. There had been occasional appointments, in some of the counties, of officers who had held posts very similar to those of the vice-admirals, but now instead of acting temporarily and only in one or two districts they became a band of crown officials stationed round the whole coast, backed by the power of the Tudor despotism, and continued without any interruption during which their authority might diminish by intermission. The patents of appointment were from the Lord Admiral, sometimes for life and sometimes during pleasure. Each vice-admiral had a miniature admiralty court of his own, and his perquisites were shared with the Lord Admiral.¹

The scheme did not come into operation simultaneously all over England, but developed out of necessity and according to opportunity. The earliest nomination known by precise date is that for Norfolk and Suffolk; the exact time of the first appointment for Sussex is unknown, but Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, was acting between 1543 and 1547. Sussex may have been later than most of the other counties, seeing that its principal ports were already under the jurisdiction of the Lord Warden, and the interminable disputes between him and the Lord Admiral, and between their respective officers, may have been anticipated.²

The vice-admirals had their work waiting for them in quelling the inclination to piracy fostered by the maritime conditions of the period. In 1546 a Brighton vessel met a Flemish trader in port at Jersey, and 'after much frequentation and familiarity had with the master, factor, and company of the said Flemish ship,' plundered her and then wantonly destroyed her rigging and gear.³ It was to put a stop to such habits as these that one of the duties of the vice-admirals was to take bonds from owners and captains as security for good conduct. A month later a Rye ship, and men of Hastings and Winchelsea, were involved in another case; but there may have been extenuating circumstances here, for the offenders were given the option of restoring the property or paying for it. One of the incriminated owners, John Juglet, was committed to the Marshalsea prison for 'lewd behaviour' to the mayor of Rye.⁴ John Huntrye *alias* 'French John' was another Rye owner whose proceedings brought him into conflict with the law.⁵ During the reign of Edward VI recriminations were frequent between the English and French courts concerning the piracies committed by their respective subjects. Seeing that the charges, probably well-founded, against the Lord Admiral, Seymour, in 1549, included accusations of connivance and profit-sharing with pirates and general encouragement of them, it is likely enough that the French complaints were thoroughly justified.

The reign of Mary sent many of the outlawed and discontented to the refuge of the sea, and the nearly continuous warfare existing in Western Europe during her sister's reign tempted many such men to continue their vocation. Therefore the plague of piracy, and its near analogue privateering, was virulent during the second half of the century, although a number of cases that the sufferers called piracy were really seizures of enemy's goods in neutral ships, and were, justly, questions for the judge of the Admiralty Court. Sussex was not so guilty as some of its neighbours, especially Kent, in the production and support of pirates, but it was not free from the taint. The peace of 1564, and the protests of the continental powers, forced Elizabeth to more energetic action, and a circular letter to the vice-admirals of counties called their attention to the suggestive fact that although many pirates had been taken not one had been executed.⁶ This was followed, the next year, by a sharply-worded letter to the Lord Warden to the effect that the queen was receiving complaints 'daily' from the French and Spanish ambassadors about pirates 'vehemently to be suspected harboured, victualled, and maintained by some dwelling in the Cinque Ports.'⁷ The great difficulty, now and later, was to deal with the assistance the offenders obtained ashore from persons who bought their plunder, or who sympathized with them, and among these were sometimes people of good social position. The officials themselves were not above suspicion; among the instructions of 1563 is one that the vice-admirals were to do nothing except in conjunction with

¹ In 1594 the Lord Admiral thought the vice-admiralship of Sussex worth £200 a year to the holder; others made a much lower estimate (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 652). The vice-admiral's receipts were £953 between Sep. 1627, and June, 1629 (*S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* cxlv, 20).

² I am indebted to Mr. R. G. Marsden, to whose learned researches the history of the evolution of the office of vice-admiral is mainly due, for much assistance in this subject.

³ *Acts of P.C.* 16 July, 1546.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1 Aug. 1546; 10 Jan. 1546-7.

⁵ *Admir. Ct. War. Bks.* ii, 9 June, 20 Nov. 1548.

⁶ *Acts of P.C.* 23 Dec. 1564.

⁷ *Ibid.* vii, 244.

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other commissioners to avoid any misgiving of connivance 'of which complaints have been made.'¹ As the vice-admirals were selected from the titled or untitled county families, this plain speaking implies a great deal. In November, 1565, commissioners were nominated for each county, with large powers, and they were to appoint deputies at every creek and landing place.² In Hastings alone did the owners of fishing boats and other vessels give bonds for good behaviour, from which it may be inferred that their character was either much better or much worse than that of their neighbours.

Her action in 1565 was the first real effort Elizabeth made to put down piracy, but it was not of much avail. Occasional references show that owners proceeded in much the same manner as heretofore; in 1567 one Morryce, of Rye, was preparing a ship for sea, and some information must have reached the Council, for they ordered the mayor to stop him to prevent 'such inconvenience as might hap.'³ In October, 1571, the queen sent a small squadron to sea, which speedily swept up seven pirates in the Straits of Dover alone; the Kentish prisons were crowded, and special commissioners were sent who had power to try by court-martial as well as by the ordinary process of the law.⁴ The business of crushing the freebooters became still more difficult when the Prince of Orange issued letters of marque, many of which were taken out by Englishmen, while many of his ships had Englishmen on board. The Orange privateers were an element of *la haute politique*, and Elizabeth did not hold it advisable entirely to crush them even if it had been in her power to do so. Then the Spanish Netherlands followed the example of the Dutch and sent out privateers, the beginning of the affliction of 'Dunkirkers,' which plagued the coast for more than a century, while Englishmen also obtained letters of marque from the Huguenot leaders in France.⁵ An early victim of the successes of the Spanish privateers was George Fenner of Chichester, who petitioned that, within eighteen months, they had taken four of his ships, and that some men belonging to them had been sent to the galleys.⁶ The English and Dutch pirates and privateersmen used the home ports, secretly or openly, with an almost complete indifference to proclamations, and, it is to be suspected, with the connivance of mayors and vice-admirals. In 1573 a drastic circular letter forbade the preparation of any fighting ship except for service in Ireland, but this apparently did not prevent the voyage of the *John*, which perhaps belonged to Arundel, and certainly returned to Littlehampton in 1575, after a voyage to the West Indies where her crew robbed the Spanish ships of gold, silver, and less valuable commodities.⁷ Her captain, Gilbert Horsley, was in trouble at Chichester with another ship in 1577.⁸ Wrecking was, of course, a concurrent industry with piracy, and was common to the whole coast; but Sussex, like Cornwall, eventually obtained a national reputation for misdeeds in that particular branch of maritime lawlessness. In 1576 five Breton ships were lost somewhere on the coast of Sussex; some part of the cargoes was saved, but the salvors 'have refused by any means to make restitution thereof,' so that the Privy Council had to intervene.⁹ In 1600 and 1601 Dutch and French wrecks were plundered at Aldrington and Shoreham, and the owners appealed to the Council to make the thieves disgorge their spoil.¹⁰

In May, 1577, some of the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports offered to send out ships pirate hunting at their own expense if promised 'reasonable recompense' out of the goods found on board the captures, which is good evidence that there was known to be a sufficient number of the freebooters at sea to make it a promising speculation.¹¹ Later in the year new piracy commissioners were appointed, and still more stringent methods of repression adopted; the aiders and abettors ashore were now to be prosecuted and fined, and the fines were to go towards recouping the victims; the takers of pirates were to have a proportion of the property found on board, and commissions were to be granted to private persons to send out ships to cruise for pirates.¹² This time there were separate commissioners for the Cinque Ports and for western Sussex;¹³ the latter body certified that they could not find any aiders or harbourers of pirates. The Privy Council

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* Cecil MSS. i, 286.

² *Acts of P.C.* 8 Nov. 1565; S.P. Dom. Eliz. xxxviii, 28; xxxix, 11, 12. In Sussex commissioners were appointed for each rape, and it is noticeable that the Lord Warden was not among them, although he was appointed for Kent.

³ *Acts of P.C.* 23 Jan. 1566-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 30 Oct. 1571, 15 Feb. 1572; S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxxv, 57.

⁵ In 1569 Martin Frobisher was sailing under such a commission, and his proceedings caused the Rye merchants to appeal urgently to the Council (R. G. Marsden in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxi, 541).

⁶ S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxv, 11; cv, 22.

⁷ Admir. Ct. Misc. Bks. 834.

⁸ *Acts of P.C.* x, 89, 102, 124.

⁹ *Ibid.* 28 May, 1576.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 5 Oct. 1600, 24 May, 1601.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 14 May, 1577.

¹² Add. MSS. 34150, fol. 61, 64. In 1559 the judge of the Admiralty Court held that all property must be restored to the owners (S.P. Dom. Eliz. vi, 19), therefore this must refer to goods belonging to the pirates or unclaimed. There had been some doubt whether accessories ashore could legally be prosecuted (*Acts of P.C.* 6 June, 1577); and legal opinion was obtained before the government took action (Harl. MSS. clxviii, fol. 114). The spoils found stowed in pirates were sometimes very valuable, e.g. in two taken in December, 1577, there were 634 elephants' tusks, cochineal, and Spanish brandy (S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxxxv, fol. 15). Such cargo certainly never came out of English ships.

¹³ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxxiii, 24, 25.

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could have enlightened them, for not long before that body had had represented to it the exploits of Lancelot Greenwell, of Chichester, 'a notorious pirate,' who had so far enriched himself at the expense of the Hull merchants that they had been exasperated into sending out their own ships after him.¹ Somewhat later the West Sussex commissioners were more successful, and returned the names of various traders with pirates, including George Fenner of Chichester and one of his brothers, Captain Henry Bellingham and William Oglander; at the other end of the county six persons belonging to Rye were held guilty of the same offence.² Many of those fined in the Cinque Ports refused to pay, alleging that they had bought the property in good faith.³ As a rule such recalcitrancy was dealt with by ordering the offenders to appear before the Council; the expense, direct and indirect, of awaiting the pleasure of the Council in London might be made a much more severe punishment than the original fine. The Cinque Ports commissioners⁴ were still more successful later on in Rye, for they found 23 persons to fine there, but the people of Seaford and Pevensey were returned as innocent of any complicity.

Incidental notices show that the activity of the commissioners continued; in August, 1579, the mayor of Chichester had sixteen pirates in gaol, and in 1580 one of the Lewkenor family was ordered to appear before the Council for dealing with them.⁵ In 1580 a proclamation against pirates stated that 'at this day they commit more spoils and robberies on all sides' than ever.⁶ In 1582 an Order in Council suspended the jurisdiction of the privileged ports in matters of piracy for three years on account of the conflict of authority between their officials and the commissioners, and this must have applied to the Cinque Ports. Not the least of the difficulties experienced by the government lay in the general sympathy given to the pirates and the assistance afforded them even by those who made no profit by their action at sea; in 1581 four Sussex pirates, on their way from Arundel to London, were suffered to escape, and such occurrences were not peculiar to this county.⁷ Rye, of the Sussex ports, still had sufficient maritime traffic to attract robbers from elsewhere. In September, 1581, the mayor wrote to the Lord Warden that Captain Piers⁸ had been blockading the port for a month 'as that none can go forth or come in,' and inclosed a list of his captures. When details were obtained it appeared that the pirate flagship was only of some 35 tons, with a consort of 18 tons; the naval strength of Rye was quite equal to dealing with them, but 'those that are willing to venture would gladly be entertained with some consideration' before taking over the duty of the government.⁹ Such an argument, however, denoted a great change in the ancient spirit of the Ports. Elizabeth expected her subjects to pay the crown for the support of a fleet, only a fraction of which was ever in use, and also to protect themselves at sea. In 1587 the slackness of the Cinque Ports provoked a furious outburst from her on the subject of the spoils made by the Dunkirkers. She wrote to the Lord Warden that the Ports had been granted their privileges in consideration of services to be rendered in the Narrow Seas, 'whereof there is at this time no use, neither have they been called upon to perform the same'; she noticed that 'they have never at any time made offer' of aid in putting down piracy, but that if they did not she would revoke their privileges.¹⁰ It happened that Rye, in particular, was unwilling to attack anything sailing from Dunkirk, for there seems to have been an especial trade relation between the two towns. In 1583 Dunkirk vessels had ceased to come to Rye on account of a lawsuit commenced by one of the barons; the mayor and jurats wrote to the Dunkirk magistrates reminding them of the old friendship between the two towns, assuring them that their traders might come and go in perfect safety, and hoping that the ancient connexion would be resumed.¹¹ In 1576 the mayor had asked the burgomaster of Dunkirk to send over experts to give an opinion about the harbour; three came, who took a pessimistic view of the prospect of any great improvement.¹²

It was decided in 1551 to disarm, as useless and expensive, several of the fortifications built by Henry VIII, but Camber Castle is not known to have been affected by this measure, perhaps because it was already deserted and falling into ruin. In 1549 the mayor and jurats of Rye had requested leave to use the materials for the stone quays with which they proposed to replace their

¹ *Acts of P.C.* 29 Oct. 1577.

² S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxxiv, 16. Four Fenners—George, William, Thomas, and Edward—were Elizabethan sea captains, and William Fenner reached the rank of rear-admiral. Henry Bellingham commanded men-of-war before and after 1588, and, in that year, a London ship commissioned against the Armada.

³ *Ibid.* cxxix, 18; *Acts of P.C.* 16 Jan. 1578-9.

⁴ Including Lord Buckhurst, Sir Thos. Sherley, Sir John Pelham, and Richard Shelley, among the Sussex county families.

⁵ *Acts of P.C.* 12 Aug. 1579, 17 Mar. 1579-80.

⁶ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cxlvi, 11.

⁷ *Acts of P.C.* 30 Aug. 1581. The constable and others held responsible were committed to prison.

⁸ He was a Cornish pirate; see *V.C.H. Cornwall*, i, 489.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 78, 79. Probably the passenger boats to Dieppe attracted Piers.

¹⁰ Lansd. MSS. xciv, fol. 92.

¹¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 83.

¹² *Ibid.* 53.

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wooden ones, as the castle was 'daily consumed and decayed, and not like to be occupied unto the king's majesty's use.'¹ As the chartered 'service' of the Ports fell out of use it was obvious that they would have to assist the crown in some other way during the transition stage which preceded their absorption into the system applied to the rest of the country, and the natural alternative was the provision of men for the royal fleets. Respect was still paid to their privileges; in 1552, when they had to supply 250 men, the Lord Admiral's officers had to obtain the Lord Warden's 'letters of attendance' before they could begin their impress.² Technically the Ports were, of course, still liable for their 'service,' especially when it was a question of conveying any of the royal family to and fro. In 1556 they were called upon for 380 men when Philip was returning to the Continent and Charles V going to Spain, in consideration of which levy they were to be spared as many ships 'that the said Ports ought to set forth' as that number of men would man.³ As a matter of fact only men-of-war were now employed in the transport of royal personages, and every one understood that the reference to the 'service' was a mere form, nor would such vessels as the Ports could send have suited the luxurious ideas of the age.

Philip II drew England into war with France in 1557, and under the exigency of haste press warrants were sent direct to the Lord Warden without the intervention of the Lord Admiral.⁴ He was ordered 'not to stay upon any scruple of words in his commission, but to go forward in all haste'; therefore we may suppose that few seamen escaped the pressmasters, but notwithstanding this the Ports were also required to send ships, although only as tenders and victuallers. The promptitude of the mayor and jurats of Rye in providing 10 vessels drew a letter of thanks from the Privy Council and a promise that, in reward, the queen would forbear any contribution from them to the forced loan then in collection; Hastings also received the same thanks and promise.⁵ They may have thought that if their charters were still worth anything they were exempt in any case. In July, 1557, permission was given to all subjects to fit out privateers, the captors being permitted to enjoy all prizes without paying any share to the crown or to the Lord Admiral.⁶ The offer was found tempting, and at least 16 Sussex ships, 11 of them coming from Rye, were at sea in consequence of it.⁷ There is independent evidence of the success of the Rye privateers. It appears that in May, 1558, the Sussex people, for some not very obvious reason, were in fear of invasion, and, according to Lord Montague, the lord-lieutenant, were ready to abandon their homes on the coast and fly inland. He succeeded in reassuring them, and in his letter to the queen dwelt on the value of Rye, 'which is such a scourge to France as the like is not in this realm.'⁸ But he seized the occasion to call Mary's attention to the urgent necessity of taking steps to save the haven, 'in sore decay,' which if not speedily remedied would be the ruin of the town. Except as affecting the maritime history the story of the deterioration of the harbours, and the efforts to improve them, does not belong to this section of the county history; it seems, however, that the process of decay was especially noticeable about this time, for in 1573 the mayor and jurats wrote that the Camber was 'past recovery,' and referred despairingly to 'the puddle and creek of Rye.'⁹ The barons of Winchelsea, in asking for help to make a new harbour, produced a poetically worded picture of the situation and possibilities of the town, in which they so far drew upon imagination as to say that it had been, within living memory, 'a prosperous place with much traffic.'¹⁰ Pevensy was described as a port in 1596, a ship having been driven in there;¹¹ Saxton's map of 1575 shows the port as formed by an eastern and a western stream uniting to make the haven.

A list of ships of 100 tons and upwards 'decayed' between 1544-5 and 1553 includes one of Winchelsea, of 100 tons, out of twenty-two belonging to various ports, and Winchelsea is the only Sussex town mentioned.¹² The bounty system inaugurated by Henry VII, by which an occasional tonnage allowance was made to the builders of new merchant ships suitable for use in war, had, under Elizabeth, settled into a grant of five shillings a ton on all vessels of 100 tons and upwards. This stimulated shipbuilding in places where there was a deep-sea trade to employ such vessels, but had little effect in a county like Sussex, where maritime traffic was dead or dying. From at least the reign of John it had been usual to call upon the officials of the ports for returns of the ships and men available for service, and these returns were required still more often as the bounty system took firmer hold. Most of the earlier ones are lost, but many, complete or fragmentary, remain for the Elizabethan period; usually the details only relate to vessels of 100 tons and upwards, as smaller ones were not considered useful for fighting purposes. War with France and Scotland existed in 1560, which was the cause of the first Elizabethan list of that year.¹³ There were no 100-ton ships in

¹ S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, vii, 20.

² Ibid. 31 Aug. 1556.

³ Ibid. 14 Jan., 7 Feb. 1557-8.

⁴ Admir. Ct. Exemp. v, 288. The list is probably incomplete.

⁵ S.P. Dom. Eliz. xciii, 22.

⁶ S.P. Dom. Mary, i, 23.

⁷ *Acts of P.C.* 18 Mar. 1551-2.

⁸ Ibid. 5 Jan. 1557-8.

⁹ S.P. Dom. Mary, xii, 24.

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. Mary, xiii, 7.

¹¹ Admir. Ct. Acts, xxiii, 3 Dec. 1526.

¹² Ibid. Eliz. xi, 27.

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Sussex and only one, which belonged to Kent, in the Cinque Ports. Of 'mariners and sailors'—the distinction between them is obscure and unnecessary to discuss here—there were 400 in Sussex and 396 in the Cinque Ports, which would presumably include Rye, Winchelsea, and Hastings, with their members. This return is certainly incomplete for some of the other counties and may also be so for Sussex, while the number of men is probably only of those ashore at the date of the inquiry. The Cinque Ports were undoubtedly passing through a period of commercial depression at this date. A list of 1563¹ compares their then condition with some vague term called 'within the past thirty years'; Hastings had then sixteen crayers of 40 and 50 tons and fourteen fishing boats, but in 1563 only four and three respectively; Winchelsea had lost all its six fishing boats, and Rye instead of ten 'able ships' had one, and twenty-six fishing boats in place of fifty. This must have been the worst moment, for in 1565 there were 250 fishermen and 450 'servants' to fishermen, besides 60 seamen, living in Rye, and thirteen of the 'barks' were occupied in trade and the passenger traffic with Dieppe; at Hastings there were 146 fishermen, 57 'servants,' and 16 sailors; Winchelsea was still last with ten sailors and two fishermen.²

The vice-admiral of Sussex was ordered, in 1563, to send in a list of vessels suitable for service and of gentlemen capable of commanding them,³ but if the return was ever made it is not now to be found; it is more likely that there were no such ships. When, in July, 1570, there was a general embargo on all vessels of 30 tons and upwards there were no sea-going ships in Sussex in the sense the term had then come to convey. The largest was the *Bartholomew* of Brighton, of 60 tons, and that town possessed 170 fishermen and seamen out of the total of 321 in the county; seven of the largest Brighton boats, with 137 men, were absent for the North Sea cod fishery. Only two hoys were owned at Chichester, one at Lancing, and nothing of 30 tons at Selsey or Pagham, although there were twenty-four and eight seafaring men, respectively, at the last two places.⁴ It may be, however, judging from the next return, that some of the largest Sussex ships were at sea in July, 1570. In 1572 Thomas Colshill, surveyor of customs at London, compiled a register of coasting traders belonging to the ports of the kingdom.⁵ The Sussex section may be thus arranged:—

—	100 tons	From 50 to 100 tons	From 20 to 50 tons	Under 20 tons	—	100 tons	From 50 to 100 tons	From 20 to 50 tons	Under 20 tons
Chichester . . .	—	—	4	3	Newhaven . . .	1	—	3	4
Arundel . . .	1	—	2	1	Feckham (? Felp- ham)	—	2	2	—
Shoreham . . .	—	—	7	1	Meeching . . .	—	—	6	—
Sidlesham . . .	—	—	1	2	Winchelsea . . .	—	—	2	—
Rye . . .	—	4	24	4	Brighton . . .	—	—	8	14
Hastings . . .	—	2	7	15					
Itchenor . . .	—	—	—	1					

In 1576 there was a list made out of ships of 100 tons and upwards, built since 1571, in which no Sussex port appears. A year later there is another list of men and 'ships, barks, and hoys,' but probably only of those at home at the time:⁶—Rye, 35 vessels and 150 'mariners and seafaring men'; Hastings, 18, and 10 men; Brighton, 34, and 120 men; Newhaven, 8, and 12 men; Shoreham, one vessel, and 30 men; Arundel, one, and 8 men; Chichester, 4, and 40 men; and Pevensey, neither ships nor men. The next return, of the same year, of vessels of 100 or more tons shows 135 in England, but none was owned in the county. Under the stimulus of war and favourable economic changes shipbuilding proceeded apace in many places during these years, but Sussex was quite out of the stream of prosperity. In the next list, of 1582, it again shows badly in comparison with other counties; there was no ship of 100 tons, none of from 80 to 100 tons, and only 139 of from 20 to 80 tons, of which 51 were owned at Rye, 36 at Brighton, and 23 at Hastings.⁷ Even in this division the limit of tonnage was not nearly reached, for the largest was one of 65 tons at Rye; in men however the survey was more favourable, for there were 513 in Sussex and 952 in the Cinque Ports, although of these last most would belong to Kent.⁸ The following years showed a decline, for a Cinque Ports return of February, 1587, detailed only 45 barks and fishing boats at Rye, with 285 masters and men; 15 vessels and 121 masters and men at Hastings; and no vessels, and but one sailor, at Winchelsea.⁹ Another certificate of October in the same year¹⁰ varies materially from the preceding, for it assigns 34 vessels and

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xxviii, 3. ² Ibid. xxxviii, 28. See also *ante*, p. 145. ³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 617.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Eliz. lxxi, 76; lxxiii, 48. There is no return for the Cinque Ports.

⁵ Ibid. Add. xxii.

⁶ Ibid. cxx, 1.

⁷ S. P. Dom. Eliz. clvi, 45.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. cxcviii, 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. cciv, 25.

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324 men to Rye, and 20 vessels with 168 men to Hastings, but even that is a retrogression from the standard of 1582. As is mentioned on a later page Shoreham gradually developed an industry in the construction of ships of moderate size, and there are some signs of the commencement of this business during Elizabeth's reign. The bounty of five shillings a ton was discharged by orders for payment in money or allowance on the customs due on the first voyage, technically known as 'Exchequer Warrants for Issues.' There is no doubt that many, if not most, of these warrants are lost, nor is the date of the warrant a safe guide to the actual year of construction, which may have been some time earlier; but two for ships built at Shoreham are still to be found, and they probably denote the former existence of others. In 1571 Thomas Fenner of Everingham was paid the bounty for the *Bark Fenner* of 150 tons, and in 1576 the *Margaret Speedwell*, 120 tons, also obtained it.

We see from the foregoing analysis that Sussex was not particularly well equipped in the matter of ships to assist in the impending struggle with Spain. Portsmouth and Rye were the places of embarkation for the troops sent over to Havre during the war with France which ended in 1564, but there was little need of local shipping except for transport. The Cinque Ports were forgotten until the autumn of 1587, when, in view of the threatening political outlook and the plague of privateering in the eastern Channel, they were asked to send 12 ships to sea. They did not make excuses, but they made conditions, all bearing on their right to the sole profit from captures, assurance that all prize cases should be tried in their own admiralty court, non-interference by the Lord Admiral, and permission to take any ships 'that do show hostility against any of the queen's Majesty's subjects.'¹ It may be that it was this attempted negotiation which provoked the outbreak from Elizabeth noticed above,² but in September Rye, at any rate, volunteered, with the assistance of Tenterden, to provide one 80-ton ship towards the twelve. It was possibly the expense thus caused that decided the Rye people, in January, 1588, to sell their 'town ship' for the best price that could be obtained.³

The expectation of invasion from Spain caused attention to be paid to the coast defences. Notwithstanding the dilapidated and deserted condition of Camber Castle in 1549 some improvements must have been effected later, for in 1568 it was armed with 20 heavy guns, although these then wanted new carriages, and the wooden platforms on which they stood were so rotten that it was supposed that they would go to pieces if the guns were fired.⁴ For a long period the coast fortifications were neglected; something may have been done in 1583, and in 1584 £171 was allotted for Camber Castle.⁵ Then, towards the end of 1587, when the arrival of the Armada was believed to be imminent, serious efforts were made to arrange for the protection of the coast in case the fleet failed to conquer or repulse. We have a survey of Sussex at that date by Sir Thomas Palmer and Walter Covert, who recommended, on the western side of the county, three-gun batteries at West Wittering, East Norton, and Pagham. It is to be presumed they supposed that if the Spaniards appeared in force three-gun batteries would prevent a landing. From their description it appears that Pagham harbour was still available for something more than the smallest craft, and that 40-ton vessels could go up to Sidlesham. They thought that fleet anchorage and a landing was possible all the way along from inside Chichester Harbour to Pagham beacons, halfway between Pagham and Bognor, but it is evident that they were guided by the character of the shore and had not the advantage of instruction by the local fishermen. Spanish seamanship was a nearly negligible quantity but even Philip's barrack-yard sailors knew better than that. In view of the commissioners' opinions it is not surprising to find that they advocated the construction of entrenchments all along this part of the coast. At Felpham, Bognor, and Middleton 'stades' they also desired to see entrenchments, and a four-gun battery at Littlehampton. They applied to the whole length of coast the same principle of entrenchments and batteries, the latter being required at Shoreham, Newhaven, Cuckmere, Bulverhythe, and Winchelsea. There were already three guns at Seaford, one at Blatchington, and ten at Hastings; Birling Gap, they said, should be defended or 'rammed up,' the district behind Pevensey Bay was sufficiently defended by marsh and hills, but Pevensey Castle they considered should be rebuilt and re-armed or pulled down. Brighton they did not dwell upon, for a blockhouse already existed there built upon a plot of ground granted by the lords of the manor at a court-baron held 29 September, 1558; the blockhouse does not appear to have been armed, but there was a four-gun battery in front of it.⁶ Camber Castle they reported to be in good repair, with nine guns in it; and there were 23 at Rye, some belonging to the town and some to the queen. Twenty of these were held under an agreement of 1569 by which the

¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. cciii, 51, i, ii; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 85.

² *Ante*, p. 149.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 87. In the middle ages many ports possessed a 'town ship,' an early example of municipal trading for the common benefit, but the custom seems to have continued longer in the Cinque Ports than elsewhere. In 1590 Rye possessed another such ship, and it, or a successor, was sold again in 1595.

⁴ S.P. Dom. Eliz. xlvi, 77.

⁵ *Ibid.* clxx, 91.

⁶ Erredge, *Hist. of Brightelmston*, 63.

townsmen were bound, in £2,000, to keep them serviceable and replace them when necessary.¹ Until about 1798 there were six brass guns at Rye, with the arms of Spain upon them, which tradition said were presented by Elizabeth; they were then exchanged for iron guns taken from the Dutch at Camperdown.² An order of February, 1589-90, directed the removal of all brass ordnance from Rye in order to place the guns on board men-of-war just launched;³ thus, if the aforesaid Spanish guns were really given by Elizabeth, it must have been at some subsequent date. In December, 1587, Captain Shute was sent to Sussex to advise the local authorities as to the best course of action, but it need hardly be said that all this meticulous care at the last moment was unnecessary because a great fleet like the Armada, bent on invasion, required such shelter and base as only Portsmouth, Plymouth, the Medway, or the Thames could afford, and an open and dangerous coast like that of Sussex would only have been a trap for destruction.

The experience of 1587 and of later years showed that the brunt of fighting had always to be borne by men-of-war, and that armed merchantmen were, at best, useful only for minor operations. But in 1588 this was understood only by a few seamen; therefore in that year the whole of the English coast was called upon to help, not by a general impressment but by sending a specified number of ships to join the royal fleet. On 31 March a general embargo on shipping was proclaimed, the object being not so much to retain the vessels as the men. This was followed the next day by orders to the port towns to furnish ships at their own expense; all were to be of more than 60 tons.⁴ Five ships and a pinnace were required from the Cinque Ports, and one ship from Chichester; the city was excused on 9 April as being too poor. Unlike most of the other coast towns, which, on various pleas, made desperate efforts to procure a diminution of their assessments, the Cinque Ports set about providing their share with hardly a murmur, and on 15 April resolved that Rye and Tenterden should send one vessel, and Winchelsea and Hastings, with its members, another.⁵ The Rye ship was the *William*, 80 tons, Captain Wm. Coxon, and that from Hastings the *Anne Bonaventure*, 70 tons, Captain John Conny; the *John* of Chichester, 70 tons, was also with the fleet, the ship being supplied by the Lord Admiral and Chichester, Arundel, Lewes, Shoreham, and Brighton being called upon to pay for wages and provisions for it for three months.⁶ Hastings also sent eleven 'crayers,' with 80 men, to act as tenders to the fleet, but these were in service only fifteen days.⁷ The county, of course, dispatched many more seamen to serve than were included in the contingent they prepared at their own cost; from Rye alone there were 350, and the mayor and jurats asked the Council to desire Tenterden to hold assistance in readiness in case of necessity, 'whereunto we know they will be very willing.'⁸ On 27 July the Armada was becalmed off Fairlight, and it may have been this ominous appearance which alarmed the Hastings authorities into writing to the Privy Council that so many of their men were away with the queen's fleet that the town was defenceless; the Council, with a quite unusual clearness of perception, answered that the fleet was their best protection.⁹ On the night of 28-29 July the Spaniards had been squibbed with fireships from their anchorage in Calais Roads, on the 29th they were defeated off Gravelines, and on the 30th, when the Council reassured the nervous Hastings petitioners, the Armada was flying northwards. The Sussex ships, like all the other merchantmen, did no service during the week of conflict up Channel.

In 1589 Norreys and Drake led a fleet and army to Portugal to place Don Antonio, the pretender to the Portuguese crown, on the throne, and thus dismember the Spanish empire and end the war. Although the queen gave assistance the expedition was a private adventure on the part of the leaders and their associates; consequently the Ports were not called upon officially for ships, but upwards of 80 were hired by Norreys and Drake upon the usual terms of 2s. a ton per month. The port of origin of many of the ships is not given, and only two belonging to Sussex—one from Chichester and one from Newhaven—are known to have taken part in the voyage. Edward Fenner commanded the Chichester vessel, and William Fenner, in a man-of-war, was rear-admiral of the fleet.¹⁰ The failure of this enterprise deterred Elizabeth from further undertakings on a large scale until 1596, when the attack on Cadiz took place, but in the interval the Cinque Ports had some local questions of their own to exercise them. Rye, in 1591, was able to set out two privateers, and in March of the same year lost a 'passage boat' with goods to the value of 6,000 crowns on board; this reference is of interest as showing the established passenger traffic with Dieppe.¹¹ In 1591, also, the question of impressment within the liberties came up again, probably in connexion

¹ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 309.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 92. See also *post*, p. 155.

³ *Acts of P.C.* 31 March, 1 April, 1588.

⁴ *Acts of P.C.* xvi, 61. Three of the Fenners—Thomas, Edward, and William—commanded men-of-war, the *Nonpareil*, *Swiftsure*, and *Aid* respectively. George Fenner was captain of one of the largest of the armed merchantmen.

⁵ *Acts of P.C.* 30 July, 1588.

⁶ *Acts of P.C.* 30 July, 1588.

⁷ S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxvi, 68.

⁸ *Ibid.* 65, 353, 354.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 87.

¹⁰ Lansd. MSS. lvi, fol. 200.

¹¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. ccxxiii, 76.

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with the supply of men for Lord Thomas Howard's fleet to the Azores. The Ports claimed to be exempt except for their 'service,' although 'of late by Her Majesty's prerogative and by Her Highness's commission mariners have been taken up within the Ports for Her Highness's service.'¹ It was late in the day to put forward the mediaeval 'service,' which they had ceased to provide and was now useless, as an excuse for failing to share the obligations due from the rest of the country. The subject of their privileges as a whole was under debate in the House of Lords in March, 1593.²

In December, 1595, the Cinque Ports were warned that they would be required to furnish four ships, to be manned, armed, and provisioned for five months at local charge, to serve with the fleet the next spring, although the object was not stated for it was not then decided by the government.³ On this the Ports petitioned for some relief, and the assessment was reduced to two ships and two hoys.⁴ They then resolved among themselves that of these four vessels, Romney, Rye, Winchelsea, and Hastings, with their members, were to prepare two; a further subdivision assigned 50 tons of shipping to Rye, 40 to Hastings, 15 to Winchelsea, and eight to Seaford.⁵ The Cinque Ports ships were only used as transports, but many independent privateers and traders accompanied the fleet on the chance of plunder or freight from Cadiz. Among them was the *Hercules*, 150 tons, of Rye, a newly-built vessel, and no doubt there were others from the Sussex ports; the *Hercules* sailed again in the Islands voyage of 1597, but the county had for long supplied men rather than ships. A petition of 1598 states that in 1588 and 1596 the Cinque Ports sent 1,200 men, a fair proportion of whom no doubt came from the Sussex section.⁶ Thomas Lake, a jurat of Hastings, commanded a ship at Cadiz in 1596, where he was engaged in the action which preceded the entrance into the harbour and the capture of the city. He brought home a 'monument' from one of the Spanish ships, which was placed in the south chancel of St. Clement's Church.⁷ The Sussex people were in better case during the Spanish war than in previous centuries, for raids were not to be expected and their coast and ports did not tempt a far-off enemy as a base for invasion. Their chief vexation was from privateers, and in 1596 the Ports volunteered to fit out six ships and a pinnace to clear the eastern Channel, but, as in 1587, they made conditions which were not acceptable to the government.⁸

A series of appeals from the mayors and jurats of Rye to the Privy Council, during the reign of Elizabeth, for help in restoring the harbour, show its progressive deterioration, but small draught vessels like the fishing boats would be the last to be affected by the shoaling. So many Cinque Ports boats followed the North Sea fishery that in 1575, when the Lord Admiral sent two ships as convoy, he required the Lord Warden to levy a rate in aid within the liberties; Rye, as one of the ports principally concerned, protested against this as an evil precedent.⁹ The pamphleteers who wrote on the North Sea fisheries during the reign of James I do not mention the Cinque Ports, nor those of Sussex, among the English towns interested, which shows that however important locally their share can have been but of small national moment. In 1619 the jurats of Rye protested 'their miserable poor estate' in consequence of the decay of the harbour by reason of which their trade had gone and the fisheries were following, so that there were hundreds of fishermen reduced to beggary;¹⁰ only a few fishing-boats were 'yet remaining.' As this statement was made in response to the assessment for the Algiers fleet it may be regarded as emphasizing the worst side of matters.

The peaceful reign of James I gave little occasion for military or naval levies, therefore there are few references to the Ports. Rye had long been one of the recognized channels of communication with France, and when commissioners were appointed in 1608 to examine all passengers inwards and outwards, the town was linked with Dover and Sandwich as the only three licensed places of arrival and departure.¹¹ A little later Pevensey and Winchelsea were added. These instructions, so far as Rye, Dover, and Sandwich are concerned, were repeated in 1628 and 1640;¹² the Rye passage-book, between 1 August, 1635, and 30 March, 1636, shows 215 names. Rye remained the customary route for Dieppe, and in 1644 one of the passage-boats, with cargo to the value of £3,000 and 'persons of quality' on board, was taken by a royalist privateer from Weymouth. During Elizabeth's reign and afterwards it was also the postal route,¹³ but letter carriage was prohibited in 1636 in consequence of an agreement between the English and French authorities to confine it to Calais and Dover.¹⁴ London and the other great ports were now monopolizing ocean trade, and there was only a coasting traffic left for the smaller towns which had formerly a share in such over-sea trade as then existed. Mr. R. G. Marsden has compiled a list of trading

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 98.

² *Acts of P. C.* 21 Dec. 1595.

³ *Hastings MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 356.

⁴ *Hastings MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 360.

⁵ *Ibid.* 49.

⁶ *Egerton MS.* 2584, fol. 139; *Add. MS.* 5705, fol. 82.

⁷ *S.P. Dom. Jas. I.* xxxviii, 14; xliii, 34-7.

⁸ Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails*, 9.

⁹ *Ibid.* 104.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 8 June, 1597.

¹¹ *Cecil MSS.* viii, 543.

¹² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 111.

¹³ *Rymer, Foed.* xviii, 1042; xx, 423.

¹⁴ *Add. MSS.* 6344, fol. 40.

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vessels whose names occur in legal and historical MSS., as well as in various printed sources, of the reign of James I, in which seven Chichester, one Feckham (Felpham), four Hastings, one Lewes, fifteen Newhaven, nine Rye, seven Shoreham, and two Worthing vessels are mentioned.¹ There must have been many others that sailed through an uneventful career without attracting the attention of the law, the Admiralty officials, or the Customs. In 1580 Rye possessed 20 trading vessels,² and if, in the next reign, nine were subject to prosecution or inquiry we may suppose that much the same total number then existed. The shipbuilding trade which brought prosperity to Shoreham in the eighteenth century was already developed. A list exists of some 380 vessels built, mostly for London owners, between 1625 and 1638, the certificate of building being necessary to obtain a licence for ordnance. Of these 11 were built by Robert Tranckmore at Shoreham, the only Sussex port in the list.³ The number is small compared with London and some of the east coast ports, but it exceeds more flourishing towns, such as Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Dover; four of the 11 were each of 300 tons.

The first naval armament of any importance during the reign of James I was that under Sir Robert Mansell, intended to act against Algiers. The western ports were the greatest sufferers from the Mediterranean pirates, but the king thought that all the coast towns, as more or less interested, should bear most of the expense. A circular letter from the Privy Council in February, 1618-19, dwelt on the misdeeds of the Algerine and Tunisian pirates, but in reality the expedition was more immediately occasioned by the condition of European politics than by the sufferings of James's subjects. The Council desired £400, payable within two years, from the Cinque Ports, but their waning prosperity made it difficult to give the prompt response that had been customary in former generations.⁴ They said that in all the Ports there was only one (Dover) ship trading to the Mediterranean, and that London had engrossed all their maritime traffic, leaving them only a few small coasters sailing to Newcastle and the west of England.⁵ The jurats of Rye appealed to the Lord Warden in the letter noticed previously,⁶ and incidentally remarked that they had been ordered recently to provide the same number of guns for the defence of the town as existed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, but that the ordnance then mounted had been taken away by her commission and they were now too poor to replace them. But the Council appear to have had less trouble with the Cinque Ports, even in their ruined state, than with many other more prosperous places. Notwithstanding their decay the Ports still affected to be ready to perform their ancient 'service,' and in 1614 based a claim to exemption from payment of subsidy on their willingness.⁷ There was still sufficient enterprise in Rye for one of the freemen, John Allen, to be the first proposer of Dungeness light for the benefit of the town,⁸ but he lacked sufficient money and interest and the scheme passed into other hands. There was some difficulty now in obtaining men, as well as ships, from the Cinque Ports; in 1623 the Privy Council informed the Lord Warden that the punishment of deserters would henceforth be severe, but the bad treatment and starvation suffered by man-of-war crews sufficiently explain the hatred felt for the royal service without supposing any deterioration of the sea instinct. Their miseries began before they set foot on board ship, for in 1620 the Council directed the Warden to raise 100 men, the ordinary pressmasters not being employed on account of the distress caused by their oppression and corruption.⁹ From this it would seem that it was not yet invariable to act through the Lord Warden in impressing men.

The approach of war with Spain caused the issue of a commission for the inspection of all the coast forts, with directions to raze those considered useless and renew and improve those it was advisable to maintain.¹⁰ There is no trace of any work being undertaken at Camber Castle, and it must have been recommended for demolition, for, in 1627, the lieutenant of Dover Castle wrote to the Lord Warden that the materials would not sell for much while the towns could think themselves in danger if it was pulled down. Simultaneously Rye, Winchelsea, and Hastings petitioned against its destruction.¹¹ The actual outbreak of war was followed by the preparation of the Cadiz fleet of 1625; it was made up of men-of-war and hired transports, the counties not being required to provide any armed ships. There is none from Sussex in the fleet list, but the port of origin is not always given. There is the same absence of the Sussex ports in the Willoughby, Buckingham, and Lindsey fleet lists of 1627 and 1628, except that in Lord Lindsey's fleet of 1628 there were two ships from Shoreham and one from Chichester.¹² As we find that in 1626 the largest Rye vessel was of 40 tons, and in 1629 of 60 tons,¹³ and as Rye was probably still the most flourishing port of

¹ *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* xix, 311.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 71.

³ *S.P. Dom. Chas. I*, xvi, xvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* Jas. I, cv, 88. Of this, £200 was to come from the Cinque Ports as a whole, and £200 from Sandwich and Dover independently. ⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 152, 153. ⁶ *Ante*, p. 154.

⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 137.

⁸ *S.P. Dom. Jas. I*, clx, 60.

⁹ *Ibid.* cxvi, 54, i.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* cxlix, 104; cli, 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Chas. I, lvi, 75, 76.

¹² Pipe Off. Decl. Accts. 2266. The Shoreham ship was of 80 tons.

¹³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 179, 192.

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Sussex, the absence of the county from the lists is not surprising. Also in 1626 there were 28 Hastings vessels and boats, of which 25 were in the North Sea, and one, the largest, of 40 tons, in the coasting trade; Rye had 10 boats in the North Sea and six coasters.¹ A return of 1628 shows that there were then 699 seamen and 193 fishermen in the Cinque Ports, and a proportion of these must have belonged to Sussex;² in 1623 there were 158 seafaring men at Hastings.³ A list of ships for which letters of marque were granted between 1625–8 shows one 100-ton ship of Rye, two of Shoreham, one being 120 tons, and two small Brighton vessels;⁴ probably this only means that the Rye and Shoreham vessels were hired from elsewhere by speculative townsmen.

In 1626 Charles, on the brink of war with France, resolved to follow the precedents of Elizabeth's reign, and called upon the maritime shires for 56 ships to join the royal fleet. The Cinque Ports were charged with four ships, each to be of 200 tons and stored and provisioned for three months, but this was reduced by two being subsequently assessed on the non-chartered portions of Kent and Sussex.⁵ The Ports sent their two at a cost of £1,500,⁶ but there is no reference to the other two; in both cases the ships must have been hired in London or other ports for there was none of 200 tons owned in Kent and Sussex. 'The seamen had long since come to the conclusion that hanging was preferable to the long drawn-out torture of the royal service,'⁷ so that it was much more difficult to find crews than ships; of 60 men pressed in 1627 for H.M.S. *Bonaventure* only ten could be secured, and the Rye records relate other similar failures. The fishing industry was suffering from 'the force and fury' of privateers, but that of Rye must still have been of some importance, for in May, 1627, a general restraint placed on shipping, in order to prevent the transmission of intelligence abroad, was suspended for the Rye boats as otherwise the royal household would have lacked supplies.⁸ Hastings was alarmed by the appearance of some French privateers off the town, and the jurats petitioned in September that the North Sea boats were leaving in a few days and the town would then be defenceless.⁹ They got more protection than they desired, for 40 soldiers were sent as garrison, and three months later 100 more were billeted in the town under pretence of precedent.¹⁰ But they were no doubt pleased when the Privy Council sent them six guns to enable them to defend themselves; only two were sent to Rye.¹¹ In November, 1627, some Dunkirkers chasing a Dutch ship fired into Hastings, and said afterwards that if the tide had served they would have battered down the town;¹² in reporting this the mayor and jurats begged for six guns, and it was probably in response that they were sent. Charles's expensive but ill-found and useless fleets were equipped for dynastic purposes and to act over-sea while the English coast was left unprotected. We read that in 1628 fishermen were chased and taken daily, and one day in August four French privateers took a ship lying in Shoreham haven, driving off the would-be rescuers.¹³

Charles had intended an issue of ship-money writs in 1628, but alarmed at the feeling aroused he withdrew from the first trial. Forced, at last, to choose between facing a parliament and raising money by this method the writs of 20 October, 1634, were sent out addressed to the ports and maritime places.¹⁴ The Cinque Ports, together with Rochester and Maidstone, were called upon for a ship of 800 tons, victualled, manned, armed, and stored for 26 weeks' service, but the non-corporate portion of Sussex was not assessed. As the ships required were larger than those possessed by any port except London it was provided that an equivalent in money might be paid to the Treasury—in this case £6,735. Probably few even of the sea-going natives of Sussex had ever seen an 800-ton ship. The second writ of 4 August, 1635, was general to the inland counties as well as the coast, and a 500-ton ship, or £5,000, was required from Sussex; as the Cinque Ports were coupled with Kent for one of 800 tons, the demand from the county must have been exclusive of the Ports, with their members, within its borders.¹⁵ Hastings was comparatively wealthy in its historical decadence, for it was proposed to tax it at £410, while Chichester was rated at £200, Arundel £30, and Shoreham £20.¹⁶ The third writ, of 9 October, 1636, was directed in the same way to Sussex, and to the Cinque Ports with Kent, and again for ships of 500 and 800 tons;¹⁷ this year the assessment for Chichester fell to £77 7s. 8d., while that of Arundel was £20, Shoreham £10, Brighton £16, and Hastings £230.¹⁸ The fourth writ, of 1639, was originally similar to its predecessors,

¹ Egerton MSS. 2584, fol. 354, 382.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cclxx, 64; cclxxxii, 135.

³ Ibid. Jas. I, cxlii, 24.

⁴ Ibid. Chas. I, cxv; cxxxvi, 79. The largest of the Shoreham privateers turned pirate (ibid. clviii, 35).

⁵ Ibid. xxx, 81.

⁶ Ibid. xlvi, 40.

⁷ Coke MSS. 27 Feb. 1626.

⁸ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxx, 8; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, App. iv, 186.

⁹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxxviii, 28, i. In 1641 there were 33 Hastings boats at the Yarmouth fishery (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 95).

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxxxvi, 62.

¹¹ Ibid. ccxlv, 49; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 361.

¹² S.P. Dom. Chas. I, lxxxvii, 81.

¹³ Ibid. cxii, 49. See also Harl. MS. 6843, fol. 111.

¹⁴ Ibid. cclxxvi, 64.

¹⁵ Ibid. ccxcvi, 69.

¹⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 197.

¹⁷ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxxiii, 61.

¹⁸ Ibid. cccli, 89; cccxcviii, 34.

but the amount was subsequently reduced considerably; the assessments were: Hastings £29, Rye £18 12s. 8d., Winchelsea £18 18s., Pevensey £31 10s. 6d., and Seaford £4 18s.¹ The strained relations existing between the king and his subjects caused the former to give some attention to the coast fortifications, but Camber Castle was now quite inland, being a mile from the sea.² Nothing therefore was done, and in 1643 it was open to the sky and to any one who wished to help himself to timber and lead.³ In spite of this description there was an order of the House of 26 August, 1642, to remove the guns from the castle to Rye.⁴ As for the ship-money fleets, local history throws more illuminating side-lights than general history on the disastrous incapacity with which the squadrons which cost Charles his throne and life were used merely as a pageant. The deposition of the master of a Rye passage boat, which had been plundered by a Dunkirk privateer, mentions that he had seen 34 others on the coast, and that there was always one stationed permanently outside the harbour.⁵ The same story was echoed from Newcastle to the Land's End; the fleets paraded pompously and uselessly, had not cleared the Channel of privateers and Algerian pirates, and could not even make the Dutch fishermen take the licences they had been equipped to force upon them, although the failure in this respect was carefully concealed.

All the more considerable ports, the worst sufferers by Charles's naval maladministration, stood by the Parliament even in royalist counties, and although inland Sussex may have held a divided allegiance we read that 'on the seaboard the Parliamentary cause was supreme.' There could have been no doubt about the zeal of the Rye people, for they sent a large quantity of lead from the ruined Camber Castle for the use of the Parliamentary troops.⁶ Six guns from Rye were transferred to Shoreham in 1643,⁷ and it was probably the inutility of Camber Castle and the unarmed state of Rye that led to a proposal in 1645 to build a fort at Dungeness to protect the harbour;⁸ this was rejected, not as needless but for want of money. In 1646 there was an idea, on the royalist side, of landing at Hastings the French troops the queen was trying to obtain abroad, but Waller's movements inland put an end to the plan. During the Civil War, while the weak Parliamentary fleet was occupied with more important duties than police work, the Dunkirk and Ostend privateers sailing under a royal commission enjoyed profitable times, and Beachy Head was one of their favourite lurking places.⁹ As the new government could not afford to lose the goodwill of the coast towns one of their first preoccupations, when ships were available, was to provide protection for the merchant and fishing fleets; in 1649 we find an order to convoy all the Sussex boats bound for the North Sea.¹⁰ In the following year the Council of State, in view of the many complaints of vessels taken on the coast of Sussex, ordered an inquiry into the conduct of the men-of-war captains held responsible;¹¹ it was long since any such firm hand had controlled naval action. In March, 1652, convoy was ordered for the Sussex fishery, and in July, 1653, in the midst of the Dutch war, the Brighton owners petitioned for a convoy for 50 boats sailing for the North Sea, and no doubt obtained it.

The first Dutch war of 1652-4 was very popular among English seamen, but Sussex took little part in it beyond the provision of men. The era of the armed merchantman had not yet passed away, but the minimum limit of such ships was now 200 tons and the county had none such for the fleets. The pressure upon the government yards, owing to the necessity for turning out fighting ships as fast as possible, led to the employment of every private yard available, and one fourth-rate, the *Dover*, was built at Shoreham in 1654, but by a London builder who apparently hired extra accommodation for a time at an out-port. The *Dover* was the first man-of-war of the modern navy built in Sussex.¹² When, later, the question arose of building more war ships at Shoreham, it was remembered that although the shipwrights there turned out good work in smaller merchantmen, the *Dover* when launched could hardly, for want of water, be got out of the harbour to go to Chatham to be fitted.¹³ The opening scene of the war was enacted within hearing, if not within sight, of the Sussex coast. On 18 May, 1652, Blake, who had been lying in Rye Bay for a week previously, was off Fairlight, whence he moved up to Dover to encounter Tromp, anchoring in Rye Bay again after the action. Six days later came an order to press all able seamen between fifteen and fifty years of age; at first there was no difficulty in obtaining men, although there was more trouble afterwards when fleets grew larger and the counter-attractions of privateering, and the higher pay offered by private owners, took effect. By March, 1653, only elderly and useless men were left at Rye, and Frenchmen were being hired to man the fishing boats.¹⁴ Vice-Admiral

¹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxiii, 93.

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 213.

³ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccclii, 63. The captain, two officers, and fifteen of the crew of the one which boarded him were Englishmen.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 214.

⁵ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, 11 March, 1645.

⁶ *Ibid.* 22 June, 1649. ⁷ *Ibid.* 11 September, 1650.

⁸ S. P. Dom. Chas. II, clxiii, 69.

⁹ *Ibid.* cccxxx, 20.

¹⁰ *Commons Journals*, ii, 742.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 213.

¹² S.P. Dom. Interreg. 1 August 1649.

¹³ See Appendix of Ships.

¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 220.

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Sir George Ayscue's instructions of 20 July, 1652, directed him to seize all French ships except fishing boats coming over to Kent and Sussex waters and such vessels as had licence to trade between Rye and Dieppe. During August, 1652, Ruiter was several times off the Sussex coast, and on his way down Channel was off Brighton where he drove several ships ashore. On land they fired the beacons and prepared for a descent,¹ but Ruiter had more important objects in view than a useless raid. A month later, on his way back, he was off Beachy Head, and the Council of State warned the Sussex ports to stay all shipping.² On 30 November, 1652, Blake suffered a defeat off Dungeness; he retreated to the Downs, and the Dutch, left in possession of the scene of battle, landed foraging parties in both Kent and Sussex, sweeping up cattle and provisions and plundering houses.³ The government moved troops into the threatened counties, but the Sussex ports were no longer of such wealth and strength as would tempt an enemy to strike at them, while there was of course no possibility of a serious attempt at invasion. Even while Tromp was hovering off Sussex the attention of the Council of State was directed to the safety of Portsmouth and Harwich.

During the remainder of the war the main area of fleet action was other than the eastern Channel; after its conclusion the Sussex fishermen were troubled by the successes of the Dunkirk privateers and the encroachments of the French, for whom they had no further use. In February, 1656, the people of both Rye and Hastings petitioned that the coast was infested, and in April the small cruiser on the station was taken off Pevensey by a Dunkirker.⁴ The Hastings and Brighton men were said to be 'much dismayed' by this event, and two guns were sent for the defence of Hastings. There was again some ordnance at Rye, for in 1662 the townsmen petitioned for some powder, saying that the maintenance of the guns was a great expense and boasting that the town formerly had more artillery mounted than any other of the Cinque Ports except Dover.⁵ The war with Holland remained comparatively popular to the end, but the general knowledge of the terrible loss of life from disease in the West Indies rendered it difficult to obtain crews for tropical service. In January, 1655-6, the Admiralty ordered Rye to supply 60 seamen, but the mayor wrote that the press-master was seen entering the town during the daytime whereupon all the men fled. From Rye, Hastings, and three Kentish ports only 38 men could be rounded in, and then it appeared that none of them had ever been to sea.⁶

The battles of the second Dutch war were fought in the North Sea, and the county was only affected indirectly. A return of men available at the beginning of the war gives 200 in Sussex and 350 in the Cinque Ports, which would include the eastern portion of Sussex;⁷ this may be compared with 300 in Hampshire and 700 in Devonshire, but shows that there was still a goodly number of seafaring men to draw upon, for it is obvious that the figures do not represent the whole of the men belonging to the districts, but only those still liable to impressment. After the desperate Four Days' Battle of June, 1666, invasion was expected, and it would have been quite possible had Louis XIV intended really to help his ally. The militia of the counties was called out, but there are no signs of any particular alarm in Sussex until the winter, when the danger was past; the jurats of Hastings then petitioned to be put in a position to resist a French and Dutch descent. In 1667, Charles, trusting to the success of the peace negotiations at Breda, commissioned no battle fleet and but few cruisers. Naturally the Dutch privateers swarmed on the coast during the first half of the year. In June, Ruiter was in the Thames and Medway; in July he sailed down Channel with orders from the States-General to destroy the trade and harass and insult the southern ports. His first halt was at Portsmouth, which shows how little the Sussex coast towns had now to offer or to fear. The third Dutch war, of 1672-4, was carried on with the equivocal assistance of the French, and it opened with an order to the English admirals to consider whether the fleet should not collect in Rye Bay instead of the Downs, 'to encourage' our ally to come over. On 18 May, 1673, the main fleet was in Rye Bay, where Charles and the duke of York visited it.⁸ The three great battles of the war were fought in the North Sea, and, except in the supply of men, Sussex took no part in it.

The county was now passing through a transition stage, during which it had ceased to be an active agent in the provision of fleets, and its ports offered an enemy no temptation to attack for invasion, while the next stage of descent independent of harbours was not yet reached. Numerous references indicate that the adventurous spirit of the old Portsmen now showed in their descendants chiefly in the form of wool smuggling outwards; a little later, when the heavy customs made tea and spirit smuggling inwards also profitable, Sussex became one of the three principal counties in which smuggling helped to replace the loss of more legitimate trade. Added to that, as a form of industry, was wrecking; there are few allusions in official papers to the practice, which only

¹ *Mercurius Politicus*, 14 August, 1652.

² S.P. Dom. Interreg. xxiv, 17 Sept. 1652.

³ *Moderate Intelligencer*, 8 Dec. 1652; *A Perfect Account*, &c. 3, 7, Dec. 1652.

⁴ S.P. Dom. Interreg. cxxiv, 51; cxxvi, 118, 119, 128.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 244.

⁶ *Ibid.* 227; S.P. Dom. Interreg. cxxxiv, 59.

⁷ Add. MSS. 9316, fol. 79.

⁸ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cccxxv, 193.

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shows that, as a rule, the vessels plundered were of too small value for the matter to be taken up by the government, but that the offence was open and had attained a national notoriety is proved by Congreve's public reference to it in six lines of the epilogue of *The Mourning Bride*, published in 1697. For that to happen Sussex must have been earning its reputation for many a long year previously. The habit of wrecking died hard; as late as 1836 the coastguard officer of the district reported that when a ship came ashore in Seaford Bay some hundreds of persons assembled for the purpose of plunder. Historically the custom of wrecking among the people may be traced by descent and permeation as an extension of the legal, if iniquitous, right of wreck granted to individual landowners; fishermen and others soon learned to keep as much as possible for themselves, and, if necessary, to help to make wrecks.

On 30 June, 1690, the English and Dutch, under Lord Torrington, fought Count Tourville off Beachy Head, and lost the battle, the allied fleet being seen in retreat from Rye. A dismasted man-of-war, the *Anne*, was run ashore off Pett Level, and fired by her captain to avoid capture, the crew being brought into Rye, where there was much panic, to assist in the defence, which was to be maintained by guns, protected by a breastwork of deal boards, on the beach near Camber Castle. Two Dutch ships were burnt by the French in Pevensey Bay, and two more were ashore on the White Rocks at Hastings, in which town the Dutch landed 250 wounded. On 4 July the French bombarded the place, where there was instant expectation of a landing, and the women and children were sent inland.¹ On 5 July Tourville was off Rye again, and the next day, when his boats were seen taking soundings up the harbour, a landing was regarded as certain. The French admiral, however, sailed down Channel. Although the French fleet departed, the coast remained infested by privateers, and in 1692 the Hastings fishery was said to be in danger of ruin from them; these privateers also carried Jacobite emissaries to and fro, the Dungeness and Rye levels being favourite points of arrival and departure.² In 1677, war with France being thought imminent, Parliament granted a sum of money for the construction of 30 men-of-war; they were all large ships and none was built in Sussex. Again, in 1691, Parliament voted the money for 27 war ships, all too large for Sussex to launch, but it will be seen³ that about this time the Shoreham builders, Thomas Ellis, Nicholas Barrett,⁴ William Collins, Thomas Burgess, and Robert Chatfield, were busy in the construction of fifth-rates and smaller ships.

The vast increase in the navy necessitated by the war with France caused a concomitant demand for docking accommodation to which the royal yards were unequal. Plymouth had been founded, but there was still room for another dockyard and no doubt if the national finances had been in better condition it would have been established. In 1698 two members of the Navy Board, assisted by three masters of the Trinity House, went along the south coast to visit and report upon the capacity of the harbours as stations for the proposed additional yard.⁵ Of Rye they wrote that it was 'not capable to be improved by any tolerable charge for any service of the navy'; for two miles there was not more than from two to four feet in the fairway at low water. At Pevensey they found that as late as four or five years previously vessels of from 50 to 60 tons could go up to the village, but that the haven was now closed and 'irrecoverably lost.' Newhaven was dismissed as 'very inconsiderable,' and Shoreham 'admits nothing improvable,' having a dry bar at low water. It was true, they said, that 300-ton ships were built there, but a favourable opportunity had to be awaited to get them to sea. Chichester Harbour was described as dangerous to enter, and no fit place for a naval establishment.

Although the French privateers had haunted Sussex waters between 1689 and 1698, they could have caused little fear on shore if we may judge by the state of the Seaford defences when the war of the Spanish Succession commenced. There were six or seven heavy guns in the gun-garden of the town, but they were either dismounted or sunk in the ground for want of a platform.⁶ The merchants, as in all wars, expected complete protection from the enemy, and the losses suffered led to bitter criticism of the Admiralty. Beachy Head was still the favourite poise for the French privateers, and during the winter of 1706-7 many English merchantmen were taken there. Off Rye, on 15 October, 1706, two privateers were in sight, two on the 17th, two on the 22nd, and four on the 24th; off Eastbourne, in November, privateers were to be seen every day, and sometimes eight or ten of them.⁷ This state of things led to petitions to Parliament in which these precise dates and particulars are given, but no doubt the same conditions existed, more or less, throughout the war. In September, 1708, a privateer was lying off Brighton quietly awaiting the ransom money for a prize; another was continually off Seaford, so that the inhabitants thought it 'a shame and dishonour' that such a thing should be allowed to persist.⁸

¹ *Kenyon MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 242.

² S.P. Dom. Wm. and Mary, 24 May, 1692.

³ Appendix of Ships.

⁴ Barrett was also building at Harwich; probably he was a Londoner who hired yards at both places.

⁵ *Sloane MSS.* 3233.

⁶ *Treas. Papers*, lxxx, 94.

⁷ *Admir. Rec. Var.*

⁸ *Ho. Off. Admir.* 22, 27 Sept. 1708.

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Defoe notices¹ that the Shoreham, Brighton, and Rye boats went numerously to the Yarmouth fishery; but it may be added that in the middle of the eighteenth century they sailed more to hire or 'host' themselves to the Suffolk owners than to fish for themselves. Brighton he calls 'a poor fishing town,' and the chief trade of Shoreham was shipbuilding, especially of West Indiamen. In 1770 General Smith, a candidate for a seat in Parliament, offered £3,000 and to build 600 tons of shipping there if elected.² A writer of 1785 remarked that the Sussex boats then no longer went to the North Sea, the owners being supposed to have taken to smuggling.³ During the long peace which characterized Sir Robert Walpole's administration the maritime annals of Sussex are mainly connected with smuggling, but the state of war which, with the exception of one truce, existed between 1739 and 1763 marked the commencement of the era when invasion in its modern form was feared and provided against. A descent from Dunkirk, in aid of a Jacobite rising, was planned for January, 1743-4; at first the intention was to land the troops in Sussex, but that was subsequently changed for a landing in the Thames. War between France and England had not formally been declared, but the silent menace of a powerful English fleet in the Downs brought the preparations to naught. The year 1745 opened with expectation of invasion from Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, and Admiral Vernon was placed in command of a squadron in the Downs to protect Sussex and Kent. Vernon arranged for a system of alarm signals along the coast, to be made from the steeples of Rye, Fairlight, Hastings, and Pevensey churches, with an additional station at Beachy Head; flags were to be used by day and cressets at night. Many of the Sussex smugglers boasted that they were protected by the government, and it was no doubt true that the ministry used some of them to obtain information, as their successors did during later wars. Vernon sent up the report of one of these men, George Harrison of Hastings, who sailed in and out of Boulogne as calmly as if it were his native port, although, at the moment, there were 50 transports and 6,000 or 7,000 troops there preparing for the rush over.⁴ No descent came, but there was a moment of consternation in December when an express reached London at one o'clock a.m. one night to inform the duke of Newcastle that the French had landed in Pevensey Bay. By four o'clock a Cabinet Council was sitting and troops were assembling in Hyde Park, but six hours later another express spurred in with the news that the supposed French ships were only the tenders of Vernon's squadron. The alarm was also carried to Chichester, where it caused a rather discreditable panic.

During the Seven Years' War Sissinghurst was used as a depot for prisoners of war who were sent from Deal and Yarmouth.⁵ For favouring the men in their custody the agent in charge was dismissed, and the surgeon censured, in December, 1756. The new agent, John Cook, did not err on the side of leniency; in 1761 the prisoners managed to get a memorial into the hands of the French ambassador at the Hague, who delivered it to the English representative there, making, in the words of the Admiralty minute, 'heavy complaints of ill-usage and inhuman treatment' against the agent and the military guard. A commissioner of the Sick and Wounded Board⁶ was ordered to go down at once and inquire⁷; the commissioner, Dr. Maxwell, reported that there had been some 'unfortunate accidents,' and if a member of the Board went so far we may be sure that the details would not bear any whitewash. There is a reference, in the same year, to prisoners of another kind at Seaford, where a press-gang officer complained that the prison in which the men he had caught were confined was so weak that they made many attempts to escape, which he seemed to think both unnatural and ungrateful.⁸ There was a curious outburst of piracy between 1760 and 1770, which had Hastings as its source. In 1765, after an instance off Beachy Head, the government offered £500 reward for reliable information, 'as cases of this nature have lately been very frequent.'⁹ It does not appear that the authorities were successful until 1768, when 'Ruxey's gang' were discovered and arrested. For seven years they had carried on the game in the Channel in the only way in which it could be carried on safely, that is by murdering the crews and sinking the captures after plundering them. Detection only came by the accident of a drunken boast of how a Dutchman 'wriggled about' when sliced with an axe.¹⁰ There must have been a good deal of excitement in Hastings for 200 troops were ordered there; four of the pirates were hanged.

A report of 1766 shows that batteries had been placed in some of the coast towns to enable them to protect themselves against privateers; the Ordnance Office lent the guns on condition that

¹ *Tour Through Great Britain*, 1724, ii, 50, 52, 61.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxvii, 93.

³ J. Knox, *View of the British Empire*, 286.

⁴ A smuggling family at Bexhill are said to have supplied Napoleon with English newspapers and carried his correspondence to and fro during the Great War (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 79).

⁵ Admir. Sec. Min. lxiv, 27 Oct., 26 Nov., 30 Dec. 1756.

⁶ Which body had charge of prisoners of war.

⁷ Admir. Sec. Min. lxix, 14 Nov. 1761; 1 Jan. 1762.

⁸ Ho. Off. Papers, 16 Oct. 1765.

⁹ *Ibid.* 29 Oct. 1761.

¹⁰ *Ann. Register*, 1768.

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the towns built the batteries and provided ammunition. Brighton was furnished with 12, Seaford 10, Littlehampton 7, Newhaven 5, Hastings 11, and Rye 10 guns, and the inspecting officer reported that they were all in good condition.¹ The Elizabethan blockhouse and gun-garden at Brighton had been sapped and washed away by the sea during the first half of the eighteenth century; this new battery—the East Cliff—was placed near the former east gate, and this battery was also destroyed by the sea on 17 November, 1786.² The Littlehampton battery is said to have been established in 1739;³ the guns at Seaford appear to have been divided between an open battery on the beach and a blockhouse at Cliff End, shown in a map of 1757;⁴ the Castle Hill at Newhaven was bought of Hester Gibbon in 1764, although the guns were there earlier;⁵ and the date of 1740 is assigned for those at Rye.⁶ In 1764 £35 14s. was paid to the corporation of Rye for the gun-garden on which an upper and lower battery and a magazine had lately been built; six poles were shortly afterwards taken from the churchyard to add to the area.⁷ The 2 Geo. III, cap. 27 (1761) vested in trustees, for the use of the crown, the land on which these batteries had been erected; in each case the area is given, and a battery on Blatchington Down, then only just built, is also included.

The war of 1776–83 with the American colonies and their supporters afforded no important incident relating to Sussex, but a supplementary descent on the county was planned in 1779 to coincide with the main invasion to be carried out by the combined French and Spanish fleets. Troops, mostly militia, were cantoned along the coast and a camp formed at Playden; at Rye there was a battery of ten 24-pounders, and another of two 18-pounders, belonging to the government, and one of five 6-pounders belonging to the town; at Hastings there was the government battery of eleven 12-pounders.⁸ When the Revolutionary War broke out the great need was for men. Years of ever-widening commerce and of naval victory had their effect eventually in attracting thousands of men to the sea, but at first the supply of sailors was altogether insufficient to man the royal and merchant navies. Therefore, besides the impress system, always working, and a suspension of certain sections of the Navigation Acts, Parliament sanctioned in 1795 and 1796 an experiment analogous to the ship-money project of Charles I by requiring the counties each to obtain a certain number of men for the navy, who were to be attracted by a bounty to be raised by an assessment charged in every parish like other local rates.⁹ In 1795 the county was called upon for 172, and in 1796 for 223 men, comparing with 440 and 570 for Kent, and 236 and 306 for Hampshire. The Cinque Ports organization, it will be noticed, is completely ignored. The ports, also, were required to procure men, an embargo being placed upon all British shipping until they were obtained; Arundel was rated for 33 men, Chichester 56, Newhaven 17, Rye 90, and Shoreham 28. In 1798 the need of men was greater than ever, and there was the added possibility of invasion which the French government had been considering since the beginning of the war. The French marine was quite impotent, and the departments of Normandy and Brittany were themselves clamouring for protection, but maritime superiority was not a factor in the calculations of the strategists of the Convention and the Directory, especially when the comforting belief in the possibility of evasion could be used as an answer to objectors who dwelt upon facts.¹⁰

From 1796 onwards the idea of an evasion descent, in flat-bottomed barges, fishing boats, and the like, took shape again; such plans came to the knowledge of the English authorities and awoke renewed watchfulness. Therefore to afford local security, and to obtain the services of more men, a new force, the Sea Fencibles, was created by an Order in Council of 14 May, 1798. It was raised with the intention of meeting an invading flotilla by another of the same character, and for the purpose of manning the coast defences; it was to be composed of fishermen and boatmen as well as the semi-seafaring dwellers of the shore who were not liable to impressment. The order applied to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, but had especial reference to the stretch of coast, extending from Norfolk to Hampshire, which fronts the continental centre and has always been particularly exposed to attack. The men were to be volunteers, and the principal inducement offered was that, while enrolled, the seafaring members were free from the liability to be impressed; they were under the command of naval officers and were paid 1s. a day when on service. There were two districts in Sussex, that from Dungeness to Beachy Head having one captain, four lieutenants, and 288 men, and the other from Beachy Head to Emsworth with six officers and 440

¹ Ho. Off. Ord. v, 5b.

² Erredge, *Hist. of Brightelmston*, 67, 68. An anonymous writer in the *Brighton Gazette* of 18 April, 1895, states that the East Cliff battery of the middle of the century was washed away in 1761, and that a new one, built in the same year, was destroyed on the date given by Erredge.

³ Dallaway, *Hist. of Western Sussex*, ii, pt. i, 19.

⁴ (B.M.) K. 11 Tab., xlii, 2.

⁵ W.O. Ord. Bills, Ser. iv, 652.

⁶ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 349.

⁷ W.O. Ord. Bills, Ser. iv, 652.

⁸ Add. MSS. 15533.

⁹ 35 Geo. III, cap. 5; 37 Geo. III, cap. 4.

¹⁰ In the terminology of naval warfare 'evasion' applies to any operation by which a belligerent proposes to accomplish his object without being brought to action by his opponent's fleet.

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men. A large force of troops was encamped at Hove in 1793 and 1794, a position chosen, apparently, more for its social than its military advantages. The West Cliff battery at Brighton was established in 1793 and armed with French guns taken in Howe's victory of 1 June, 1794; the battery was twice removed to admit of the widening of the King's Road, the site being at length sold in 1861.¹ The Margaret Street battery existed between 1793 and 1799.² A three-gun battery at the White Rocks at Hastings was armed with pieces taken in the *San Josef* at the battle of St. Vincent in 1797; this battery was destroyed in 1832 in order that the Parade might be continued through it.³

In the beginning of 1798 the French had in their eastern Channel ports upwards of 1,300 vessels of various kinds available for transport, and the 'army of England,' 100,000 strong, was cantoned from Bruges to Rouen; by the autumn it had fallen to 30,000 men. The project remained in abeyance during 1799 and 1800 while the French, for a time, could hardly hold their own on the Continent; but when Napoleon took the design in hand in 1801, adopting all that was best in the plans of his predecessors and adding the impress of his own military genius, the tension here became acute. Latouche-Tréville, the admiral in command of the flotilla at Boulogne, asked permission to raid the coast between Folkestone and Hastings, nightly, with detachments of 1,000 men; if leave had been given the British Navy might have had some interjection to throw in. The highest French authority on the subject⁴ shows that nothing was settled by June, and doubts whether Napoleon was in earnest, but on 24 July Lord St. Vincent wrote that the French preparations 'were beginning to wear a very serious appearance.' On the same day Nelson, just returned from the Baltic, was commissioned as commander-in-chief between Orford Ness and Beachy Head. Besides a squadron of men-of-war the Sea Fencibles were placed under his authority. Floating batteries were anchored among the sands, and it was proposed to use the Fencibles to man the stationary ships and the flotilla at sea, but as early as 30 July Nelson found that 'they were always afraid of some trick—in other words, of being impressed for foreign service if they set foot on board a man-of-war.'⁵ On 7 August the district captain at Winchelsea wrote to the admiral that in the event of actual invasion the men might be depended upon to appear, but not otherwise.⁶ From Hastings 138 men were now enrolled, 93 from Rye, and 17 from Winchelsea. Moreover, although they all expressed their readiness to fight when the enemy appeared, they said that to leave their work indefinitely would mean the ruin of their families, and Nelson implicitly admitted the justness of the plea.⁷ Of 2,600 Sea Fencibles registered between Orford Ness and Beachy Head only 385 volunteered to man the stationary ships, but of these not one came from Sussex or Kent.⁸ Fortunately the defence did not depend on the Fencibles, and before he had been on the station a fortnight Nelson had come to the conclusion that the French scheme was impracticable in face of the British Navy. Towards the end of August he adopted Dungeness, 'which is a station far preferable to the Downs,' as the pivoting centre for his mobile squadron.

When the war was renewed in 1803 the Sea Fencibles were reconstituted in deference to popular fears, although no confidence was placed in them by experts. The outer ring of fleets, with a great volunteer army at home, were relied upon for security, but especial measures to assist the defence were taken in Sussex and Kent. A flotilla of small craft was stationed at Rye, a night watch of fishing boats patrolled the coast, and the fire beacons of mediaeval ages were again prepared. One evening in November, 1803, there was a panic at Brighton, where they thought they saw the enemy advancing shorewards, and many families living near the sea arranged to send the women and children inland when the moment of trial came. It had been proposed in 1796 to defend the exposed portions of the coast, where a hostile landing was comparatively easy, by the erection of martello towers adapted from a type of fortification which had given our men-of-war much trouble in Corsica. They were then recommended by Lord St. Vincent as useful to support such defending force as might be at hand at the moment of descent, but their construction was not begun until after the war recommenced in 1803. A further defence, the Royal Military Canal, was constructed in 1807; most of its 23 miles of length were in Kent, but the western head extended to Pett Level. It was intended to confine an enemy, who had landed, within the Dungeness peninsula and Romney marshes, but was never completed according to the original design. The martello towers were begun in 1804, and there were 46 of them between Rye and Eastbourne; in Kent and Sussex there were 74 altogether, and the westernmost was on Seaford beach. The circular redoubt at Seahouses, Eastbourne, armed with 11 guns, was officially a martello tower; No. 69 was a little inland, on Anthony Hill at Langley Gate.⁹ Ordinarily each tower mounted one 24-pounder and contained quarters for 1 officer and 24 men; they were so close together that

¹ Erredge, op. cit. 71, 72.

² Brighton Gazette, 18 April, 1895.

³ W.O. Ord. Rents, i.

⁴ E. Desbrière, *Projets et tentatives de débarquement aux Îles Britanniques*, Paris, 1900, etc.

⁵ Nicolas, *Letters and Despatches*, iv, 432 (Nelson to St. Vincent).

⁶ Add. MSS. 34918, fol. 111.

⁷ Nelson to St. Vincent, 9 Aug. 1801.

⁸ Nicolas, iv, 446; Add. MSS. 34918, fol. 214.

⁹ W. O. Ord. Engineers, cxlvii.

any two could cross their fire. Other fortifications placed during the Napoleonic war were East and West Langley forts, each with six guns inclosed by loop-holed walls and with accommodation for 64 men; temporary small batteries were thrown up at Greedygut, Eastbourne, Pevensey Walls, and at Beachy Head and Seaford signal stations.¹

The establishment of signal stations round the coast was commenced after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Those at Fairlight, Beachy Head, Seaford Cliff, Hawk Hill (Brighton), Worthing, Kingston (Littlehampton), Bognor, and Selsey Bill, were placed in 1795; and Shoreham, Pagham, and West Wittering in 1796.² Shortly afterwards Galley Hill (Bexhill) and Wall End (Pevensey) were added.³ Each station was supplied with one red flag, one blue pendant, and four balls of black painted canvas, stretched on hoops 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter.

The earliest reference to lights and lighthouses in Sussex is of 1664, when John and William Russell, Captain Silas Titus, and Colonel Edward Andrews obtained a licence to improve Newhaven Harbour and set up lights, including one at Beachy Head.⁴ This appears to have brought ruin on the promoters.⁵ The lighthouse patents granted by James I and Charles I had proved so profitable to their owners, that after the Restoration many persons who possessed court influence attempted to obtain others in any position where a light could with any justification be placed. The licence of 1664 may have stalled off eager applicants, for Beachy does not appear again until 1691, when Thomas Offley, the lord of the manor of Birling, petitioned that many ships were lost yearly on the cliffs, and asked for a patent for a lighthouse.⁶ This was, as usual, referred to the Trinity House for consideration, and it may be taken as certain that, as usual, their report was adverse, for, as commercial rivals, they invariably condemned every proposal to grant a licence to a private owner. There is no application known to have been made during the eighteenth century; the influence of the Trinity House was then strong enough to prevent new grants being made to private persons, and the Elder Brethren do not seem to have desired it for themselves. The light must, however, have been badly wanted, seeing that Beachy Head was often mistaken for the South Foreland, with fatal consequences.⁷ The corporation was at last stimulated into action by application (through the Admiralty) from Captain Harvey, R.N., in 1812, and Captain Mingaye, R.N., in 1826.⁸ A temporary light was shown from 1 October, 1828; the patent for the permanent lighthouse was dated 10 July, 1829, and it was built on ground given by Mr. Davies Gilbert, being lit on 11 October, 1834.⁹ The tower is 47 ft. high, and the light 285 ft. above high-water mark. It was a 22-mile light, but was soon found to have the defect of being frequently enveloped in fog when the atmosphere was clear on the sea level. The fog difficulty has led to the abandonment of the first lighthouse, and the construction of a new one on the foreshore at the foot of the cliff, which was lit in 1902, and is connected by telegraph with Eastbourne.

The Owers light-vessel was established by patent of 14 August, 1788, and in 1822 was producing a net income of some £2,000 a year.¹⁰ In 1861 the then master had served on board her for forty-two years; it is remarkable that he had not sought an exchange, for she sometimes rolled so badly that he could not lie down without holding on to something. The position of the light-vessel was changed in August, 1857.¹¹ The Royal Sovereign lightship was placed in 1875, the shoal being named after the *Royal Sovereign*, a first-rate, which went aground upon it in 1757. At Rye, two lights put up by the corporation on the eastern side of the old harbour were existing in the early part of the eighteenth century;¹² that on the western side is of 1864. The two oldest lights at Hastings, on the West Hill and on the beach, paid for by dues from the fishermen, date from beyond memory; that on the promenade pier is of 1872, St. Leonards pier light of 1891, and Eastbourne pier 1872. The earliest Newhaven west pier lights are of about 1809;¹³ the modern lights are the east pier 1862, breakwater lighthouse 1892, and west pier lighthouse 1895. The Rottingdean jetty light is of 1894, and that of Brighton Chain Pier 1824, but the pier was destroyed by a gale 5 December, 1896; the Marine Palace Pier is of 1901. The exact date of the first Shoreham lights is unknown, but they are shown on a chart of 1816, and as they were put up under powers given to the local harbour commissioners by 56 Geo. III, cap. 81, they must be of about that time;¹⁴ those of the east and west piers are of 1877. Worthing is of 1862, Littlehampton 1848, and Bognor 1891.

The first seamarks used in navigation were prominent objects ashore such as church towers and high land. Fairlight Down must have been a recognized landfall in mediaeval times, for in the form of 'Ferlaga' it occurs in Spanish sailing directions of the middle-sixteenth century. Cackham tower

¹ W. O. Ord. Engineers, cxlvii.

² Admir. Acct. Gen. Misc. Var. cx.

³ Admir. Sec. Misc. dxcii.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. 255; S.P. Dom. Chas. II, c, July, 1664.

⁵ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, cliv, 92, 93; cccxiii, 9 Aug. 1672.

⁶ *Ibid.* Wm. and Mary, 18 Aug. 1691.

⁷ *Ibid.* (1861), xxv, 413.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (1822), xxi, 497.

¹² *Ibid.* (1834), xii, 503; B.M. 11 Tab. xlii, 11 (a map).

⁷ *Parl. Papers* (1845), xvi, 88.

⁹ *Ibid.* (1834), xii, 104.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (1861), xxv, 445.

¹³ *Ibid.* (1834), xii, 498.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

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and Medmery barn (washed away about 1890) are old leading marks on Selsey Bill; Medmery and several other marks were, and are, used in conjunction with the spire of Chichester Cathedral. The only artificial beacon belonging to Sussex is the Mixon, on a reef south of Selsey Bill, put up in 1793 and replaced by a new one in 1856.

In 1804 the private shipbuilders in Sussex were Crookenden at Arundel; Geere and Blaber, and John Powell, at Newhaven; Corney and Carver, and Iremonger, at Littlehampton; Hamilton and Breeds, and Kent and Ransom, at Hastings; Harvey and Staffele, at Rye; and Edwardes, Brown, and Oliver, at Shoreham.¹ After the peace of Utrecht there were comparatively few warships built in the county and, notwithstanding the exercise of parliamentary influence, Shoreham does not seem to have obtained an undue proportion of such contracts as were given. Tonnage was steadily increasing until, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, man-of-war sloops were nearly as big as the fourth-rates of the Commonwealth; this fatally handicapped the shallow Sussex ports. The *Chichester* was constructed by a London firm, the Taylors, who intended to establish a yard at Itchenor, but the difficulty attending her launch deterred them from continuing their scheme. In the middle of the eighteenth century Chitty and Vernon of Chichester, and Stone and Bartlett of Shoreham, were the Admiralty contractors; of the Napoleonic war period the builders were Carver & Co., Hamilton & Co., Edwardes, and also Greenwood of Itchenor, who is not mentioned in the preceding list.

Of the ships and their captains there is little to say. Cloudesley Shovel, Edward Whitaker, John Berry, and George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, were captains of the *Dover*; another captain was David Lloyd, who, undistinguished as a naval officer, followed James II to France and became very distinguished as the director of the secret correspondence and intrigues carried on from St. Germain. The last captain of the *Dover*, Andrew Douglas, had been master of a merchantman and had been given his commission by the direct order of William III as a reward for his conduct in bringing up to Londonderry, under fire, his ship laden with supplies when the boom was at last cut by a man-of-war boat. Andrew Leake, later a knight and captain, was commander of the *Fox* fireship, and her next commander, Thomas Killingworth, was promoted to be captain of a 32-gun ship for grappling a French line-of-battle ship at La Hogue. The Frenchman won clear; but fireships were so rarely successful, and the commanders so little inclined usually to risk the destruction of themselves and their crews, that Killingworth was handsomely rewarded. When the *Sorlings* was taken she was in company with the *Pendennis*, 44, and the *Blackwall*, 44, both whose captains were killed; when Captain Coney was tried the court not only acquitted him but added that it 'particularly approves and recommends' his conduct. In contrast to this Captain John Aston, of the *Penzance*, was court-martialled in 1699 for selling the ship's provisions and overcharging the men for clothes; very likely Aston would have fought, on occasion, just as well as Coney, but the ethical standard of the Navy at this date was far lower than its fighting level. The Andrew Douglas previously mentioned was commander of the *Arundel* in 1711; in the interval he had been captain of a fourth-rate, but was dismissed the Navy for embezzlements which the court-martial characterized as mean. He was restored in 1709, and it may have been known that professional prejudice existed against him on account of the manner of his entrance among the circle of captains. Certainly the details of his offences do not seem worse than those of other captains who escaped much more lightly, or altogether. The later ships and their captains do not call for extended comment.

APPENDIX

LIST (CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED) OF MEN-OF-WAR BUILT IN SUSSEX, WITH THEIR SERVICES TO THE CLOSE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WAR.²

DOVER (4th rate), 533 tons, 48 guns; built at Shoreham 1654. Services: W.I. 1655 (c. Robt. Saunders); C. and C. 1656-60 (c. J. Blythe, Robt. Martin, John Hayward); Med.

¹ *Parl. Papers* (1805), viii, 485.

² Abbreviations used:—Ch. = Channel Fleet; Med. = Mediterranean; W.I. = West Indies; E.I. = East Indies; N.S. = North Sea; I.S. = Irish Station; Nfd. = Newfoundland; C. and C. = Convoy and Cruising duties; N.A. = North America; G.S. = Guardship; A.O. = Admiralty Order; R.S. = Receiving Ship.

Names of captains or officers subsequently distinguished are within brackets (c. = captain). It should be remembered that only the chief movements of vessels are given. A ship may have been for some years in the Mediterranean, but have returned for short periods for repairs: such intervals are not noticed in the list of services, nor, if occupied in more than one employment in a year, is any other than the principal one usually named.

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1661; Med. 1664-5 (c. Jeffrey Pearce); fleet battles of June, 1665, and June and July, 1666 (c. Pearce); C. and C. 1667; W.I. 1668; Med. 1671-3 (c. John Berry and Christopher Mason); Tangier 1674; Ch. 1678 (c. John Kempthorne); Nfd. 1679 (c. David Lloyd); Tangier 1681-3 (c. Dan. Dering); Ch. 1688-9 (c. Cl. Shovel and Geo. Byng); C. and C. 1690-1 (c. Ed. Whitaker), took a 24-gun St. Malo privateer in Feb. 1691; C. and C. 1692-5 (c. And. Douglas), took *Revenge*, 12, in Aug. 1692, *Lion*, 14, in Jan. 1693, and *Vauban*, 16, in May, 1695. Rebuilt at Portsmouth in 1695. See also *ante*, pp. 157, 164.

FOX (fireship), 263 tons, 8 guns; built at Shoreham 1690. Services: Ch. 1690-2 (c. Andrew Leake and Thos. Killingworth). Burnt in action at La Hogue. See also *ante*, p. 164.

HOPEWELL (fireship), 253 tons, 8 guns; built at Shoreham 1690. Services: Ch. 1690 (c. Thos. Warren). Burnt by accident in the Downs 3 June, 1690.

SHOREHAM (5th rate), 362 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1693. Services: C. and C. 1694-7 (c. John Constable, and Philip Davies), took *La Feroce*, 10, in August, 1695; C. and C. 1699 (c. Wm. Passenger); N. A. 1700-1; I.S. 1702-9 (c. Geo. Saunders), took *Francis*, 8, in June, 1706, and *Esperance*, 12, in May, 1709; C. and C. 1710-13 (c. Chas. Hardy); N.A. 1715-18 (c. Thos. Howard). Broken up by A.O. 11 Sept. 1719.

VESUVIUS (fireship), 269 tons, 8 guns; built at Shoreham 1693. Services: burnt in action at St. Malo (c. John Guy), 19 Nov. 1693.

SORLINGS (5th rate), 362 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1694. Services: N. A. 1694-6 (c. Fleetwood Emmes); C. and C. 1697-9 (c. Rich. Cotton and Rich. Worrell); Cadiz and Vigo 1702 (c. Jon. Spann); Nfd. 1703, took *San Salvador*, 20, in October; C. and C. 1704-5, (c. Wm. Coney). Taken on the Doggerbank 20 Oct. 1705. Retaken Feb. 1711, but not again taken into Navy. See also *ante*, p. 164.

TERRIBLE (5th rate), 253 tons, 26 guns; built at Shoreham 1694. Services: *As fireship*, W.I. 1695 (c. Tim. Bridges); *as 5th rate*, G.S. Plymouth 1696; G.S. Portsmouth 1697; *as fireship*, Cadiz and Vigo 1702 (c. Edw. Rumsey); Med. 1703-5 (c. Wm. Jameson); W.I. 1706; C. and C. 1707; Med. 1708-9 (c. John Goodall and Chas. Constable), *as 5th rate*, 1710 (c. Thos. Mabbot). Taken 20 Sept. 1710 by a French 36-gun ship. Captain Mabbot acquitted.

PENZANCE (6th rate), 246 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1694. Services: Ch. 1695 (c. Hor. Townshend); C. and C. 1696 (c. John Cooper); I.S. 1697-8 (c. John Aston); C. and C. 1699 (c. Rich. Wyatt); Med. 1700; I. S. 1701 (c. Thos. Lawrence); C. and C. 1702-12 (c. Robt. Studley and John Parr); took *Volland*, 14, in April 1697. Sold by A. O. 24 Sept. 1713. See *ante*, p. 164.

ARUNDEL (5th rate), 378 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1695. Services: C. and C. 1696 (c. William Higgins); N. A. 1697-8; C. and C. 1699 (c. Josiah Crow); N. A. 1700-1; I. S. 1702-8 (c. John Ward, Unton Dering, and Joseph Winder); Baltic 1709; C. and C. 1710-11 (c. And. Douglas). Condemned 1711; sold by A. O. 11 June 1713.

HASTINGS (5th rate), 381 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1695. Services: W. I. 1695-6 (c. John Draper); C. and C. 1697; wrecked off Waterford on 10 December, six men saved.

DUNWICH (6th rate), 250 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1695. Services: C. and C. 1695-6 (c. Nich. Trevanion); Nfd. 1697; C. and C. 1698-9 (c. Mark Noble); Med. 1700-2 (c. Wm. Harding); C. and C. 1703-12 (c. Christ. Elliott, Wm. Jones, Jas. Stewart, and Chas. Hardy). Sunk as breakwater at Plymouth Dock by A. O. 14 Oct. 1714.

FALCON (6th rate), 240 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1695. Services: C. and C. 1695 (c. Hen. Middleton). Taken by three French 50-gun ships off the Dodman on 10 June. Captain Middleton was found guilty of an error of judgment in not running ashore and fined three months' pay. The *Falcon* was retaken by the *Romney* in 1703, but not again placed in the Navy.

NEWPORT (6th rate), 244 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1695. Services: N. A. 1695-6 (c. Wentworth Paxton). Taken by two French ships, 5 July 1696, in Bay of Fundy.

ORFORD (6th rate), 249 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1695; renamed NEWPORT by A. O. 3 Sept. 1698. Services: C. and C. 1696 (c. Jas. Jesson); N. A. 1697-1700 (c. Salmon Morris); Med. 1701-5 (c. Chas. Fotherby); Cadiz expedition of 1702, Vigo, battle of Malaga, 1704; Ch. 1706 (c. Isaac Cooke); C. and C. 1707-9 (c. Chas. Poole); Nfd. 1710; C. and C. 1711-13. Sold by A. O. 29 July 1714.

FOWEY (5th rate), 377 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1696. Services: C. and C. 1696-8 (c. Chas. Britcliffe and Rich. Culliford); W. I. 1699-1701 (c. Thos. Legg); C. and C. 1702-4 (c. Rich. Browne). Taken by a French squadron off the Scillies 1 August 1704.

FEVERSHAM (5th rate), 372 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1696. Services: C. and C. 1697 (c. Robt. Thompson); G. S. Plymouth, 1700 (c. Ben. Hoskins); Nfd. 1701 (c. Ph. Cavenish); I.S. 1702-6 (c. Sir Chas. Rich); C. and C. 1707-9 (c. J. Williams and Robt. Paston); N.A. 1710-11. Wrecked on Cape Breton 7 Oct. 1711; Capt. Paston and most of the crew drowned.

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GOSPORT (5th rate), 376 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1696. Services: W.I. 1697 (c. David Greenhill); N.A. 1701-4 (c. Hen. Croft and Thos. Smith); Ch. 1705 (c. John Barter); C. and C. 1706 (c. Edw. St. Lo). Taken, with twelve out of fifteen merchantmen under convoy, by a squadron under Duguay-Trouin, 28 Aug. 1706. Capt. St. Lo acquitted and commended.

LYNN (5th rate), 380 tons, 32 guns; built at Shoreham 1696. Services: C. and C. 1696-8 (c. Hor. Townshend); W.I. 1699-1700; C. and C. 1701-3 (c. Edm. Lechmere and J. Watkins); W.I. 1704-5 (c. Geo. Martin); C. and C. 1706 (c. Lord Forbes); W.I. 1707-9 (c. Arch. Hamilton and Hen. Blistone); Med. 1710-12; in May, 1712, with *Ludlow Castle*, drove ashore and destroyed a Spanish 36-gun ship and five merchantmen in Estapona Roads. Sold by A.O. 11 June, 1713.

EAGLE (Advice Boat), 152 tons, 10 guns; built at Arundel 1696. Wrecked on Sussex coast 27 Nov. 1703.

SWIFT (Advice Boat), 152 tons, 10 guns; built at Arundel 1697. Wrecked on coast of North Carolina, 24 Jan. 1697-8.

SEAFORD (6th rate), 432 tons, 24 guns; built at Shoreham 1741. Services: C. and C. 1741-2 (c. Thos. Pye); Med. 1743-8 (c. J. Wilson). Broken up 1754.

DISPATCH (Sloop), 269 tons, 14 guns; built at Shoreham 1745. Services: C. and C. 1746-62 (c. Jos. Veal, Jas. Holbourne, David Edwards, J. Hodges, and A. Bertie); in action 7 Oct. 1756 with a French sloop of greater force c. Holbourne was killed; in 1762 took *Duc de Broglie*, 14. Sold by A.O. 1 Mar. 1763.

HORNET (Sloop), 272 tons, 14 guns; built at Chichester 1745. Services: C. and C. 1745-6. Taken 26 Jan. 1746-7 by a French privateer; retaken in October. C. and C. 1748-9 (c. Jas. Holwell); N.A. 1750-3; N.A. 1755-6 (c. Sampson Salt); W.I. 1757-9 (c. Hon. Chas. Napier); C. and C. 1759-63 (c. Geo. Johnstone); N.A. 1764-7 (c. J. Morgan). Sold by A.O. 21 Feb. 1770.

HOUND (Sloop), 267 tons, 14 guns; built at Shoreham 1745. Services: C. and C. 1746-9 (c. Thos. Dove); N.A. 1750-2; C. and C. 1755-63 (c. Jas. Drake and Robt. Carre); Guinea coast, 1765-6 (c. Wm. Garnier and John Macartney); Falkland Islands, 1771-3 (c. J. Burr). Sold by A.O. of 20 Sept. 1773.

ARUNDEL (6th rate), 509 tons, 24 guns; built at Chichester 1746. Services: C. and C. 1747 (c. John Reynolds); N.A. 1748-51; Nfd. 1754 (c. J. Lloyd); N.A. 1755 (c. Thos. Hankerson); C. and C. 1756; W.I. 1758-61 (c. Rich. Matthews and Jas. Innes); N.A. 1762-3 (c. Wm. Manwaring). Sold 1765.

PENZANCE (5th rate), 823 tons, 44 guns; built at Chichester 1747. Services: N.A. 148 (c. J. H. Porter); Nfd. 1752-5 (c. Chas. Saunders (1st Lieut. Josh. Rowley), Hugh Bonfoy, and Rich. Dorrill); C. and C. 1757-9 (c. Thos. Ward and Wm. Gough); N.A. 1760-2 (c. Ph. Boteler). Sold 1766.

HIND (6th rate), 510 tons, 24 guns; built at Chichester 1749. Services: W.I. 1753-6 (c. Tim. Nucella and Chas. Webber); C. and C. 1757 (c. Rich. Hughes); N.A. 1758-9 (c. Robt. Bond), siege of Louisberg and capture of Quebec; C. and C. 1760; Med. 1761 (c. Phillips Cosby); C. and C. 1762-73 (c. Wm. McCleverty, Geo. Watson, and Wm. Long); W.I. 1774-8 (c. Wm. Garnier, Hen. Brine, and Chas. Hope); N.A. 1779-81 (c. Wm. Young). Made storeship in 1782.

STORK (Sloop), 233 tons, 14 guns; built at Shoreham 1756. Services: W.I. 1757-8 (c. Pet. Carteret and Wm. Tucker). Taken 16 Aug. 1758 by a French 74-gun ship.

FAVOURITE (Sloop), 313 tons, 16 guns; built at Shoreham 1757. Services: Med. 1757-62 (c. Tim. Edwards and Philemon Pownal); took *Grouzard*, 26, in 1758, *Valeur*, 24, in 1759, and *St. Joseph*, 12, in 1761; present at Boscawen's action with *De la Clue*, 18 Aug. 1759; C. and C. 1764-5 (c. Wm. Hamilton); Nfd. 1766-7; Port Egmont and Falkland Islands, 1768-70 (c. Wm. Maltby); W.I. 1771-5 (c. Robt. Biggs); W.I. 1777-9 (c. Wm. Fooks). Sold 1784.

CONFLAGRATION (fireship), 426 tons, 10 guns; built at Shoreham 1783. Services: burnt at Toulon, 18 Dec. 1793 (c. T. Loring).

VULCAN (fireship), 425 tons, 10 guns; built at Shoreham 1783. Services: burnt at Toulon, 18 Dec. 1793 (c. C. Hare).

CHICHESTER (5th rate), 902 tons, 44 guns; built at Itchenor 1785. Services: C. and C. 1788 (c. H. C. Bridges): R. S. Plymouth, 1790; Troopship, 1791; R. S. Plymouth, 1793; W. I. 1794 (c. R. D. Fancourt), with *Intrepid*, 64, took *La Sirène* in August; C. and C. 1795-7; storeship and transport, 1799-1808, lent to West India Dock Co. as boys' training ship, 1809. Broken up by A. O. June, 1815.

SCORPION (sloop), 340 tons, 16 guns; built at Shoreham 1785. Services, W. I. 1788-90 (c. P. Bayley and Sir Chas. Hamilton); Guinea Coast, 1791-2 (c. Ben Hallowell); W.I. 1793-6 (c. Thos. Western and Stair Douglas); took *Victoire*, 18, on 19 April, *L'Égalité*, 16, on 8 May, *Sanspareil*, 16, on 22 July, *Republicain*, 16, on 3 August, and *L'Hirondelle*, 16, on 7 August, 1795;

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N. S. 1797-1800 (c. Hen. Pine, J. T. Rodd, and Chas. Tinling); took *Courier*, 6, 26 April, 1798. Sold 1802.

PHEASANT (sloop), 365 tons, 18 guns; built at Shoreham 1798. Services: N. A. 1798-1804 (c. Wm. Skipsey, H. Careso, and Robt. Paul); W. I. 1805; Cape, 1806 (c. J. Palmer); Buenos Ayres, 1807; C. and C. 1808-12; took *Tropard*, 6, 8 May, 1808, *Comte de Hunebourg*, 14, 3 Feb. 1810, and *Héros*, 6, on 17 June, 1811; Nfd. 1813-14 (c. J. Parker). Sold 1827.

SPY (sloop), 227 tons, 16 guns; built at Shoreham in 1804. Services: C. and C. 1804-7 (c. J. Bushby and J. Hudson); storeship, 1812. Sold 1813.

ROSE (sloop), 367 tons, 16 guns; built at Hastings 1805. Services: I. S. 1805 (c. L. Curtis); Med. 1806; Ch. 1807-8 (c. Ph. Pipon); Baltic, 1809-11 (c. Thos. Mansel); C. and C. 1812. Sold 1817.

HERALD (sloop), 422 tons, 18 guns; built at Littlehampton, 1806. Services: Med. 1807-11 (c. G. J. Honey and Geo. Jackson); C. and C. 1812; N. A. 1813-14 (c. Clem. Milward). Broken up 1817.

RACEHORSE (sloop), 383 tons, 18 guns; built at Hastings, 1806. Services: Med. 1806-8 (c. Robt. Forbes and W. Fisher); Cape, 1809-13. Wrecked on Isle of Man, 14 Dec. 1823.

RICHMOND (gunbrig), 183 tons, 12 guns; built at Itchenor 1806. Services: Copenhagen, 1807; N. S. 1808-10; Med. 1811-14. Sold 1814.

TWEED (sloop), 431 tons, 16 guns; built at Littlehampton 1807. Services: W. I. 1807-10 (c. T. E. Symonds); C. and C. 1812; Nfd. 1813 (c. Wm. Mather). Wrecked, 5 Nov. 1813.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

PERHAPS the most remarkable feature of the economic history of Sussex is the variety and scope of its interest. The county which to-day is almost wholly agricultural has in former ages drawn its wealth from the most widely different sources. In the eleventh century, when most of the country was as yet densely wooded and fed large herds of swine, one of the chief sources of the landlord's income and the staple article of the peasant's food,¹ the Sussex boroughs were already obtaining importance as trading and shipping centres.² Owing to the extraordinarily changing character of the coast-line and river beds, Sussex has long ceased to be a county of famous ports; the silting up of the rivers and harbours destroyed the mercantile importance of Chichester, Shoreham, Lewes, Seaford, Pevensey, Hastings, and Rye, while storms and high seas played a more sudden, if not a greater, havoc with Winchelsea, and brought disaster upon the agricultural population of Iham and Iden and other places along the coast.³

The extent of these inundations may be gathered from the fact that the marshes of 'Wytfleet' and 'Reyner' in Iham, once held by free tenants owing rents and suit of court, in 1291 returned nothing *quia totaliter submerguntur*, while Iden ferry, once worth 3*s.* a year, had vanished, owing to the flooding of the marsh lands between which it had plied.⁴ The marshes, however, where they could be reclaimed and cultivated were even in the middle ages of high value, thus in the manor of Bexhill an acre of marsh land was valued at 12*d.*, while an acre of meadow was only worth 3*d.* or 6*d.*⁵ At Iden 74 acres of marsh were worth as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre, and 16 acres of brook land 18*d.* each, 'dum tamen salvari possunt a submersione maris,' whereas the arable land was only valued at 6*d.*, 8*d.* or 1*s.*⁶ Similarly in the Pevensey Levels in 1517, the prior of Lewes paid twice as much towards the 'royal service' for marsh land as for land 'lyinge oute of y^e mershe called Uplond.'^{6a} It is probable, therefore, that the ultimate gain in

¹ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 365.

² *Ibid.* 351.

³ Cf. for destruction of the property of monasteries and churches, *V.C.H. Suss.* ii, 'Religious Houses' and 'Ecclesiastical History.'

⁴ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 660; cf. also *ibid.* 667, and Mins. Accts. bdle. 1032, No. 8, for further destruction of Iham in the reign of Edw. III.

⁵ *Customal of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 24.

⁶ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 660.

^{6a} Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. vol. 10. In these Pevensey marshes the custom as early as 1260 was that the part owner of a piece of land might inclose it against the sea, and if his partners would not contribute towards the cost might retain the land until they had paid their share; Assize R. 912, m. 16*d.*

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rich marsh pastures, recovered from the sea either by natural or by artificial means, has more than compensated the county for the loss of ports which modern shipping must early have outgrown.

With the decay of maritime importance the energy of the population tended more and more to transfer itself to the iron industry of the Weald, and in the seventeenth century even the agricultural interest gave way to some extent before this promising source of wealth; Camden, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, stated that a great deal of meadow ground had been converted into lakes and wells to turn mills;⁷ and the grand jury of the sessions of the peace held at Lewes in October, 1661, said that the manufacture had given employment to 'many 1000 of poore people farmers and others.'⁸

Already, however, signs of decay were not wanting, and in the same petition the jurors struck a prophetic note when they complained that the industry 'being once lost can never be recovered, depending on growth of woods, which being once grubbed will never be replanted.'⁹ With the destruction of the timber the number of the iron-works gradually dwindled,¹⁰ and at the close of the eighteenth century Sussex was almost wholly dependent upon its agricultural wealth, though the rise of the south coast watering places within the next few years brought its town life once more into prominence.

Another feature of no small interest in the economic history of the county is the late survival of local peculiarities, probably occasioned by its strongly defined natural boundaries and the isolation due to the dense northern forest. Amongst these peculiarities the existence of the rapes, the prevalence of the custom of Borough English, the use of the 'wista' as a land measure, and the possible existence of the eight-virgate hide are the most important.¹¹ In an early volume of the *Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society*¹² is a list of some one hundred and thirty-five manors where the copyhold lands descend by Borough English to the youngest son or daughter, with slight variations in default of male issue. Thus in Pevensey¹³ the inheritance passed to the youngest son by the first wife, whose wardship during minority belonged to his mother, unless he inherited from her, in which case the kinsfolk (*parentes*) of his father acted as guardians 'ad voluntatem pueri, et cum voluerit de custodia exire habebit terram suam deliberatam sine aliquo impedimento.'

With regard to the Sussex land measures, the 'wista' and the 'daie work' seem to be the most frequently used after the hide and virgate. The 'daie work' was apparently equal to 4 perches,¹⁴ but the content of the 'wista' does not seem to have been so definite, being spoken of as equivalent to a quarter of a hide, half a hide, 4 virgates, or 1 virgate indiscriminately. The usual practice would seem to have been, however, to use the terms

⁷ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough, from ed. of 1607), i, 185.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 204.

⁸ Add. MS. 33058, fol. 81 et seq.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 359-60.

¹² Vol. vi, 179-89. The writer claims that this list is by no means exhaustive.

¹³ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 666. This is a survey of 1353, another taken in 1293 (R. 663) says that the minor shall be in the wardship of his mother until he is of full age, and makes no mention of the peculiar customs attaching to maternal inheritance.

¹⁴ Add. MS. 6348, fol. 255, and map of Hamerden, in the custody of Messrs. Hunt, Curry & Nicholson, from information given by Mr. L. F. Salzmann. Probably the 'dietas' of Add. Ct. R. 31261 (Bishopstone) admits of translation as 'daywork.' The daywork was a measure in Essex and Kent also.

virgate and wista as interchangeable,¹⁵ while on the Battle Abbey lands the *magna wista* seems to have been regarded as almost equal to half a hide.¹⁶ The 'ferthingelonde,' apparently a quarter of a virgate, occurs at Rustington in speaking of a period prior to the Great Pestilence.¹⁷ The 'helve' or 'hylf' (half an acre) and 'stytych' (quarter of an acre) are also found occasionally.^{17a}

The Sussex rapes have been the subject of comment and discussion ever since the days when Camden first drew attention to their physical completeness.¹⁸ They have, however, a special social significance, which must form the background of any survey of the economic conditions of mediaeval Sussex, for each rape formed a large private franchise almost analogous to the *imperium in imperio* of continental feudalism, and, moreover, the very hundreds were all in private hands.¹⁹ Doubtless the centralizing policy of Henry II did much to combat consequent abuses, but the hundred and assize rolls of the reign of Edward I show how far such privilege could run riot in times of disorder such as the reigns of Henry III and John. Some of the grievances recited before the justices were primarily judicial, but cannot fail to have reacted upon the social condition of the county—such, for example, was the frequent release of felons for a bribe by the seneschal of the earl of Gloucester and others, and the interference of the earl of Arundel and the bailiff of the honour of Pevensey with the holding of the sheriff's tourn.²⁰ Others, on the contrary, were more strictly economic, involving a menace to privileges of status and tenure, and the abuse of the lord's power of exacting fines and distrainments. Thus freemen were put upon their oath without the king's writ;²¹ Earl de Warenne and William de Braose distrained freemen and villeins to follow them with arms wherever they went on pain of a heavy fine; sub-bailiffs in the rape of Arundel made 'scot ales' and 'fulst ales' in order to extort money from the men of their bailiwicks.²² As this offence was coupled with the exaction of sheaves from the tenants' harvest in autumn,²³ it seems probable that these 'scot ales' were ales brewed from malt obtained as a compulsory contribution from the tenants. The serjeant of the castle of Pevensey distrained freemen of his bailiwick for carrying services to which they were not bound,²⁴ the earl of Surrey appropriated to himself free warren throughout his barony in the rapes of Bramber and Lewes, so that no knight nor freeman could have free chase there, and the men of the country-side dared not inclose their fields, nor—though the beasts of the chase were much increased by this system of preserving—dared they drive them out of their corn.²⁵

Richard de Mundeville, who held the hundreds of Easebourne and Rotherbridge, farmed them at an excessive sum, which the farmer could only

¹⁵ *Chron. Mon. de Bello* (Angl. Christ. Soc.), 17; Add. MS. 33189, fol. 46 &c., and 6348 (an eighteenth-century note at the beginning).

¹⁶ *Customal of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 29; for criticisms of the famous passage where the wista is said to contain 4 virgates see *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xviii, 705 et seq.

¹⁷ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry*, i, 586.

^{17a} Add. MS. 5701, fol. 158; *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 238.

¹⁸ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough, from ed. of 1607), i, 185; and cf. *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 384-5.

¹⁹ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 502-4; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, *passim*.

²⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 205, 214.

²² Assize R. 924, m. 62d., 63, and 912, m. 7.

²⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 207.

²¹ *Ibid.* 203; Assize R. 912, m. 40.

²³ *Ibid.* m. 7, 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 201, 210.

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raise by unjust extortions from the men of the hundreds. In the case of Rotherbridge the grievance was aggravated by the fact that in old days the bailiff or alderman of the hundred²⁶ was elected by the scotters, and in those days they 'gave little or nothing for their bailiwick.' Other complaints mention the erection of new courts,²⁷ the amercing of freemen and villeins in their absence, forcing freemen to serve as jurors without the king's writ, interference with rights of common, and abuses by foresters, who received no payment for their office but such as they could raise by 'weypenny' and the payments (*vadia*) which they could exact in the woods of freemen, while their presentments in the forest courts 'though they were false were yet held to be true.'²⁸

Turning, however, from general social evils to the details of status and tenure within the county, the first point to notice is the increase of freedom between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. Domesday evidence would seem to show that much depression of status had followed upon the Conquest. Freemen occur in the Survey in the time of Edward the Confessor, but not one is mentioned as a tenant in 1086. This does not probably mean, however, that the entire English population had been reduced to villeinage; indeed there is evidence to prove that this was not, strictly speaking, the case. A survey in the Battle Abbey Chronicle, which professes to represent the state of the Lowy at about the time of the foundation of the monastery (1080),²⁹ mentions three instances of a certain limited condition of freedom—these were Gilbert the Stranger, who, with his land, was quit except for tithes and two services a year, one to Canterbury and one to London; Aluric de Dengemareis, who acted as summoner on his land in Dengemarsch (Kent) when it owed service ('summonitionem facit de terra ejusdem Aelurici in Dengemareis quando servitium suum facere debet'); and Benedict the Seneschal (*dapifer*), who was entirely free. Aelric 'cild,' whose title might have been supposed to imply freedom, owed 7*d.* and labour services, like the rest of the tenants. Again, in Telham, which lay outside the Lowy, there was one man who was free because whenever he was summoned he rode where he was told, his food and his horse's shoes being provided by the monks.

It is noticeable, however, that though the word 'free' is actually used of these men, and in the case of Gilbert the Stranger, of his land also, yet in each case freedom was conditional upon the performance of a service not unlike a serjeanty, and was obviously a matter of privilege rather than of birthright—a concession based upon the need of the overlord, rather than a survival of pre-Conquest status. Between the eleventh

²⁶ The Sussex hundreds were frequently administered by aldermen. In the barony of the Eagle the barons and knights were quit of suit at the county court, save the aldermen of the hundreds, who did suit there for their hundreds. (*Ibid.* 205.) In Shiplake Hundred an inquisition was taken in 1260 by twelve free jurors and by all the 'Borowesaldres of the hundred'—possibly the aldermen of the 'burghs,' a term which is used frequently in Sussex manor and hundred rolls for a tithing or vill. (*Add. Ct. R.* 32399 and 32609, &c.) In Swanborough Hundred the alderman, 'as a recompence of his paynes and in satisfaction of those moneys w^{ch} he disburseth for the Hundred at the Shiriffes Torne twice every yeare,' had a yearly render of sheaves of wheat. (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 121.)

²⁷ *Hund. R.* (*Rec. Com.*), 212, 214.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 201, 203, 208, 210, 214.

²⁹ *Chron. Mon. de Bello* (*Angl. Christ. Soc.*), 12 et seq. The chronicler, writing in the following century, says: 'The brethren . . . allotted dwelling places of certain dimensions around the circuit of the abbey; and these still remain as they were then first appointed with their customary rent or service.'

and the thirteenth centuries the numbers of freemen, as has been said, increased very largely, and it seems a fair assumption that this increase was in part the outcome of a similar need on the part of other overlords to secure the performance of certain non-agricultural services, either those connected with the administration of a franchise, or those which the overlord himself owed to the crown. Thus a tenant would first be exonerated from the performance of the unfree customs due from his land on condition that he would perform some quota of the lord's free service (usually of course military), and subsequently his descendants, by right of prescription, would be able to claim freedom 'de corpore' or 'quia procreatus fuit ex patre libero.'³⁰

Actual figures to illustrate the numbers of freemen in the thirteenth century are unfortunately not largely available. In Iham, however, in 1291 there were seventeen on the mainland and fifty-three in the marshes, there had been nineteen others, but their holdings had been submerged; there were also ten free tenants belonging to this manor whose holdings lay in Guestling and Ore, making eighty in all, even after the floods.³¹ In Iden at the same date there were eighteen free tenants whose rents amounted to 29s. 6d., as well as 3 lb. of pepper each and 1½ lb. of cummin.³² For further information there is only the evidence of money rents: these, however, in several cases seem to have been considerable; thus on the manor of Eastbourne, held by the bishop of Chichester, in 1244 they amounted to £8 11s. 11d.³³ and in Udimore in 1253 to £8 7s. 10½d.³⁴ For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the fifty-three tenants in the marsh of Iham paid £7 2s. 9¾d. in 1291; it is, however, impossible to argue very definitely from this, for while this sum works out at an average of about 2s. 8d. each, the 29s. 6d. paid by the eighteen free men of Iden at the same date is equal to an average of something less than 1s. 7d., and the same variations would naturally be found throughout the county.³⁵

It cannot, of course, be argued that everyone of these men had attained their freedom in the way suggested above, but an actual instance is recorded in which the services due from land at Battle held in socage by such ploughing, reaping, and mowing services as were owed by other sokemen were commuted for 10s. yearly, and this rent was then converted into the serjeanty of carrying the abbot's cup and attending upon him if required,^{35a} and some of the instances of castle-guard service would seem to illustrate a similar

³⁰ Add. Ct. R. 32653; cf. also *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 214.

³¹ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 660; cf. Ptfo. 181, where the numbers of the tenants in the marsh are slightly different.

³² Ibid. R. 660.

³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 2, No. 7.

³⁴ Ibid. file 15, No. 2.

³⁵ Further evidence on this point is as follows:—

In Trotton (1259)	. . . rents from freemen	£7	14s.	11d.	(Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 23, No. 9).
In Rotherfield (1262)	. . . "	£5	13s.	3d.	(Ibid. file 27, No. 5, m. 19).
In Pulborough (1263)	. . . "	£4	15s.	8½d.	(Ibid. file 28, No. 17).
In Bibleham (1280)	. . . "	£4	12s.	2d.	(Add. MS. 33189, fol. 46).
In Elsted (1259)	. . . "	£4	8s.	4d.	(Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 23, No. 9).
In Fletching (1269)	. . . "		55s.	7d.	(Ibid. file 36, No. 19).
In Hamerden (1280)	. . . "		42s.	10½d.	(Add. MS. 33189, fol. 46).
In Burwash (1280)	. . . "		41s.	2d.	(Ibid. fol. 45).
In Harting (1253)	. . . "		33s.	od.	(Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 14, No. 20).
In Street (1272)	. . . "		27s.	3d.	(Ibid. file 42, No. 6).
In Barcombe (1269)	. . . "		16s.	1d.	(Ibid. file 36, No. 19).
In Dumpford (in Trotton 1259)	"		4s.	od.	(Ibid. file 23, No. 9).

^{35a} Coram Rege R. 5, m. 8 d

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process. Castle-guard,³⁶ rendered either in person or by a money payment at the castles of Pevensey, Arundel, Bramber, and Hastings, was probably the most prevalent form of military service in the county. Early in the thirteenth century the lord of the manor of Tilton owed half a mark for castle-guard at Pevensey, 'that being the amount due for a knight's fee,'³⁷ and the tenants who held by knight service of the count of Eu did ward of Hastings Castle every month by fifteen knights, and made the bridges of the castle, though they were bound to no other service within the rape unless it were at the earl's expense.³⁸

These, however, were considerable landowners who might be expected to hold by military service. There are other cases in which a contribution was owed by much smaller men, as in the case of the tenants of Duddington, who contributed 5*d.* towards the 3*s.* owed by their lord about the year 1200,³⁹ or of a tenant of Wartling manor who held a messuage and 17 acres for homage, castle-ward, and suit of court in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ It is such men as these whose forefathers may have acquired freedom by honourable service, and the same is probably true of a certain Walter 'Francigena' who held 6 acres of the count of Eu in the thirteenth century by the serjeanty of making summonses throughout the rape of Hastings, and of Harold le Velu who held 18 acres 'per servitium colligendi halimotum de Burhes' and on condition that when the count was in the vill he should dwell in the same house with him and do what he was bidden.⁴¹ The latter cases forcibly recall the summoner of Dengemarsh and Benedict the Seneschal on the Battle Abbey lands, and are of a much humbler and more utilitarian character than some of the great serjeanties of the county, such as that of John de Hastings, who held the manor of Woolbeding by the service of carrying the king's standard before the foot-soldiers in time of war, from the bridge 'which is called Wolfardesbridge to the bridge called Stretebridge,'⁴² and the merely nominal obligations of the tenant in Tarring who held certain property of two different lords, one moiety by the service of finding a cap of peacock's feathers or 18*d.* yearly, and the other moiety for a sore sparrow hawk.⁴³

That there were other equally important forces making for freedom at this period is clear, though for lack of intermediate documents it is unfortunately not easy to say what they were. One fact, however, becomes evident, namely, that by the dawn of the fourteenth century the original significance of distinctions of status had become obscured and rested chiefly on legal formularies and local custom. Consequently the line which separated the villein and the freeman became indistinct, and it was possible in 1304 for as many as eleven free tenants of Wartling manor to hold villein lands,⁴⁴ while throughout the century villeins were attempting, and even contriving, to acquire free land,⁴⁵ and in one case land which had been customary land, after its escheat, was re-granted on a free tenure.⁴⁶ The free tenements themselves were, in a

³⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* Hen. III, 69, 79, 279; and *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 13 Edw. III (2nd nos.) 57.

³⁷ L. F. Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 176; according to Mr. Round's calculation this would pay the wages of one knight for ten days. (*Arch. Journ.* lix, 147 and 151.)

³⁸ *Red Bk. of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 623.

³⁹ L. F. Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 176.

⁴⁰ *Add. Ct. R.* 32634; for other instances of very small castle-ward service, see *ibid.* 32615 and 32630.

⁴¹ *Red. Bk. of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 555 and 624.

⁴² *Chan. Inq. p.m.* 18 Edw. II, 83; and *Assize R.* 909, m. 20*d.*

⁴³ *Ibid.* C. Edw. I, file 14 (10).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 31242, 31244, 31260, 32630.

⁴⁵ *Add. Ct. R.* 32611.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 32639.

considerable number of cases, burdened with small services: thus, Robert de Creule, in the early years of the century, held lands freely at Wartling for two suits of court, suit at the king's writ, and foreign service; and William Tristram held $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres on the same manor quit of all save foreign services.⁴⁷ On Laughton manor in 1338 the services of the freemen⁴⁸ are set out at some length: twenty-seven of them, who held thirty-six holdings, were bound to carry from Seaford to Laughton, or Maresfield, one measure of wine before Easter and one after Easter, and to plough with four ploughs for the Lenten sowing; and for each of their thirty-six holdings they were bound to harrow with one horse for one day in Lent; they had also to carry twelve loads of hay from the manor to Maresfield, and to reap, apparently for one day in autumn, with thirty-six men, each with his whole household, excepting his wife and shepherds. They had three meals for the wine carrying, two meals a day for every two ploughmen, one meal a day for each man who harrowed, one meal for all the hay-carrying. Seventeen other freemen had, likewise, to reap for one day at the food of the lord. The lord provided for all the reapers—free and bond alike—bread made of corn, and beer for their midday meal, and one ox which must have been worth 10s. at Hokeday, and had since been fattened on the lord's pasture—the entire hide was to remain to the lord. One draught of beer was allowed to each man in the field after dinner, and for his supper he had a wastel worth $\frac{1}{4}d.$, one herring, and one draught of beer.

It is difficult to see in what respect the position of these men differed from some of the less onerous instances of unfree tenure, indeed there are cases where villeins, and even cottars, held on what would appear to be freer conditions than these Laughton freemen, though of course merchet and tenure at will would certainly have been regarded as incident to villeinage by the fourteenth century. Nor within the ranks of the customary tenants themselves is it easy to follow the distinctions of status. Domesday Book represents the county as being mainly occupied by villeins, with a small population of cottars or bordars (apparently equivalent terms used in different districts), and about three hundred and fifty serfs found chiefly on the lay fees in the rapes of Arundel, Lewes, and Bramber, though the abbot of Battle had twelve on Alciston manor.⁴⁹

As early as 1080 the burdens incident to unfree tenure might differ considerably in amount; for instance, each member of the privileged villein community within the vill of Battle owed a small money rent, and was bound in return for a loaf and a half and a 'companagium' to find one man for one day only for the hay-harvest in Bodiham meadow, and likewise for mending the mill—any further service in these respects which might be necessary being regarded not as a matter of duty, but as a courtesy which a man ought not, if possible, to neglect. He was also bound to make a seam of malt, if required, the requisite grain being brought to his house by a servant of the hall, though he himself must bring the malt back to the court with a measure, in return for two loaves *cum bono companagio*.⁵⁰ The villein tenants within the *leuga*, but outside the vill, on the other hand, were bound to do whatever work they were told throughout the whole of every fourth week, and on Saturday to go

⁴⁷ Add. Ct. R. 32613, 32615; cf. 32618.

⁴⁸ Add. MS. 33189, fol. 72. Cf. Mr. Round's remarks on the services of freemen in his article on the Burton Abbey Surveys, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xx, 285 et seq.

⁴⁹ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 368, 394a.

⁵⁰ *Chron. Mon. de Bello* (Angl. Christ. Soc.), 12 et seq.

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where they were bidden with a horse,⁵¹ services characterized by a degree of uncertainty usually associated with the lowest forms of tenure.

Nor is it any easier to generalize as to the minimum amount of service incumbent upon the various classes of customary tenants in the thirteenth century. On the one hand we have evidence which would seem to point towards a movement in favour of the definition of villein services properly so called, while the services of the cottars remained servile and uncertain—possibly even became more so as the serfs were merged in their ranks. On the other hand there are cases of almost complete freedom amongst the cottars, which would seem to point to the smallness of their holdings as being the only respect in which they could be regarded as inferior to the highest ranks of customary tenants.

Thus at Alciston, in the reign of Edward I, there were four cottars, each of whom owed at the feast of St. Thomas 12*d.* and from Michaelmas to hoeing time two works a week on Monday and Friday, as well as threshing and breaking clods, and spreading hay when necessary. At Christmas each was bound to carry to Battle twelve hens, and at Easter two hundred and fifty eggs, but was quit of work on the twelve days of the feast of the Nativity, and from Good Friday to the octave of Easter. Each must reap as long as there was anything to reap, and at sheep-shearing time they must all be present to collect the sheep and drive them to the water and gather the wool. Throughout the hay and wheat harvest each must find one man to spread and collect the hay and to make the cocks.⁵² At Appledram there were nine 'greater' cottars each holding four acres; these were bound over and above services owed on three boondays to do three works—whatever they were told—every week from the feast of St. Matthew (21 September) to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1 August), except in Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun weeks, when they need not work except to thresh food for the beasts if necessary. From 1 August to 21 September they had to do whatever they were told every day of the week except Saturday. The exact amount of various kinds of labour which constituted one work is specified, thus they must thresh 1 'werkhop'—that is $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels—of hard grain, or 2 'werkhops' of barley, or they must collect 50 sheaves (keeping one for themselves) and so on, and any one who possessed a cow must mow an acre of hay and bind it.⁵³ The burdensome and uncertain nature of these services is obvious, and at Westdean, Singleton, and Charlton the valuation of customs and services of the cottars is considerable.⁵⁴ At Pulborough, on the other hand, there were two cottars at least who owed nothing beyond rent, and the works of the other seven were only worth 6*d.* each,⁵⁵ while at Barnhorne there were eighteen coterells, most of whom held at a rent heriot 'relief' and suit of court.⁵⁶

The Battle custumal, which seems to illustrate the depression of the cottar, also affords the best instances of the movement towards the definition

⁵¹ *Chron. Mon. de Bello* (Angl. Christ. Soc.), 17.

⁵² *Custumals of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 30.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 53-7

⁵⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m., Hen. III, file 42 (5); at Westdean, 9 cotarii 63*s.* 8*d.*; at Singleton, 13 cotarii £4 1*s.* 8*d.*; and at Charlton, 13 cotarii 78*s.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* file 28, No. 17.

⁵⁶ *Custumals of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 20. The word 'relief' is used here, and frequently in the court rolls (e.g. Add. Ct. R. 32610, 32613, 31887), with reference to unfree holdings, where the expression 'fine for entry' would be more correct. At Wartling at least the use of the word in this connexion may have been due to the influence of the very small military tenures which owed castle-ward rents, but which, as far as their size was concerned, differed but little from many of the villein holdings.

of the villein services. Thus on the manor of Merle or Marley, which was within the Lowy of the abbey, and therefore may presumably be fairly compared with the early custumal, every holder of a messuage and 1 wista of land had to carry 210 cart-loads of wood from the abbey wood to the monastery; 90 between Michaelmas and Hocketide, each load being drawn by four oxen, and 120 between Hocketide and Michaelmas, each load being drawn by two oxen; for this work he received sixty-five loaves of black bread, worth 16*d.* He must also carry 5 measures and 1 bushel of salt from Winchelsea or Hastings to Battle, for which he received fifteen of the smallest loaves of black bread, worth 2½*d.*, and 2,000 herrings from Winchelsea, Hastings, or Bulverhythe to the abbey for four loaves and twelve herrings, worth 1½*d.* He was further bound to find one man to mow and spread the hay in Bodiam meadow for two days, for which the labourer was to receive two and a half black loaves, with pottage, drink, half a dish of meat, and cheese, worth in all 2*d.* daily; while all the customers were to receive in common for this work three large simnels and three small ones, worth 2½*d.* Each of them had, moreover, to carry six wagon-loads of hay from the meadow to the abbey with two oxen, for which he received six loaves and eighteen herrings, worth 6*d.*; and to find one cart with four oxen and a driver, or two carts with two oxen and a driver, and one labourer to fill the cart, to carry manure for two days; for this work a meal was provided in the common hall—for every two men, three loaves, pottage, drink, a dish of meat, and cheese, worth 2½*d.* a day, and drink in the evening. Finally each tenant owed fifteen carrying works from Winchelsea or Hastings to the abbey, for which he received one or two loaves, according to the length of the journey.

The tenants of half a wista on the same manor had to carry half the amount of salt, and do the same amount of mowing, hay and manure carrying, to plough 1 acre and 1 quarter of land, and to find one man to work in the garden for thirty days in the year; a whole day's gardening between Michaelmas and Hocketide was reckoned as a work and a half, and a whole day's gardening between Hocketide and Michaelmas was reckoned as two works. These tenants were also bound to do 'gavelmerke,' that is to inclose 5 virgates of land for the lord. The holders of a quarter of a wista did half the amount of labour done by the tenant of half a wista, and the same amount of hedging. All the tenants had among them to carry half the wine of the abbey from Winchelsea to Battle.⁵⁷

On Barnhorne manor again the tenant of 30 acres had to harrow for two days for the Lent sowing with one man and his own horse and harrow, for which he received daily three meals worth 3*d.*, he had to carry manure for two days, and find one man to mow the lord's meadow for two days, to make the hay and to carry it when mown for one day. In autumn he was bound to carry beans and oats with his own cart and beasts, and in summer he had to carry wood for two days, and find one man for two days to cut underwood, and to carry it when it was cut, and he must do carrying work to Battle twice in summer, carrying each time one load of corn.⁵⁸ These detailed services give the impression of a far more definite tenure than the vague obligation to 'do whatever they were told' of the eleventh-century survey⁵⁹; each work, moreover, has its money value accurately assigned, as

⁵⁷ *Custumals of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 4-12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 20-1.

⁵⁹ *Supra.*

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if the idea of commutation was not entirely foreign to the system, although the valuation obviously has its origin in the lord's desire to be certain that the work performed was more than worth the food which it cost him—in Barnhorne the harrowing and brushwood cutting were only worth 2*d.* a day, and the man's three meals cost 3*d.*, so that if the lord exacted the labour he suffered a loss of 1*d.* a day on the transaction !⁶⁰

In curious contrast to these somewhat onerous services are the obligations of the customary tenants on Iden manor in 1291. They were thirty-five in number, owing altogether rents amounting to 30*s.* 3*d.* a year ; twenty-one of them owed in addition forty hens and one cock, worth in all 5*s.* 1*d.* ; four of them were bound to cut and bind 4 acres of corn, without drink, and they had also to mow and spread the hay on 2 acres of meadow. The surveyor, however, apparently wishing to make the fact of their villeinage quite clear, and aware that appearances were against him, added the significant phrase 'and they all hold at will.'⁶¹ With these may be compared the practically contemporary survey of Iham, where there were twenty-five foreign customary tenants, most of whom owed a small money rent, a hen, and suit of court, while two of them were bound to mow for half a day.⁶² The burden of servitude cannot have sat very heavily upon these men, who evidently lived at a distance from the manor, possibly at Guestling and Ore, like the freemen mentioned above, and could probably only be controlled by the bailiff of the manor at considerable trouble to himself.⁶³

It is thus obvious that the nature or extent of services cannot be taken as affording any basis for distinguishing between freeman and villein or villein and cottar, and in fact apart from fourteenth-century evidence of legal disabilities it is very difficult to generalize at all on the question of status. One fact, however, appears to emerge from the mass of conflicting evidence ; namely, that in early days—that is between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries—the normal villein-holding in Sussex consisted of one wista or virgate of land or of some simple multiple or fraction of a wista. The best evidence for this statement comes from the Battle custumal, where the villein services on nearly every manor are assigned to the holder of a wista, or the holder of half a wista, as the case may be. Further corroboration of the fact may, however, be obtained from other sources.

Thus at Wadhurst in 1277 the customary tenants are called 'virgatarii operarii.' At Duddington certain services are reckoned on the half virgate.⁶⁴ At Bibleham in 1334 the villein services seem to have been a burden partly upon the land and partly upon the individual villein, the eleven customers, for instance, were bound to plough 6 acres in common, and each had to harrow for one day with one man and one horse, and to carry manure for a day with two horses or oxen ; there were, however, twenty-one carrying works and forty-two boon works in autumn, which were assigned amongst

⁶⁰ *Custumals of Battle Abbey* (Camd. Soc.), 20 ; this would seem to be the explanation of the somewhat curious calculation given.

⁶¹ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. R. 660.

⁶² *Ibid.* ptfo. $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$.

⁶³ Cf. the difficulty of recovering a fugitive villein when once he had contrived to escape from the immediate neighbourhood of the manor ; Add. Ct. R. 31864, &c.

⁶⁴ Add. MS. 5703, fol. 926 ; and L. F. Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 176 ; cf. also Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 23, No. 9.

the 7 wistas held by the villeins.⁶⁵ Similarly at Crowmarsh,⁶⁶ where at the same date there were 24 wistas in the hands of the villeins, the survey begins by stating that each villein for each wista must plough and harrow an acre for the winter sowing at the food of the lord ; it then adds as a kind of afterthought

if he have his own plough, but if some only have half or one third or a quarter of a plough each whole plough shall mow an acre (et si non habeat nisi medietatem vel tertiam vel quartam partem unius carucae pro qualibet caruca arabit unam acram). And there are on an average each year eight ploughs, and the work, at 8*d.* an acre, is worth 6*s.*

In this case possibly, and in the case of Bibleham almost certainly, the customary works of the villeins had first been assessed at a time when each villein held the normal holding of 1 wista ; subsequent subdivisions of land had reduced the tenements in size and multiplied the number of the tenants, and though some of the services were still reckoned on the original unit, in other instances the lord managed to secure some additional service from each new tenant.

This process may be seen actually in the working in Wartling in 1311 when William ate Hole had licence to grant to a fellow villein 2 acres of his native holding in Welfeld, for which the new tenant was to pay to the lord 12*d.* at the three usual terms, and to do one boon work in autumn, though nothing was to be subtracted from William's services.⁶⁷

The Wartling court rolls afford other instances of this tendency to subdivide villein tenements: thus, in 1306 William, son of Geoffrey ate Felde, surrendered 1 acre of his land to the lord, who thereupon admitted John ate Felde to hold it at the usual service—8*d.* a year and one boon day in autumn—and for one additional boon day.⁶⁸ The system, however, had the obvious drawback of introducing into the manorial economy a comparatively indigent class of tenant who was not always able to meet his liabilities in the shape of heriots ; thus, on the death of Lucas Webbe, who held 1 acre 1 rod of land in bondage, the lord received no heriot because Webbe had no live stock ;⁶⁹ and Mabel, the widow of John ate Felde mentioned above, died in 1320 seised of a messuage and 3 acres of land, which she had held as her free bench after the death of her husband for 14*d.* rent and the same services, but paid no heriot apparently for a similar reason.⁷⁰

It is interesting to note that in Wootton, which was an ecclesiastical manor, the virgate and half-virgate villein holdings linger on to the latter part of the fifteenth century,⁷¹ though of course even here they are by no means universal. The same thing is also true of the archbishop's manor of South Malling in 1396.⁷² There is an instance of a 30-acre villein-holding in Wartling in 1310,⁷³ but the rarity here, and the obvious instances of subdivision at Bibleham and Crowmarsh,⁷⁴ make it appear possible that the ecclesiastical overlord was more adverse to the admittance to his manors of a class of very small and probably poor holders than was the layman.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Add. MS. 33189, fol. 49.

⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 50*d.*

⁶⁷ Add. Ct. R. 32617 in dorso.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 32613 ; cf. 32615, m. 4.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 32610, m. 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 32618. The membrane is much rubbed, but this would seem to be the reason given ; cf. also several cases at the time of the Black Death ; *ibid.* 32657, also 32610, m. 3*d.*

⁷¹ Eccl. Com. Ct. R. bdle. 33, No. 26.

⁷² Add. MS. 33182, fol. 18.

⁷³ Add. Ct. R. 32615, m. 3.

⁷⁴ Add. MS. 33189, fol. 49, 50*d.*

⁷⁵ On Southease manor, which had belonged to Hyde Abbey, services were still assessed on yardlands in the seventeenth century (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 250).

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The court rolls afford instances of nearly all the ordinary disabilities incident to villein status ; tallage, and merchet, inability to alienate his land without leave, or to leave the manor without paying 'chevage,' inability to acquire land or to marry outside the manor, or to serve whom he would without leave, the obligation to grind his corn at the lord's mill, to send his pigs to the lord's pannage, and to serve as reeve or bailiff when elected, inability to cut timber or to sell the stock on his land without leave, and in spite of all this the necessity to keep his house and tenement in decent repair. Moreover, not only might a man be forced to pay 'capitagium' if he dwelt in the manor without any settled domicile,⁷⁶ but it occasionally happened that if a villein-tenement were unoccupied, the villeinage at the request of the lord would elect one of their number to receive and occupy the land, whereupon he was bound to accept it even against his will.⁷⁷

Yet in many cases the position of the villein was probably not as burdensome as might appear at first sight. On the death of a tenant his wife was entitled to free-bench, and his lands were practically hereditary, though the form of seeking admittance was preserved.⁷⁸ A small money fine would generally procure him acquittance of the more burdensome incidents of his tenure, such as the obligation to serve as reeve or beadle⁷⁹; and if he took matters into his own hands, as he frequently did, and left the manor, entered into service, married outside the demesne, put his son to school, gave his daughter in marriage, or acquired land without licence,⁷⁹ he probably felt this exercise of freedom to be fully worth the consequent fine. In the case of those who fled from the manor without paying chevage, though every effort was made to recover control of them, it was frequently a long time before they were brought back. The whole situation, however, must have depended largely upon the character of the overlord. Isabel St. Leger, who was lady of Wartling in May, 1307, remitted all the fines of the view of frankpledge until the coming of the lord, upon condition that he at his coming, if it pleased him, should take the profits of the view without any condition as they had been taken in times past, to which terms the tenants gladly acceded;⁸⁰ and in 1310 the Lady Isabel's second husband, Giles de Braunson, accepted a commutation of 20s. for all the tallage due to him from a certain tenant for the term of his life, and pardoned a tenant who had omitted to put up a fence between his land and the lord's demesne.⁸¹ In August of the same year the cow, which was due as heriot on the death of Stephen le Tut, was restored to his widow, 'of the lord's grace, for the soul of Lord John St. Leger,' and the pig, which was the best beast left by Adam ate Hole, was given to his widow Agnes, and on her death two months later to her son and heir William.⁸²

Wartling, however, was probably an exceptionally humanely administered manor, and the lord seems to have reaped consequent benefit, for the cases of neglect of service and consequent ruin of crops are comparatively few. At Ashburnham, on the other hand, in 1275 the lord of the manor treated his villeins with great severity, depriving them of their right to take wood

⁷⁶ Add. MS. 33189, fol. 46 (Hamerden custumal).

⁷⁷ Add. Ct. R. 31253, 31887, 31898.

⁷⁸ Add. Ct. R. of Loughton and Wartling *passim*; the widow's free-bench sometimes consisted of the whole (ibid. 31887), sometimes of half (ibid. 32632), and apparently sometimes of a quarter of the tenement (ibid. 32610).

^{78a} Ibid. 31887.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 31246, 32630, 32636, 32609, 31885, 31898, 31905.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 32613.

⁸¹ Ibid. 32615.

⁸² Ibid.

for fuel and repairs in his woods, and exacting such burdensome services that many were reduced to beggary⁸³; nor could they obtain redress, the king's court being only able to give aid to a villein against his lord in cases of bodily injury. It is, therefore, natural that attempts should have been made from time to time to prove that various manors were ancient demesne, the villein tenants of ancient demesne being privileged to hold by fixed customs. An instance occurred in 1280 at 'Cholynton'—one of the manors of Eastbourne—when the tenants complained that Roger le Ware had increased their services; but upon reference to Domesday the manor was shown not to have been in the king's hands after the Conquest.^{83a} It may possibly have been due to discontent at oppressive exactions that, at Laughton, not only the ordinary tenants but even the reeve himself seems to have been constantly negligent, and it was difficult to get the services performed. In 1376 Reginald Chiselbergh absolutely refused to keep the lord's pigs in Hawkhurst wood,⁸⁴ and two years later there seems to have been a revolt amongst the ploughmen, Henry Whyte was placed in the stocks for refusing to serve, and John son of Reginald Chiselbergh was to be attached to do the work on pain of 6s. 8d.^{84a}

This is the more remarkable as the ploughmen of Laughton were certainly paid servants in the fourteenth century, the regular staff (*famuli*) of ploughmen in 1322 receiving 6d. a week each as wages (*vadia*) and 12s. a year between them, as a fixed payment, possibly in commutation for part keep or clothing (*stipendium*), while the ploughing which was necessary over and above their labour, and that of the customary tenants, was paid at the rate of 7d. per acre.⁸⁵ There seem generally to have been one or two paid servants on the Sussex manors at this time; at Laughton, besides the ploughmen, there was the 'parcarius,' who received 45s. 6d. a year, or 10½d. a week, and the keeper of the beasts on the lord's pasture outside the park,⁸⁶ who received 6d. a week from 17 April to 2 October, and 2s. 'stipendium.' At Rye at a somewhat earlier date the miller received 1 mark a year and the serjeant 1½d., or later 2d., a day.⁸⁷ At Maresfield the only regular wages recorded are those of the 'parcarius'—45s. 6d. a year, as at Laughton.⁸⁸ On Appledram manor, on the other hand, there was a large staff of servants, including a reaper, a carter, four ploughmen, one man who did harrowing in the spring and drove the cart which carried manure in the summer, three shepherds, cowherds and swineherds, and lads who worked in the kitchen and kept the geese and poultry.⁸⁹

In ordinary circumstances the work of the manorial servants and the customary tenants was almost sufficient for the harvest-work; in 1348-9

⁸³ Coram Rege R. 19, m. 14 d.

^{83a} Ibid. 51, m. 9 d.

⁸⁴ Add. Ct. R. 31894.

^{84a} Ibid. 31898. It may be noted in this connexion that it was on this manor that the tenants were forced to accept villein holdings against their will (*supra*). The system, as might have been expected, was not always successful, one tenant being relieved of his land in little more than a year, at which time he had nothing to give as heriot; *ibid.* 31900.

⁸⁵ Mins. Accts. (Gen. Ser.), bdle. 1147, No. 14.

⁸⁶ Ibid. It would seem probable that it was the latter office which Reginald Chiselbergh refused to fulfil in 1376.

⁸⁷ Ibid. bdle. 1028, No. 10; from 1280-8; the rise in the serjeant's wages occurs between 1284 and 1286.

⁸⁸ Ibid. bdle. 1027, Nos. 21 and 22. This was in 1291-2 and 1294-5.

⁸⁹ Ibid. bdle. 1016, Nos. 9, 10, and 11, and bdle. 1017, Nos. 11 and 12.

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the serjeant of Appledram returned his account⁹⁰ of autumn expenses, as follows :—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Beer for the bailiff, 'riperewe,' mower, and boys in the kitchen for 4 weeks	4	8
Fresh meat and fish, butter and cheese for the same	4	9
Candles.	0	3
Drink and food for 40 customary mowers for one day	4	4
Fresh meat for the 'bederipes'	10	0
Help for the mowers by day and acre	18	6
Wages of one 'tassator' for 12 days	2	0
Gloves for the servants	0	12
Wages for the 'riperewe'	4	0

The Black Death, however, put a sudden end to this state of affairs. There can be no doubt that the visitation was both severe and widespread in Sussex. The havoc amongst the clergy and religious has been dwelt upon elsewhere ;⁹¹ in Wartling the number of deaths of freemen and villeins recorded at the court held in March, 1349, was twelve, and in the following October over sixty, twenty-five of these left no direct heirs, and the heirs of ten others were minors.⁹² In Appledram in 1349-50 the numbers of the customary reapers were reduced from two hundred and thirty-four to one hundred and sixty-eight.⁹³ These two instances, from almost opposite ends of the county, go far to prove the extent of the calamity, elsewhere court rolls and ministers' accounts alike are missing for that year, but at Rustington at a later date it was regarded as marking an era in manorial history.

Possibly nothing shows more clearly the devastating and lasting effects of this plague than the details given for the honour of the Eagle in 1440.^{93a} Originally each person in the honour had paid one penny yearly, as a kind of poll-tax ; previous to the plague these payments were compounded for, the eight hundreds⁹⁴ within the honour paying various sums, amounting in all to £27 19s. 8d., which should imply a population of, roughly, 6,700 ; by the great pestilence nine villages upon the coast were completely destroyed and rendered desolate, and the general population so reduced that to raise the £27 19s. 8d., instead of 1d. a head some persons had to pay 2s. 8d. or even 5s. As a result many people left the district and went to dwell in other liberties, thereby further reducing the population. Accordingly, in 1440 the old system of paying 1d. per head was re-introduced, the yield in that year being £6 5s. 3d. ; so that it would seem that the population had been reduced from about 6,700 to about 1,500.

The results in different places seem to have been somewhat different. In Appledram in 1352-3 the cost of extra labour in the harvest field was 38s. 'et tantum propter tenementa existentia in manu domini et propter caritatem laboris,' and there was an immediate and lasting rise in the rate

⁹⁰ Mins. Accts. (Gen. Ser.) bdle. 1016, No. 9. The riperewe was probably the overseer of the workers in the harvest-field.

⁹¹ *V.C.H. Suss.* ii, 'Religious Houses.'

⁹² Add. Ct. R. 32656-7.

⁹³ Mins. Accts. (Gen. Ser.) bdle. 1016, No. 10. There were fourteen cases of default of rent this year, and five three years later. Ibid. and bdle. 1016, No. 11.

^{93a} Duchy of Lanc. Mins. Accts. bdle. 442, No. 7117.

⁹⁴ East Grinstead, Willingdon, Dill, Longbridge, Flexborough, Totnore, Rushmonden, Hartfield.

of wages.⁹⁵ At Rustington and Wartling the principal result seems to have been a wholesale alteration in tenures. Dr. Cunningham quotes a Rustington custumal which states that after the great pestilence of the reign of Edward III, the virgates, half virgates, and farthing lands, which were held in bondage, came into the lord's hands and were regranted at a fixed rent, for which they continued to be held at the will of the lord;^{95a} at Wartling, on the other hand, the lands of minors were granted to their relatives until the full age of the heir at the old service, and for an additional rent; in other cases lands were granted to entirely new tenants for a term of years under similar conditions.⁹⁶ Instances of this occur in December, 1349, and October, 1350; there is one in 1353; and in 1370, and subsequently there are others, two being accompanied by the commutation of old services,⁹⁷ so that the ultimate tendency must have been in the same direction as at Rustington, though commutation was obviously by no means so universal here.⁹⁸

When one considers the portentous lists of services due from the villein and small freeholder it would almost seem that there could have been no time for private life and relaxation; but it must be borne in mind that the services due were not necessarily exacted in full; where the customary tenants were numerous, or in seasons when the crops were poor, much less than the total available labour would be required. Moreover, there were numerous feast days on which no work might be done; the position of Sunday, however, as a day of rest was not assured until after the Reformation, when the Puritans with their Old Testament ideals converted the Lord's Day into the Sabbath; during the Middle Ages courts sat on Sunday⁹⁹ and markets were held; the market at Battle was only changed to Thursday in 1567,¹⁰⁰ but there was a general feeling against Sunday markets, and in 1285 that at East Grinstead was altered to Saturday.¹⁰¹ The Pevensey Castle accounts¹⁰² show that building and similar operations were continued throughout the week without any apparent regard for Sunday; it was therefore to the holy days that the labouring classes had to look for rest. Below the

⁹⁵ The Mins. Accts. give the following variations in wages ('stipendia'); the 'vadia' or weekly payments are not given consistently enough to be compared:—

	1348-9 (¹⁰¹¹ / ₉)	1349-50 (¹⁰¹¹ / ₁₀)	1352-3 (¹⁰¹¹ / ₁₁)	1377-8 (¹⁰¹¹ / ₁₂)
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Serjeant (stipendium) . . .	—	—	13 4	—
Master of household servants	—	—	8 0	—
Reaper	7 0	—	8 0	8 0
Carter	6 6	8 0	8 0	8 0
Ploughman	6 0	—	7 0	8 0
Shepherd	5 6	—	6 0	6 0
Shepherd	4 0	5 6	4 6	4 6
Swineherd	3 6	4 6	4 6	4 6
Boys, etc., in kitchen. . .	3 6	3 6	—	3 6
Plough-drivers	—	5 6	6 6	—
Cowboy.	3 6	3 6	3 6	—

In the same way the autumn wages of the 'riperewe' rose from 4s. to 5s., and of the 'tassator' apparently from 2s. to 2s. 6d. In 1253 the mowers employed by the prior of Michelham received 2d. an acre in defiance of the Statute of Labourers (Assize R. 941, m. 11 d.).

^{95a} Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry* (1905), i, 586.

⁹⁶ Add. Ct. R. 32657 *passim*, 32659.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 32681, 32683, 32685, m. 2 d. etc., where the 'old services' are still stipulated for.

⁹⁹ e.g. *Feet of F.* (Suss. Rec. Soc.), No. 23.

¹⁰¹ Close, 13 Edw. I, m. 10.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 32681, 32683, 32685.

¹⁰⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxvi, 185.

¹⁰² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlix, 9-26.

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ranks of what we may call the gentry there must have been considerable homogeneity, due primarily to the identity of services which caused the villein and small freeholder to work side by side. This unity and inter-dependence was furthered by the jurisdictionary arrangements of the period. The unfree having no lands—and technically no chattels—of his own which could be seized for his offences, responsibility for his good behaviour was made collective, all persons over twelve¹⁰³ being enrolled in tithings, and the whole tithing being liable to amercement for the offence of any member. These tithings were the subdivisions of villas as villas were of the hundreds, but they occasionally attained to a semi-villar independence under the title of ‘borghs’ or ‘boroughs.’¹⁰⁴ Although all the unfree were supposed to be enrolled in tithings, an exception was made of the personal servants and retainers of landowners; for their misdeeds their masters were responsible, and so when in 1278 Thomas Alin stole a deer at Folkington, the prior of Michelham, in whose ‘mainpast,’ or household, he had been, was fined.¹⁰⁵ A state intermediate between the tithing and ‘mainpast’ existed in 1277 at Chidham,¹⁰⁶ where the bishop of Exeter had certain tenants not in any tithing; they were the ploughmen, carters, reapers, and threshers of the manor, and were bound to come twice in the year to their lord’s court with the bishop’s reaper (probably the ‘riperewe’)¹⁰⁷ as their tithingman, and also to appear before the coroner in the tithing of ‘Westenton’ and not elsewhere. The position of tithingman or headborough was somewhat onerous: he had to attend at the hundred court, to make presentments of offences, and if he came late was liable to be fined,¹⁰⁸ while he was the object of oppression of such arbitrary officials as John de Pallingfeud, who in 1275 fined the headboroughs for wearing their hoods when they appeared in court before him.¹⁰⁹ The inquiries made at the various courts were searching, and tithings were frequently amerced for omitting to make full presentments; at Steyning¹¹⁰ a remarkable system existed by which the twelve jurors made their presentments at the manorial court, and were then given a date, about ten days later, at which to make a fuller or revised charge; this ‘court of Morewespeche’ (presumably, ‘morrow speech’) showed more consideration for the jurors than did Nicholas le Bretun, who in 1275 used to fine them because they could not answer without premeditation¹¹¹—the Sussex man has never been remarkable for a glib tongue. The result of all the searching examinations of manorial and hundredal courts was to reveal a mass of lawlessness, but it is clear from the pleas of the crown, held from time to time,¹¹² that a very large proportion of the crime escaped unpunished; constantly it is stated that the criminals are unknown, or have fled, rarely were they arrested, and then they were usually acquitted. The tithingmen seem to have been the normal police, and in 1306 it is stated that when the hue and cry was raised the ‘decenarii et custodes pacis’ came to the pursuit.¹¹³ During the night police duties were discharged by two, or more, honest men, and their duties were no sinecure, for at Steyning even the parish clerk

¹⁰³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 216.

¹⁰⁵ Assize R. 921.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1031, No. 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 214.

¹¹¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 211.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 1339, m. 6 d.

¹⁰⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlii, 190.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 924, m. 70, D.

¹⁰⁸ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 126, No. 1869.

¹¹⁰ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, m. 43.

¹¹² Assize R. 909, 912, 921, 924, &c.

was a night walker, and assaulted one of the watchmen.¹¹⁴ The jury at Seaford were required to present 'smale theves that ys to say nygth walkers and hoystoppers that drawe mens goods out of there howsyng at wendoe by 1. ght,'¹¹⁵ and at Elsted in 1403 John Fay was caught standing up against John Wythard's house to hear what was said in secret there, the mischief being all the greater because his wife was a gossip—she was, indeed, fined 3s. 4d. for being a chatterbox (*garulatrix*) and disturber of the peace.¹¹⁶ They were less tender of women's peccadilloes in those days, and at Seaford during the sixteenth century presented 'goodwife Pupe for misusyng her tunge to the hurt of hire naybors,' 'Cooper's wiffe for makeinge discord betwixt neibours' and 'Goody Rance' as a scold.¹¹⁷ To be quite fair, the women were not the only offenders with the tongue, and in 1480 several men were fined at Steyning for chattering and disturbing the steward and all the court.¹¹⁸

As a whole, no doubt, the Sussex peasantry were a quiet, peaceable race, possessing a certain shrewd humour, which is displayed in many of the nick-names which preceded hereditary surnames. Physical peculiarities originated such names as Silverlokkes, Bullnekke, Vayrheye (Fairhair), Hoppeoverhumba (Hop o' my thumb, a dwarf), or Strongithmouth; moral characteristics were commemorated by Truelove, Dousamor (Sweetlove), Vayrname, or less pleasantly by Slogard, le Trulle, or Kokkesbrayne; fancied resemblances caused their owners to be called Sparhawke, le Mous, or le Swan, and there was no doubt plenty of point to such quaint names as Koc Halfeherring, Castehering, Gotomebedd, Swetemelk, Godmefech, and Takepeni.¹¹⁹ Still it cannot be denied that quarrels were numerous and resort to the knife frequent; indeed, when a state of almost private warfare existed between the earl of Warenne and Robert Aguillon,¹²⁰ and when Luke de Vyenne, lord of Cudlow manor, was attacked on the high road and ducked in a horse pond by John de Bohun and his servants,¹²¹ it was not surprising that the lower classes should be lawless. Occasionally resentment against undue interference emboldened the peasants to defy their lord, and in 1280 when Simon de Pierrepont endeavoured to force Hildebrand Reynberd to serve as reeve at Preston, he with fifty-three other villeins attacked Simon and his servants, set fire to his house in three places, killed his falcon, and maltreated his palfrey, and with drawn knives and axes compelled Simon to swear upon the Gospels that he would not make exactions against their will, nor call them to account for their insubordination.¹²² At Pevensey also, in 1353, when the deputy steward ordered the men to withdraw beyond the bar, Simon Porter threatened him and bade him 'come outside and try it on' ('quod foras veniret et temptaret'), and when the steward himself took his seat, with the portreeve carrying his rod before him, Simon and his brother Roger defied him and left the court pursued by the steward and his officers, being only captured after a desperate fight, in which Simon and one of the steward's men were severely wounded.¹²³

¹¹⁴ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 43.

¹¹⁶ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 126, No. 1870.

¹¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 96, 103, 104.

¹¹⁹ These names all occur in Sussex subsidy lists and assize rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹²⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 209.

¹²² Assize R. 924, m. 56 d.; Coram Rege R. 62, m. 18 d.

¹¹⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 94.

¹¹⁸ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 43.

¹²¹ Coram Rege R. 35, m. 12 d.

¹²³ Assize R. 941, m. 10.

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Still, as a whole, the populace lived a peaceful and united life, bond and free together, with the parochial clergy at their head. The incumbent was, as a rule, one of the same class as his parishioners, and might even be by birth a villein, the manumission of Richard de Wyflise of Slindon, priest, son of one of the archbishop's serfs, being enrolled in 1352.¹²⁴ After all a vicar with £7 a year, and many of the Sussex clergy had less, was little better off than an artificer earning £5, and probably receiving at least one meal a day as well, while an assistant chaplain with £4 was not far removed from the unskilled labourer who could earn about £2 15s. It is therefore hardly surprising if we find the country clergy occasionally associated with their parishioners in law-breaking, especially in the venial sin of poaching, but sometimes in worse deeds, as Walter, rector of St. John-sub-Castro in Lewes, who was one of a gang of burglars.¹²⁵ Even in his dwelling the rector was often little better off than his neighbours, and at Berwick when the lord of the manor anticipated a nineteenth-century social panacea by assigning to every tenant a cottage with '3 akers and a cowlease,' the only advantage given to the parsonage was that it was free while the other tenants were copyhold.¹²⁶ After all, even the better class dwellings had suprisingly little accommodation; ¹²⁷ the main apartment being the great hall, where all the household dined together, the retainers and servants sitting either at the lower end of their lord's table, or at a separate 'yoman bord,' the privilege of heading which at Aldingbourne belonged to the park-keeper.¹²⁸

The social conditions of life in Sussex, as in other parts of England, altered comparatively little between the end of the twelfth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, but the economic development was much more rapid. The two great events round which these changes centred in the fourteenth century are usually considered to be the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt. Of their relative importance in Sussex there can be no doubt. The rising of 1381 is supposed to have received considerable support in the county, though there is little extant evidence of its character. Its results, however, apart from a possible crystallization of the idea of copyhold, to judge from the court rolls, were practically nil; cases of neglect of service occur alike before and after that date,¹²⁹ commutation is at least foreshadowed in earlier custumals,¹³⁰ there are instances in 1308, 1324, and before 1379,¹³¹ yet it was not universal in 1396,¹³² and the Bishopstone court rolls lay stress on 'native fealty' in 1403,¹³³ and the bishop of Chichester manumitted bondmen as late as 1539,¹³⁴ the last manumission in England being probably that of three brothers bondmen of the manor of Falmer in the reign of James I.¹³⁵

The actual growth of copyhold tenure was an equally gradual process, though in several instances the phrase 'to hold by roll of court' first occurs

¹²⁴ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 63b.

¹²⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi. 227.

¹²⁸ Assize R. 1491, m. 41.

¹²⁹ e.g. Add. Ct. R. 31860, 31900, 31906 (Laughton), 1336-1383, 31259 and 31252 (Bishopstone 1373 and 1403). Add. MS. 33182, fol. 13b. and 19 (S. Malling, 1379 and 1388). Eccles. Com. Ct. R. $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{2}{3}$ (Wootton, 1369 and 1389.)

¹³⁰ e.g. The Battle Abbey custumals quoted above, where valuations of works are given consistently.

¹³¹ Rentals and Surveys Ptfo. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{5}{8}$ the customary tenants around the forest (Ashdown) return yearly for the customs 39s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1148, No. 13, Eastbourne (apparently) and Iden. and Add. Ct. R. 31898.

¹³⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* 'Various Coll.' i, 194.

¹²⁵ Gaol Deliv. R. 178, m. 17.

¹²⁷ e.g. Crowhurst manor-house; *ibid.* vii. 47.

¹³³ Add. Ct. R. 31252.

¹³⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 224.

at about the time of the revolt. At Wartling the exact obligations of several tenants in villeinage were enrolled upon the court roll in 1330.¹³⁶ In 1374 Robert Brok was admitted to a messuage and 4 acres in bondage and had entry by the rod,¹³⁷ and in 1381 Stephen Elphege received a shop in Wartling market with 4 acres of land, to hold to him and his heirs by rod and roll of court, and two other tenants were put in seisin on a similar tenure.¹³⁸ Enrolments of services occur in Wivelsfield in 1396,¹³⁹ apparently rather as a means of safeguarding the rights of the lord than in order to assure the tenure of the tenants, yet, even here, showing the first tendency towards the introduction of copyhold. In Laughton there is mention of a case of enrolment taking place as early as 1359,¹⁴⁰ but upon this manor the growth of a class of customary rent-paying tenants may be partly due to the influence of the assart holdings, which seem as a rule to have been held at will for a money rent. The first specific mention of copy of court roll here also is in 1381.¹⁴¹

All evidence would seem to point in the direction of a general breakdown about this time of the old communal organization, a breakdown neither accelerated nor retarded by the peasants' attempt to give the *coup de grâce* to the old order. Nor was the collapse confined to the agricultural and tenurial system; there can be little doubt that the frankpledge and the hundred court, regarded as instruments of police and trade regulations, were no longer efficient.¹⁴² The two conclusions to which the documents seem to testify are in the first place the loss of the sense of joint responsibility by the community, and secondly the overstraining and consequent breakdown of the system of trade regulation in a society which had outgrown such tutelage. Complaints that watch and ward have not been kept according to the Statute of Winchester are frequent; at Lullington in 1374 the capital pledge and tithing were fined for concealing the shedding of blood, and because they would not decide in a certain case whether the hue and cry had been justly raised,¹⁴³ nor agree over the election of a new tithingman.¹⁴⁴ Bakers and butchers, tanners and tailors carried on trade outside the markets, and exacted unlawful prices; millers took excessive tolls and used false measures; bakers and brewers refused to sell outside their own houses; presentments of regrating are not infrequent; nor did the fact of being presented and fined once have any apparent influence upon offenders in these respects.¹⁴⁵

The general disintegration was not, indeed, confined to the manorial system, the towns also were suffering considerable decay at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. From the Conquest to the end of the reign of Edward III had perhaps been the most prosperous period in the urban life of the county. The extent to which Chichester, Arundel, Lewes, Steyning, and Pevensey increased in wealth in the few years which intervened between 1066 and the Domesday Survey has been noticed

¹³⁶ Add. Ct. R. 32630.

¹³⁷ Ibid. 32686.

¹³⁸ Ibid. 32691.

¹³⁹ Add. MS. 33182, fol. 18.

¹⁴⁰ Add. Ct. R. 31902.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 31901.

¹⁴² There is, of course, no evidence that they had worked efficiently in previous centuries, but it seems a fair inference that a system which had its origin before the reign of Edgar, and had been developed by such legislators as Henry II and Edward I throughout the country, must originally have been successful.

¹⁴³ Add. Ct. R. 32408, 32414, 31243, 31248 &c.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 31243.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 32399-410, 31529 &c. 31258, 31243, 32025 and Duchy of Lancs. Ct. R. bdle. 126, No. 1870.

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elsewhere.¹⁴⁶ Chichester and Lewes acquired gilds merchant as early as the reign of Stephen,¹⁴⁷ Rye and Winchelsea rose to importance in the reign of Henry II,¹⁴⁸ and though Winchelsea suffered utter annihilation in the storm of 1287, yet after its rebuilding by Edward I it seems to have recovered more than its former prosperity.¹⁴⁹

In the thirteenth century, indeed, traders both in town and country suffered to some extent from the tyrannies of the great overlords. Thus William de Braose purchased corn of merchants coming to his borough of Shoreham, paying them what price he would, so that foreign merchants shunned the port;¹⁵⁰ the constables of the castle of Bramber seized the timber which poor folk were carrying to Shoreham market and made no payment for it; and similar attacks were made on the merchandise which was brought to Lewes,¹⁵¹ and there are other instances of abuses of the right to take assize of bread and ale, as in the hundred of Hartfield, where Richard of Pevensey, bailiff of the honour, forced bakers to make four loaves for $\frac{1}{2}d.$, and brewers to sell 3 gallons of beer for $1d.$, when corn was as high as $8s.$ a quarter;¹⁵² there was, moreover, a certain amount of unfairness in the exaction of bribes from craftsmen before they were allowed to exercise their trades.

Nevertheless, it was just at this period that Arundel and Chichester put forward their claim to most extensive privileges; Arundel asserted its right to choose its own coroner in full borough-court, and had to be reminded that in the matter of presentment of Englishry it must adhere to the custom of the county, and answer for all attachments before the justices as any other town, and the mayor and citizens of Chichester claimed, though ineffectually, the right of trial by duel, and to better purpose testamentary powers over their lands and chattels.¹⁵³ About the same time the men of Seaford owed no customary services to their overlord, and sailors and merchants dwelling there were allowed quittance of all dues to the manor court if they were not present in the town on the day of summons.¹⁵⁴

There can be no doubt that the export of wool was one of the chief factors in the wealth of the Sussex ports in the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The monasteries of Robertsbridge, Dureford, and Bayham, exported considerable quantities to Florence and Flanders,¹⁵⁶ and Sussex stood seventh in the assessment of wool from each county in 1341.¹⁵⁷ In 1353 Edward III fixed a staple at Chichester, which had already been pointed out as the place most suitable for the holding of the county court,¹⁵⁸ and in 1364-5 it was enacted, in order to obviate unnecessary expenses of carriage, that anyone who chose might take their wools and wool-fells to Lewes, where the Chichester customers were to attend for the purpose of weighing them,¹⁵⁹ though it would seem that this privilege was soon lost, for in 1402 the burgesses of Lewes prayed for its renewal, seeing that the town was situated close to the sea, in the very heart of the wool-growing district of the county, and was

¹⁴⁶ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 382.

¹⁴⁷ Gross, *Gild Merchant*, ii, 47 and 145 note.

¹⁴⁸ *V.C.H. Suss.* ii, 'Maritime History.'

¹⁴⁹ Inderwick, *King Edward and New Winchelsea*, 18 and 99 et seq.

¹⁵⁰ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 203; cf. also Assize R. 921, m. 14.

¹⁵¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 210; Assize R. 921, m. 14.

¹⁵² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), 218-19.

¹⁵³ Assize R. 924, m. 65 and m. 73; cf. also R. 921.

¹⁵⁴ P.R.O. Rentals and Surv. ptfo. $\frac{1}{4}\frac{5}{4}$.

¹⁵⁵ *Cal. of Pat.* 1272-81, pp. 38, 48, 107.

¹⁵⁶ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry*, i, App. D.

¹⁵⁷ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 131.

¹⁵⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 1334-8, pp. 289 and 318.

¹⁵⁹ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 288b.

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the home of considerable numbers of merchants.¹⁶⁰ But excessive taxation and the other evils which marked the close of the Lancastrian and the opening years of the Tudor period told heavily upon the prosperity of the towns. Old Shoreham practically vanished, and the inhabitants of New Shoreham were reduced by 1421 from over 500 to 36. Between 1472 and 1496 the borough 'now of late greteley wasted by the sea' was nine times exempted from contribution to tenths and fifteenths;¹⁶¹ and Henry VIII in 1540 and 1541 had to put pressure upon Chichester, Lewes, and the Cinque Ports to induce them to effect restorations.¹⁶²

It was upon a society in this state of transition that the changes of the sixteenth century dawned. It is unfortunately impossible to estimate the exact effect of the inclosing movement in Sussex, as no returns exist of the commission of 1517. There are, however, certain special considerations which have to be taken into account in considering the question in this county. In the first place the Weald of Sussex is one of those districts mentioned by Dr. Slater as being 'first brought into cultivation after the disappearance of serfdom,' and consequently inclosed easily and naturally at a comparatively early date.¹⁶³ This fact is well illustrated by the important part played by the assart lands in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and subsequent centuries.¹⁶⁴ Possibly the first recorded example of an assart in Sussex was that made at Burwash shortly after the Conquest by the count of Eu and given by him to Leveassunt his huntsman;¹⁶⁵ and another early instance occurs in the twelfth-century charter of Robert de Dene, giving to Lewes Priory certain lands 'which down to recent times had been woodland.'¹⁶⁶ In the court rolls of Weald and forest parishes such as Laughton, Mayfield, Framfield, Wadhurst, Uckfield, and Buxted, there are frequent notices of assart holdings.¹⁶⁷ In 1294-5, 4 acres of land within Ashdown Forest were thus leased to tenants at a rent of 4*d.* an acre, and reclaimed;¹⁶⁸ while in Laughton a single assart tenement might consist of as many as 30 acres.¹⁶⁹ In Burwash in 1334 nearly half the chace of 'Dalynton' was already assarted.¹⁷⁰ When it is remembered, moreover, that in spite of this system of reclaiming the waste, the forests of Ashdown, St. Leonards and Worth remained real forests until the great age of the iron industry, it will be seen that there cannot have been much room in primitive times for common fields husbandry.

In the Down parishes there must have been large tracts of sheep pasture from a comparatively early date; not only is there evidence of considerable export,¹⁷¹ but in the early years of the thirteenth century the bishop of Chichester decreed that 3,150 sheep should always be kept upon the episcopal manors,¹⁷² and in 1244 there were in Eastbourne manor a pasture

¹⁶⁰ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 497*a*.

¹⁶¹ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry* (1905), i, 455; *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 159*b*; vi, 40*a*, 114*b*, 119*b*, 151*b*, 197*b*, 401*a*, 438*b*, 442*b*, and 514*a*.

¹⁶² Stat. 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 18, and 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 36; cf. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry* (ed. 1905), i, 507.

¹⁶³ *Engl. Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, 148 and 176-7.

¹⁶⁴ Add. Ct. R. 31860.

¹⁶⁶ Cott. MS. Nero, C. iii, fol. 217.

¹⁶⁸ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1027, No. 22.

¹⁷⁰ Add. MS. 33189, fol. 49.

¹⁷² *Cal. of Chart. R.* i, 34; cf. stock on the bishop's manors in Add. MS. 6165, fol. 107 seq.

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on the hills worth 1 mark, a pasture in 'Linche' (? the Links) worth 2s. 6d., and another pasture on the hills which the shepherds held, also worth 1 mark a year.¹⁷³ Later in the same century, in 1287, the sheriff seized 2,150 sheep belonging to Earl de Warenne as a distraint.¹⁷⁴ John de St. John was evidently a considerable sheep-farmer, for in 1284 he impleaded Isabel Mortimer for imparking 1,405 sheep in a place called 'Molecombe in Havernake in Westhampton' which he claimed as his several pasture,¹⁷⁵ and in 1299-1300 the earl of Cornwall died seised of a sheep-market in Chichester. It is clear, moreover, that in the fourteenth century several of the tenants of Bishopstone manor were small sheep-farmers and leased pasture from the lord for a term of years.¹⁷⁶ At a rather later date the tenants of Iford and Northease had some 230 acres of sheep-down, each yardland having the right to support twenty-six sheep.¹⁷⁷ In view of this evidence it would seem probable that new inclosures for sheep were not extensively made in the sixteenth century.

At the same time it must not be supposed that the movement left the county undisturbed. In the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII there were armed riots in the neighbourhood of Waldron, Laughton, and Hoathly, and at Lordington and elsewhere, in which inclosures were destroyed, hedges burned, and animals taken out of pound.¹⁷⁸ About the same time the copyhold tenants of the manor of Ecclesden in West Angmering complained that John Palmer, who had of late purchased the property from the king, immediately after his entry, took from them their pastures and inclosed them together with other lands, converting them to his own use, and turning their commons into fishponds; that he seized their houses and drove them away from their holdings by force and violence, obliging them to take other lands in other places, 'being worse lands and not like in value nor number of acres nor the title thereof and lease, and to some of the said poor tenants he hath appointed no lands nor recompense to their impoverishment and utter undoing.' When some of the bolder spirits refused to leave their homes Palmer came with more 'evil disposed persons, having staves and other weapons,' and beat upon the doors until they came out, whereupon he riotously broke open the doors of the houses, frightened some so that they lost their reason, and said to others, when they expostulated, 'Do ye not know that the king's grace hath put down all houses of monks, friars, and nuns, therefore now is the time come that we gentlemen will pull down the houses of such poor knaves as ye be?'¹⁷⁹ Palmer, however, succeeded in showing that the copyholders had been removed to other places in Angmering by agreement, and the case was dismissed. In 1545 a complaint was made against Richard Elderton that he had engrossed several farms in Preston and Patcham, and was keeping more than 2,000 sheep, contrary to the form of the statute;¹⁸⁰ and in the reign of Elizabeth there were several suits about inclosures of waste or common in Framfield, Petworth, Plumpton, and Lancing Marsh,¹⁸¹ while in 1611

¹⁷³ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 2, No. 7.

¹⁷⁵ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 206.

¹⁷⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, 123.

¹⁷⁸ Proc. of Ct. of Star Chamber, bdle. 24, No. 193; bdle. 19, Nos. 306 and 315; bdle. 26, No. 208.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* bdle. 6, No. 181.

¹⁷⁴ Assize R. 924, m. 38 d.

¹⁷⁶ Add. Ct. R. 31258-9; cf. also 31250-1-2.

¹⁸⁰ Memo. R. Mich. 37 Hen. VIII, r. 109-10.

¹⁸¹ Chan. Enrolled Decrees, 33 Eliz. pt. 74, No. 1; 37 Eliz. pt. 92, No. 14; 38 Eliz. pt. 90, No. 11; and Exch. Dep. Mich. 34 & 35 Eliz. No. 17.

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Robert Bedoe, of London, gave evidence that Jewell Parvishe, of Cuckfield, was occupying 100 acres of land in that parish which had been converted into pasture for sheep, and had not restored it to tillage in pursuance of the Act of 1596; the complainant, therefore, prayed that the delinquent should forfeit £200, one-third of which he himself claimed as informer.¹⁸²

It is rather curious to note that in nearly all these cases the presumption of justice is in favour of the incloser; he generally succeeded in showing that he had compensated the evicted tenants in accordance with previous agreement, and the evidence in one case certainly would seem to point in the direction of real improvements having met with opposition from the tenants. The two cases in which information was given as to the engrossing of farms and excessive sheep-farming were probably prompted by the informer's expectation of obtaining a share in the delinquent's fine, rather than by any knowledge of real injury having been inflicted upon the inhabitants, or upon the agriculture of Cuckfield, Preston, and Patcham.

It has, indeed, been recently shown that the whole question of inclosing in Sussex bears a very different aspect from that which it has assumed in other midland and southern counties. William Marshall, in 1791, noted the rarity of common fields both in the Weald and elsewhere throughout the county,¹⁸³ and Dr. Slater estimates that the total area of common arable fields inclosed by Act of Parliament throughout the county between 1727 and 1900 amounted to no more than 15,185 acres.¹⁸⁴ The greater number of parliamentary inclosures within the county have consequently affected commonable waste only, and have had the result of extending cultivation, rather than 'exterminating village communities.'¹⁸⁵ The disappearance of the small proprietor and the increase of the labouring and potentially pauper population must consequently be accounted for here on other grounds. Indeed, small holdings have always been regarded as characteristic of the Weald, and it was chiefly to lack of capital and maladministration of the poor law that much of the distress of the county in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was due.¹⁸⁶

The dissolution of the religious houses and gilds was probably more seriously felt than the inclosing movement. Many of the monasteries had been the dispensers of considerable endowed charities; thus Lewes Priory distributed doles on Septuagesima Sunday (*Carnipedoio*), Holy Thursday, and Whit-sunday, amounting in all to 103s. 8d., as well as making a weekly distribution of 2s. 10d. to 'sundry poor,' and allowing 110s. a year to the hospital of St. Nicholas Westout, and £16 10s. to that of St. James beside the Priory Gate—all these charities being endowed for the soul of the founder of the priory, Earl William de Warenne. The Battle Abbey doles in silver, bread, and herrings at divers times of year, especially on the feast of St. Martin in winter and on Maundy Thursday, amounted to 102s. 10d.; and at Boxgrove six poor people received 1½d. a day, and on Maundy Thursday distributions of money and corn were made to the value of 30s. At Dureford and Tortington there were annual distributions on the same day, amounting in each case to 26s. 8d.¹⁸⁷ The county had, moreover, been rich in hospitals,

¹⁸² Memo. R. Hil. 8 Jas. I, rot. 173.

¹⁸³ W. Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, ii, 100 and 230; and Dr. Slater, *op. cit.* 232-4.

¹⁸⁴ *Op. cit.* 302. ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 2. ¹⁸⁶ *Infra.* ¹⁸⁷ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 331, 349, 307, 312, 321.

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and though some of these had perished before the sixteenth century, and others survived the fall of the monasteries, a few certainly vanished about this time, either being swept away in the general upheaval or falling into decay after the dissolution of the priory upon which they had in part depended for support.¹⁸⁸

There seems, however, to have been no rioting on the suppression of the monasteries,¹⁸⁹ a fact which may possibly be partly explained from the economic standpoint by the rapid growth of the iron industry, which gave rise to an increasing demand both for the land which the dissolution threw into the market, and for the labour which had hitherto been dependent upon the more precarious profits of agriculture.¹⁹⁰

The industry, however, was by no means entirely popular. The destruction of timber, which Drayton¹⁹¹ regretted at the beginning of the seventeenth century from a picturesque point of view, had already been the source of serious uneasiness to the towns of Hastings, Winchelsea, and Rye, in 1577 and 1581,¹⁹² and had been to a certain extent met by legislation of the year 1585.¹⁹³ Nor was this the only grievance of the towns at this time. The growth of commerce had combined with troubles on the continent to bring a great influx of foreigners to the Sussex coast; in 1523 there were already over fifty aliens of various nationalities (including Scots) in Rye,¹⁹⁴ and in 1572 they were dwelling in considerable numbers in all parts of the county.¹⁹⁵ In Rye, at any rate, they were at first popular, and when the lords of the council issued orders to the mayor and jurats to make a return of

howe manie straingers of every nation are within the town . . . howe many are come into that towne since the 25th of March laste, and by what qualitie and meanes they do lyve and sustayne themselves and howe they doe inhabite, and in what sort they do resorte orderly to any churches,¹⁹⁶

they reported that as yet they saw 'no cause but the same persons may have continuance.' By February, 1574, however, in spite of orders to 'common passengers or fishermen who shall fortune to come from Diepe' and elsewhere that they were not to bring any Frenchmen or Flemings other than 'marchantes, gents, common postes or messengers,' large numbers 'of the Frenche being very poore people, both men, wemen and children,' had been brought over 'to the great crye and grieff of the inhabitants of Ry and other places about the same.'¹⁹⁷

The objections to their admission were obviously twofold: in the first place their poverty, which undoubtedly added to the difficulty of supporting the poor of the neighbourhood, and secondly their competition in trade, which was regarded as an offence against the exclusive system which still prevailed.¹⁹⁸ In 1575-6 the complaints of the men of Rye on this score led to the licensing by the mayor and jurats of two new craft guilds—the mercers and the cordwainers.¹⁹⁹ There can be very little doubt, however, that the active interference of both the central and local authorities at this time was

¹⁸⁸ See *V.C.H. Suss.* ii, 'Religious Houses.'

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough), i, 185; and Add. MS. 33058, fol. 81 et seq.

¹⁹¹ *Polyolbion*, Song xvii.

¹⁹² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 56, 64, 76.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* iii, 6.

¹⁹⁴ Lay Subsidy R. $\frac{1}{1} \frac{8}{5} \frac{9}{6}$.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* $\frac{1}{2} \frac{9}{8} \frac{9}{3}$.

¹⁹⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 4, 6. The returns include several merchants, a bookbinder, a clockmaker, a cooper, a minister, and several families whose occupations are not specified.

¹⁹⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 30.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 30, 37, 55, 85.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 55.

of little real avail in checking freedom of action; the apprenticing laws and the rules of craft guilds were frequently broken and the statute of maintenance and liveries disregarded.²⁰⁰ The system of corn engrossing practised by officers of the ports gave rise to grievous complaints from farmers;²⁰¹ and in December, 1583, a miscellaneous collection of presentments were made before the mayor and jurats of Rye, including common absentees from church, users of pots and other measures unlawful, forestallers, regrators and engrossers, persons indulging in quarrellings and frays, householders for having wooden chimneys, victuallers for keeping idle and poor people in their houses to drink and play unlawful games, and people who broke the sumptuary laws,²⁰² and there are similar presentments for other parts of the country.²⁰³

At the same time the period was certainly an age of increasing activity on the part of the local authorities—the churchwardens and overseers of parishes were taking the position left vacant by the decay of the manorial organization. The manuscripts of the corporation of Rye are full of a sense of responsibility not only for the material but also for the moral welfare of the town;²⁰⁴ in 1580 the churchwardens and sidesmen, who had been obliged to present certain persons for drunkenness, whose ‘estates were not able to bear the charge of presentment in the Spiritual Court,’ prayed the mayor and his brethren that ‘no taverns or victualling houses shall suffer any of those persons to drink either in or at the doors of their houses under a penalty,’²⁰⁵ and in 1599 the inhabitants of Lewes petitioned the justices to refuse to license any ale-house within the borough or the parish of St. Mary Westout, except in open court, and at the request of the constables and fellowship.²⁰⁶ The same sense of responsibility is manifest in the care of the poor, a considerable number of charitable bequests date from the close of the century,²⁰⁷ and the earl of Dorset founded the large almshouse at East Grinstead known as Sackville College, in 1608.²⁰⁸ Between 1581 and 1616 numerous appeals were addressed by villages on the Pelham estates for leave for widows or aged labourers to build cottages for themselves upon the lord’s waste.²⁰⁹ In these and in the case in which the mayor and jurats of Hastings licensed a decayed freeman of the port to beg for a year in Rye and Winchelsea,²¹⁰ there is perhaps some trace of a desire to shift responsibility on to other shoulders, but Hastings at least professed itself ‘alwaes reddy to performe (the same) towards such as resort in like manner from you to us,’ and that such outside help was occasionally given voluntarily is clear from the fact that in January, 1597, when Rye was visited, apparently, by famine, Ashford sent the sum of £5 ‘towardses the releavyng of the poore saintes of God amongst you.’²¹¹

A further impetus was given to the energy and sense of responsibility of local authorities by the famine of the middle of the seventeenth century. So

²⁰⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 45, 48, 60; and Memo. R. Hil. 9 Eliz. rot. 98, 99; Hil. 43 Eliz. rot. 125; and Mich. 43 Eliz. rot. 118.

²⁰¹ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1591–4, p. 362; cf. also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 29, for the state of famine to which Rye was almost reduced by attempts to regulate the corn trade.

²⁰² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 84.

²⁰³ Memo. R. East. 9 Eliz. rot. 85, 88, 919; Lay Subsidy R. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{9}{7} \frac{0}{0}$.

²⁰⁴ e.g. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 45.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 74.

²⁰⁶ Horsfield, *Hist. of Lewes*, i, 194.

²⁰⁷ Proc. of Commissioners for Charitable Uses Inq. bdle ii, No. 3; bdle. xvii, No. 15; bdle. xii, No. 12; and Dep. bdle. ix, No. 7.

²⁰⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, App. 43–4.

²⁰⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii, 105–6.

²¹⁰ Add. MSS. 33058, *passim*.

²¹¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 113.

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great was the distress and disorder to which it gave rise that justices of the peace throughout the kingdom received special directions for dealing with engrossers of corn, and providing for the poor and suppressing vagrancy, and were ordered to send frequent reports of their proceedings to the Privy Council.

From these reports it is clear that the scarcity was principally felt in Sussex in the Weald districts. In February, 1630, the justices stated that in several divisions of the county there was not half enough corn to support the inhabitants until the next harvest, and in consequence of the scarcity the price of wheat had risen in a comparatively short time from 6*s.* to 8*s.* the bushel, and that of other grain in proportion.²¹³ The ensuing season, moreover, brought little relief, in Arundel rape in the following December, though the markets at Arundel and Petworth were reasonably well supplied, the prices were still high, wheat being at 6*s.*, rye 5*s.* 6*d.*, barley 3*s.* 4*d.*, oats 2*od.* and pease 3*s.* the bushel. The justices were active in trying to alleviate the distress. They had issued orders that no corn should be sold in the markets to any but the poor until two hours after the market bell had been rung, and they reported that they had lessened the numbers of badgers who were suspected to be forestallers of grain, and had ordered such maltsters as had engrossed any quantity of grain to serve the market weekly at a reasonable rate. There were at this time but few farmers in the rape who had more than sufficient corn for the support of their own families, but those who had any surplus had been warned to supply the markets according to their store and 'to have consideration of the poor in their parish.' All export of grain from Arundel port had been forbidden.²¹³

A similar return of scarcity was made in February, 1631, but on 23 April the justices of Lewes rape notified that there was sufficient corn 'to serve the people and to help the wildish parts of the county.' The poor, they added, bought chiefly barley for their bread, it was then sold at 5*s.* a bushel, while wheat was at 8*s.*²¹⁴ Lewes, however, was evidently specially fortunate at this time, for in Hastings rape there was 'not sufficient quantity to suffice by full a third part,'²¹⁵ and the scarcity was still so great in the Wealden division of Pevensey rape that the justices had been obliged to make special appeals to the 'more substantial inhabitants of those parishes where the poor did most abound, to afford some liberal help to their poor people, who, partly by the persuasion of us and of their own charitable dispositions have laid down in some one parish about £30, in another £20, some less, according to the extent and ability of their parishes.' Badgers had been appointed in every parish to buy corn and sell it to the poor '12*d.* in every bushel better cheaper than it did cost.' There was no lack of work in this part of the county, for the vicinity of the clothiers of Kent afforded employment to the women and children, while the Sussex iron-works gave employment 'for the stronger bodies.'²¹⁶

The scarcity in the Weald parishes and elsewhere throughout the kingdom naturally affected prices in the more fortunate districts. The justices of the division including the east part of the Sussex Downs reported in May that

²¹³ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 185, No. 80.

²¹⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-3, p. 18.

²¹⁶ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 192, No. 99.

²¹³ *Ibid.* vol. 177, No. 61.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 37.

the 'scarcity in the wildish and other parts of the kingdom occasioned by the unreasonableness of the winter and spring foregoing this, hath drawn from here great quantities of wheat, but especially of barley to London and other places.' They hoped, however, that by a diligent adherence to the orders of the Privy Council they might yet have sufficient to supply 'the greater part of this county adjoining to those downs,' provided that it was not bought up in the market for the supply of London and Kent. Prices remained at the unusually high rate reported from Lewes in the previous February.²¹⁷

A more hopeful report came from Pevensey in November of the same year. In spite of diligent inquiry no trace of exportation, engrossing or combinations of corn-masters and farmers had been found, 'none that we know of carrying such uncharitable minds.' The supply was still very small, but the price of wheat was not above 4*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.* 4*d.* the bushel, and barley was usually sold at 20*s.* the quarter, so that the justices, though willing if necessary to continue the measures prescribed by the Council, hoped that there was no longer any occasion for them to do so.²¹⁸ The last harvest had indeed yielded 'such a plentiful increase as few years have exceeded, in many places it yieldeth not so well to the bushel as in former years, but there is sufficient to serve the county if not carried thence as last year.'²¹⁹ No hoarding of corn was now practised at Arundel, the late high prices being attributed to the proximity of the Surrey markets, to which purveyors from London resorted. Best wheat was now (January, 1632) at 32*s.* the quarter.²²⁰

Together with these reports on the condition of the corn supply and the rate of prices the justices forwarded returns of their success in administering the apprenticing laws, and putting down ale-houses and vagrants and disorders of all kinds throughout the country. At the height of the bad season, in May, 1631, it was reported from the Wealden division of Pevensey rape that during the last three months about thirty poor children had been apprenticed and sixteen ale-houses suppressed in a district of eighteen parishes, and vagabonds and rogues had 'been by the constables so well looked into that we think the country hath no cause to complain of their numbers; and some have been punished for harbouring of them.'²²¹ In Arundel rape the return of the justices for the same date was to the effect that in spite of strict orders to the officers and the offer of rewards to informers they had received no presentments concerning abuses of inns and ale-houses. All poor children of ten years old and upward who were fit to be apprenticed had been provided with masters and particular note had been taken of all children above the age of eight

which are yet unfit to be put forth, with the names of the ablest inhabitants of every parish who are fit to receive them . . . and [we] have likewise taken a particular note of the number of impotent people that are to be relieved in every parish.

Large numbers of rogues and vagabonds had been punished and sent to their birth-place or last habitation, and a new house of correction had been built at Petworth, which had hitherto been annexed to the house of correction of

²¹⁷ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 192, No. 98.

²¹⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1631-3, p. 210.

²²¹ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 192, No. 99.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* vol. 203, No. 102.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* 257.

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Chichester rape.²²² A return of Petworth charities is annexed with a statement that all the funds were properly applied.²²³

In the year 1631 fifty children were apprenticed in the rape of Chichester, and eighty in the rape of Arundel,²²⁴ thirty were apprenticed from the parishes of Battle, Burwash, Hooe, and Heathfield in the four months preceding July, 1632, and during the same period twenty-seven rogues were whipped in that district, and sent to their birth-place or last abode.²²⁵ The return from Hastings rape in July, 1663, mentions the apprenticing of thirteen children during the year 1632, but the justices evidently felt that the state of their division still left much to be desired. 'We have had as great care as we can of the ridding of the country from rogues and vagabonds,' they wrote, 'and we conceive good hopes that we shall by our diligence hereafter bring the country about us to better conformity and more agreeableness to his Majesty's orders and directions.'²²⁶

The succeeding years saw a considerable improvement in the good order of the county. In October, 1633, there were in the Wealden division of Pevensey rape 'not a fourth part of the rogues' that there had been previously; in the Downish division of the same rape only two were punished between June and October, 1634; and in Bramber in that year, as well as in 1633, very few were to be seen or heard of; the poor in every parish were sufficiently relieved, and there were no 'disordered' ale-houses.²²⁷ At this date one ale-house was considered sufficient for a country village, and for a market-town 'the same number of inns as have anciently been there.'²²⁸ In 1636 there were said to be two in Arundel, Petworth, Horsham, Cliffe, Steyning, East Grinstead, Battle, and Brighthelmston, three in Rye, four in Midhurst, five in Lewes (if the borough so chose), and six in Chichester.²²⁹

With the passing of the more immediate stress of famine rogues and vagabonds seem to have increased again to some extent. In the Wealden division of Pevensey forty-six were punished in 1637 and seventy-seven in 1638, and in the rapes of Lewes and Arundel the numbers returned for 1637 were thirty-five and forty-seven respectively.²³⁰ This may possibly have been occasioned by some feeling of discontent being aroused when there was no longer any need to make the same special provision for the poor as had been done during the scarcity, or possibly with the passing of immediate anxiety vigilance had been somewhat relaxed, with the result that a fresh outburst of disorder subsequently occurred.

Socially the period from about 1500 to the Commonwealth, and more particularly during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, was one of luxury and ceremonial magnificence, the service of a great lord's house, as set forth in Lord Montague's regulations for his household at Cowdray in 1595, being an ornate ritual. So far was the dignity of the nobleman upheld at Cowdray that not only was the table laid for dinner with an elaborate cere-

²²² S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 191, No. 45. Unfortunately no figures are given.

²²³ These were, one hospital in the parish erected by one Thomas Thompson for twelve poor people, endowed with the annual rent of 100 marks, the rent of one house given by Edward Hall for the 'breeding up of poor children to school,' being £4; and the rent of other houses given by other men towards the relief of the poor to the value of £8 a year, with a stock of money of £100.

²²⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 210, No. 92; 220, No. 41.

²²⁵ Ibid. 220, No. 19.

²²⁶ Ibid. 243, No. 19.

²²⁷ Ibid. 247, No. 46; 250, No. 43; 265, No. 33.

²²⁸ Ibid. 250, No. 42.

²²⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxiii, 272.

²³⁰ S. P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 364, No. 125; vol. 395, No. 18.

monial of bows and reverences, but while the joints were cooking in the kitchen no one might stand with his back irreverently turned towards them. Small wonder that Edward VI complained of the excessive banqueting at Cowdray !²³¹ An attempt to prevent the humbler ranks from aping their superiors in extravagance was made by the passing of sumptuary laws, one of which forbade the wearing of silk by the wives of persons not maintaining a horse and equipment for a soldier. In 1561 at Steyning the wives of six esquires are stated to have worn silk gowns, their husbands duly fulfilling their obligations, while

the wife of John Wyatt of Slyndon husbondman (i.e. farmer) . . . did weare in her uttermost garment that is to saie her cassock or Frock a cape of Black velvett, the said John havinge not yet any geldinge wth the furnytüre for a light horseman to serve.²³²

The amusements of the poorer classes were also strictly regulated, and while Lord Montague's guests might play cards after dinner,²³³ such relaxation was only allowed to servants during the Christmas festivities.²³⁴ Perhaps this was as well, for a fatal quarrel occurred at Rye in 1613 over a game called 'newe cutt.'²³⁵ Amongst other games forbidden was bowls, and in 1567 a Lewes draper and five Brighton men were summoned for playing this popular game, while the constable of Brighton was called to account for not making search for bowling alleys and similar places of unlawful games.²³⁶ Football, instances of which occur in Sussex as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century,²³⁷ was another cause of offence, and in 1548 thirteen persons were fined for playing it at Wadhurst.²³⁸ Regular sport was within reach of comparatively few, but poaching was common, and was indulged in by many men of good position, the most famous instance being the affray at Hellingly in which one of Sir William Pelham's keepers was killed, and for his share in which the young Lord Dacre of Herstmonceux was hanged in 1541.²³⁹ Some eighty years later a raid on the Pelham deer involved Thomas Lunsford in a fine of £1,750, in revenge for which he attempted Sir Thomas Pelham's life, for which he was imprisoned and fined £8,000.²⁴⁰ Hawking was carried on at Herstmonceux, where the old-established heronry afforded good sport to Lord Dacre,²⁴¹ who was also an enthusiastic sailor and possessed a 'yought' called the *Primrose* as early as 1645.²⁴² Pheasants and partridges appear to have been preserved at Herstmonceux at this time,²⁴³ while pea-fowl adorned the garden, in which no doubt were grown some of the strawberries, cherries, plums, quinces, and apricots which were consumed at the castle.²⁴⁴

The Pelham accounts of expenses at Laughton and Halland afford some idea of the housekeeping of a wealthy Sussex gentleman in the seventeenth century. Catering seems to have been conducted on a generous scale. The accounts for the week ending 28 March, 1657, include 700 oysters for 3*s.* 8*d.*, 4 lb. butter 1*s.* 6*d.*, 6 chickens 1*s.* 6*d.*, 4 chickens 2*s.*, a firkin of herrings 9*s.*, a burden of salt fish 14*s.* The following week the

²³¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 173-212.

²³² Act of 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 9.

²³³ Memo. R. K.R., 9 Eliz. Easter, m. 85-91.

²³⁴ Ct. R. P.R.O. bdle. 205, No. 13.

²³⁵ Add. MS. 5682, fol. 648.

²³⁶ Ibid. 127-9.

²³⁷ Ibid. 119. A very good idea of the quantities, variety, and prices of the fish, flesh, fowl, and other articles consumed in a great house can be obtained from the Herstmonceux Account Book; *ibid.* 104-38.

²³⁸ Ibid. xxxiii, 271.

²³⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 149.

²⁴⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xii.

²⁴¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xix, 170-9.

²⁴² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlviii, 126.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. vii, 199.

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steward accounted for 13 green geese at 6*d.* each, 8 chickens at 3*d.*, a pig which cost 2*s.* 4*d.*, and 5 small rabbits 8*d.*²⁴⁵ Living was not costly, chickens were bought for 3*d.*, 4*d.*, or occasionally 4½*d.* each, fresh butter was 4½*d.* or 5*d.* a lb., according to the time of year, 'pott' butter was 3*s.* or 3*s.* 4*d.* a nail, beef cost from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* the stone, a side of veal and the head cost from 8*s.* 2*d.* to 9*s.* 10*d.*, or upon another computation 2½*d.* the lb., a calf's head and foot were about 1*s.* 2*d.* or 1*s.* 4*d.*, 3 bottles of white wine cost 3*s.* 1*d.*, and 19 quarts of sack with one bottle £1 18*s.* 6*d.* In July a pair of soles were bought for 1*s.* 8*d.*, and in August a salmon for 5*s.*, apples could be had in September for 1*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, and cherries at the height of the season for 2*d.* a lb.²⁴⁶ Brewing, spinning, and weaving were apparently done as the occasion required, 1 lb. of flax being spun for 1*s.*, and 1 yard of linen cloth woven for 2*d.*; the store-room was evidently kept stocked with cowslip wine and medicinal herbs, for a woman who gathered 'cowslips and other herbs' for thirteen days in 1641 was paid 3*s.* 3*d.*, and in the autumn of the same year another woman received 2*s.* 6*d.* for gathering 2 bushels of poppy heads.²⁴⁷

Lime was burnt on the estate and occasionally tiles and bricks were made, the former at 6*s.* and the latter at 5*s.* the thousand.²⁴⁸ A large staff of regular servants was kept, the men's wages in 1620 ranging from £1 5*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, and the women's being 15*s.*, 15*s.*, 10*s.*, 7*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* respectively for a similar period;²⁴⁹ in addition to this a considerable amount of day labour was employed, the usual rate of payment for a man hanging gates, draining stews, palling, hedging, threshing or hoeing being 1*s.* a day; sixteen days' work about the mill, however, was paid at the rate of 13*d.* a day 'and dyet,' and a carpenter seems to have received 1*s.* 6*d.*, while 'going with the waggons at haying and harvest time,' which could be done by a boy, was only paid at the rate of 6*d.* a day, and mowing the garden court and bowling alley at 8*d.* Women's wages were, of course, much lower, Widow Hoad only received 1*s.* 4*d.* for tending Jane four days when she was sick. Weeding was paid at 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day, helping the maids to wash at 3*d.*, and extra work about the house at 2*d.* In 1633 Goodwife Hovar received 2*s.* 6*d.* for 'helping here at Christmas,' and the following year Goodwife Puckhurst had 7*s.* 6*d.* for 'being at Halland when my Ladie was at the Bathe this summer.' Boys were paid at a corresponding rate—1*s.* for four days' harrowing, or 2*d.* a day to a small boy 'keeping the crows

²⁴⁵ In 1657 Anthony Stapley sent two of his sons to Horsham to school, and paid £10 a year each for their board and 40*s.* for schooling. In 1731 schooling, which included reading, writing, and casting accounts, cost 6*d.* a week, while at the dame's school, 2*d.* a week was paid for the boys, and 4*d.* for the girls; (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 47).

²⁴⁶ Add. MS. 33150 *passim*.

²⁴⁷ Other prices from the Laughton accounts (1633-41) were as follows:—

½ firkin of soap (32 lb.)	8 <i>s.</i>	mole-catching per mole	2 <i>d.</i> or 4 <i>d.</i>
8 lb. of soap 'at Gouldingshop'	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	for altering 2 pairs of sheets	1 <i>s.</i>
1 doz. lb. candles	4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> to 6 <i>s.</i>	for making 6 table-cloths	2 <i>s.</i>
a pair of scissors	4 <i>d.</i>	„ „ 1 doz. napkins	1 <i>s.</i>
24 white preserving glasses	12 <i>s.</i>	6 roses to plant	6 <i>s.</i>
9 green and 3 white do.	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	2 locks and keys for the park gates	18 <i>s.</i>
2 brushes for cob webs	2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	cleaning armour for eleven days	1 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
4 drinking horns	1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	(Add. MS. 33147 <i>passim</i> .)	

²⁴⁸ Add. MS. 33147 *passim*.

²⁴⁹ Ibid. 33143, fol. 3. At Herstmonceux in 1645 the cook (a man) received £12 yearly, the gardener £10, butler, coachman, and grooms £6, other menservants about £4; Nurse Kelley £6, other female servants about £2-£4 (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlviii, 114).

from the oates,' and so on. It would seem, however, that in most of these cases the daily wage was in addition to meat and drink.

In curious contrast to this peaceful and prosperous picture of one of the great manor-houses of the county is the record of poverty, disaster, and lawlessness occurring in other parts of Sussex in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The decay of the iron trade,²⁵⁰ plague, small-pox, and war, and the familiar calamity of inundation and vanishing harbours all contributed to the general depression.²⁵¹ 'Extraordinary poverty' was recorded in Hastings at the opening of the year 1688 ;²⁵² Rye was visited by plague in 1625, and by small-pox in 1634-5 and 1654-5, and between 1630 and 1640 the burials in the town exceeded the baptisms by one hundred and fifty-eight.²⁵³ In 1637 the justices of the Downish division of Pevensey rape reported that they had apprenticed thirteen children 'notwithstanding the infection of the plague almost in their midst.'²⁵⁴ In 1712 the townsfolk of Lewes paid 12*s.* to several men for 'watching to prevent Mr. Holmwood from bringing his son up in the town with small-pox,' and in 1730 the borough was visited by epidemic and fire.²⁵⁵ Since the fifteenth century Chichester had been famous for its malt-making and needle-making, but the Civil War swept the latter industry away, so that Spershott, writing in the year 1725, noted that the master needle-makers who kept journeymen and apprentices were reduced to one,²⁵⁶ and by the middle of the eighteenth century the malting-houses had nearly all vanished owing to the greed of the maltsters, who bought their grain cheap and sold the malt dear.²⁵⁷

But if legitimate trade in some of its branches was deserting the county, contraband was never more flourishing. Smuggling had, of course, been rife in Sussex from a very early date, and the mercantile policy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had not tended to lessen the temptation to illicit exportation. Export smuggling was continued until the close of the Napoleonic wars—at which date it included the carrying of letters and newspapers to Buonaparte—and large fortunes were said to have been made by it in East Sussex ;²⁵⁸ but in the eighteenth century import smuggling was possibly even more important. Tea and brandy were the chief contraband articles ;²⁵⁹ in September, 1735, a correspondent of Sir Robert Walpole recalls the fact that about a year previously he had noted in visiting his relatives in Kent and Sussex that wherever he went 'they drank no tea but what was run.'²⁶⁰

In addition to custom and excise officers, parties of dragoons and Admiralty sloops were frequently employed against the 'owlers.'²⁶¹ In June,

²⁵⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 204 ; cf. also the petition for a tax on foreign iron in 1661 ; Add. MS. 33058, fol. 81.

²⁵¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, *passim* ; Add. MS. 33058, fol. 140 ; Lower, *Hist. of Suss.* 77 et seq.

²⁵² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 97.

²⁵³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1637, p. 273.

²⁵⁴ Horsfield, *Hist. of Lewes*, i, 208 ; cf. L. F. Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, for outbreaks of small-pox in the eighteenth century.

²⁵⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxx, 148-60 ; cf. Hay, *Hist. of Chichester*, 330 and 366.

²⁵⁶ Hay, *Hist. of Chichester*, 330 and 366.

²⁵⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 62.

²⁵⁸ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1731-4, pp. 244, 620, &c. ; 1720-8, p. 181 ; and *Treas. Papers*, 1722, vol. 241, No. 7 (2).

²⁵⁹ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1735-8, p. 47.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 1720-8, p. 57 ; 1735-8, pp. 8, 18, 69, 72, 540 ; 1742-5, pp. 380, 448, 671, 752.

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1744, a gang of smugglers wounded a dragoon and shot three horses belonging to soldiers and customs officers,²⁶² and in 1721 John Burnett, a lieutenant in the regiment of the Honourable Brigadier-General Grove, part of which had been quartered at Battle, memorialized the Treasury Board that he had apprehended one Jacob Walter, the chief and most notorious of a gang of smugglers, and brought him to London under guard of twenty men for fear of attempted rescue. He prayed consideration of the fact that he had incurred great expense by having the smuggler and all the men quartered in one room every night between Battle and London.²⁶³

The moment, however, that military aid was withdrawn the insolence of the gangs increased to an extraordinary extent. In June, 1722, it was said that since the withdrawal of His Majesty's forces from the neighbourhood of Battle the runners, 'headed by three persons whose names have been published in the gazette and a reward promised for their apprehending . . . now threaten our officers with death,'²⁶⁴ and again ten years later it was said that the bands were so 'numerous and audacious as to carry off goods at all times of the day, beat the excise officers and threaten them with death.'²⁶⁵ In 1721 a party of grenadiers met a party of 'owlers' near Burwash and pursued them to Nutley, where they surrounded and took them;²⁶⁶ and on other occasions they penetrated as far as Horsham and even Groombridge, whither 'chaps from London come down . . . almost every day' to buy tea.²⁶⁷

It was perhaps hardly remarkable that the traffic in contraband was so hard to suppress, for the smugglers were for the most part popular with the tradesmen and farmers. In one instance indeed Henry Groombridge of Horsham received a reward for 'subsisting custom officers and soldiers in pursuit of smugglers in 1721,'²⁶⁸ but they seem to have been for the most part a jovial company at war with no one but the representatives of the law,²⁶⁹ and it is said that in the neighbourhood of Eastbourne the farmers would leave the gates of their fields open at night, in return for which good office the smugglers would leave a half-anker of schiedam in some hayrick or outhouse, which was duly broached without scruple.²⁷⁰

Horace Walpole tells an amusing anecdote which well illustrates the kind of confederacy with which the customs officers had to contend. Travelling through Sussex with Mr. Chute in 1749 he arrived at 'the wretched village of Rotherbidge' and would have stayed the night. But there was only one bed to be had, all the rest being occupied by smugglers, 'whom the people of the house called "mountebanks," with one of whom the lady of the den told Mr. Chute he might lie.' Mr. Chute, however, declined the offer, and the travellers went on to Battle, where they arrived at two o'clock in the morning at a still worse inn, full of excise officers, one of whom had just shot a smuggler.²⁷¹

A smuggling affray is said to have occurred at Eastbourne as late as 1833, when the smugglers killed the chief boatman and formed two lines

²⁶² Treas. Out Letters (Gen. Ser.), vol. 25, fol. 142.

²⁶⁴ Treas. Papers, 1722, vol. 241, No. 7 (2).

²⁶⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 141.

²⁶⁷ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1720-8, p. 112; 1735-8, p. 301.

²⁶⁹ See J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 298 and 301, for stories illustrative of this point.

²⁷¹ *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), ii, 299.

²⁶³ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1720-8, p. 92.

²⁶⁵ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1731-4, p. 215, cf. *ibid.* 244.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1735-8, p. 18.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

between which they ran all the contraband; the trade, however, really came to an end about 1831 with the introduction of the new coastguard system and the movement in favour of free trade.²⁷²

The running of uncustomed goods was, however, not the only form of law-breaking in which Sussex indulged at this period. The forest district adjacent to East Grinstead became notorious as the haunt not only of smugglers, but also of horse-stealers, cattle-stealers, and poachers. The Copthorne horn, which is supposed to have been kept in an inaccessible part of the forest to summon the neighbours in case of dangerous affrays, had been seen almost within living memory, as late as 1862.²⁷³ About the middle of the eighteenth century trials for horse-stealing, cattle-stealing, sheep-stealing, house-breaking, and highway robbery were frequent, more especially at the East Grinstead sessions; ²⁷⁴ one such case of highway robbery occurred on the Downs near Lewes in 1751, the victim being, however, rescued by a shepherd; ²⁷⁵ and in 1799 two men were hanged in chains near Midhurst, where they had robbed the Portsmouth mail.²⁷⁶

The punishment of such crimes was fearfully severe. In July, 1730, one person was convicted capitally for horse-stealing and two were burnt in the hand; in April, 1760, a man was executed for forgery,²⁷⁷ and the Home Office papers of the middle of the century are full of cases in which the death sentence was passed for such crimes as house-breaking and cattle-stealing, and subsequently on account of 'favourable circumstances' commuted for fourteen years' transportation.²⁷⁸ In 1739 felons were transported from Sussex to Maryland at £5 a head and to Virginia at a similar rate. In 1740 the under-sheriff of the county received £200 reward for the arrest of six felons.²⁷⁹

Spershott's *Memoirs of Chichester* further attest the horrible harshness meted out to criminals at the time. In speaking of the pulling down of the East gate arch and prison and the building of the new gaol in the city, the writer adds:

Mary Beedle, a young married waiting-woman of Lady Franklen, was the first prisoner in it, for stealing a quantity of Linnen which in part return'd to its owner. After her sentence to seven years Transportation she was immediately put into it, Jany. 12, 1784, before it was quite finished and when water run down the walls, and a great snow & extream cold winter followed upon it—and no bed or fire allowed her—nor friend to visit her, so that she was nearly perished, and her husband, a civil man, almost distracted.²⁸⁰

That the Restoration in 1660 had been the beginning of a period of lawlessness and licence is a truism which hardly needs illustration, but the description of life at Chichester at the beginning of the eighteenth century given by Spershott throws a strong light upon this period—²⁸¹

There were then many great drinkers among all ranks of men, and revelings and Night Freaks too common. Wine and very strong Beer was the run, . . . it was not uncommon with some Farmers when they came to Market to get Drunk and stay two or three Days till their wives came to fetch them Home. The Commonalty were homely and free in their

²⁷² J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 298–302.

²⁷³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 62.

²⁷⁴ *Cal. of Home Office Papers*, 1760–5, p. 664; 1766–9, pp. 119, 250, 255, 406, 415, 570; 1770–2, pp. 152, 381; 1773–5, p. 286.

²⁷⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 141.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* xxiii, 214.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* xxiv, 141.

²⁷⁸ *Cal. of Home Office Papers*, 1760–5, &c. *passim*.

²⁷⁹ *Cal. of S.P. Treas.* 1739–41, pp. 18, 20, 62, 156.

²⁸⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxx, 158.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* xxix, 228.

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Conversation, calling one another by their first Name. And the lower sort rude, much given to mean Diversions, such as Bullbaiting,²⁸² which was very frequent, and for which many Bull Dogs were kept in the Town to the great Torture and Misery of those poor animals. Wrestling, Cudgeling, Footballing in the Streets day after day in frosty weather, to the advantage of the Glazier. Cockfighting, Dogfighting, Badger Baiting, &c.

And on Shrove Tuesday the most unmanly and cruel Exercise of Cock scailing was in vogue everywhere, even in the high Church lighten, and many other places in the City and in the country. Scarcely a Churchyard was to be found but a number of those poor innocent Birds were thus Barberously treated. Tying them by the Leg with a String about 4 or 5 feet long fastened to the Ground, and when he is made to stand fair a Great Ignorant Merciless fellow, at a distance agreed upon, and at two pence three throws, flings a scail at him till he is quite dead. . . And wonderful it was that men of Character and Circumstance should come to this fine sight, and readily give their children a Cock for this purpose.²⁸³

Dr. John Burton in 1751 formed a very poor opinion of the Sussex countrymen and expressed himself most contemptuously—²⁸⁴

The men there, as not being accustomed to quit their homes for the sake of traffic or any other purpose, generally live by themselves, and being born on the soil continue unrefined. . . . Their manners are not the most gentlemanlike or agreeable, but neither are they quite barbarous. In their persons not corpulent, but rather spare or thin-shanked ; in their diet generally frugal ; and in their cookery being neither dainty nor expensive, they care most for pork, which indeed they prepare skilfully by steeping in brine. After being thus pickled . . . they slice it off when cured, as the family may want. They also cook a certain lump of barley meal, looking much like mud and hardened like iron, offering it at meals instead of bread.

After some unflattering comment upon their speech and their singing in church, he proceeds in more kindly vein—

You would probably admire the women if you saw them, as modest in countenance and fond of elegance in their dress, but at the same time fond of labour and experienced in household matters ; both by nature and education better bred and more intellectual generally than the men.

Later he returns to the attack upon the men :—²⁸⁵

The farmers of the better sort are considered here as squires. These men however boast of honourable lineage, and like oaks among shrubs, look down upon the rural vulgar. You would be surprised at the uncouth dignity of these men and their palpably ludicrous pride ; nor will you be less surprised at the humility of their boon-companions and the triumphs of their domineering spirit among the plaudits of the pothouse or kitchen ; the awkward prodigality and sordid luxury of their feasts ; the inelegant roughness and dull hilarity of their conversation ; their intercourse with servants and animals so assiduous, with clergymen or gentlemen so rare ; being illiterate they shun the lettered, being sots the sober. Their whole attention is given to get their cattle and everything else fat, their own intellect not excepted.

Spershott gives some further interesting particulars of the home life of the middle classes early in the eighteenth century.²⁸⁶

In those days the household furniture of the wooden sort was, with old housekeepers, almost all of English oak, viz. long tables, round and triangular, &c., chest of drawers, side cupboards with large doors at bottom and on the top short pillars with a kind of piazer and small dores within, much carved ; arm chairs with wood bottoms and backs, joint stools, cloaths chest, bedsteds with 4 posts, fram'd heads and testers, all of which were much carved with flowers, scroles, images &c. Likewise the wainscoting was all of English oak fram'd with a flat moulding, the panels all cleft from the tree. But with younger people it was

²⁸² John Burgess of Ditchling, conscientious Baptist though he was, had no hesitation in providing a dog for a bull bait in 1788 ; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xl, 139.

²⁸³ And yet the rector of Horsted Keynes during the Commonwealth apparently sold cocks to his parishioners for this purpose ; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 68.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* viii, 256.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 260.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.* xxix, 230.

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now the fashion to have deal dressers with shelves over for puter &c. Their tables and chests of drawers of Norway oak called wainscot. With the higher sort walnuttree veneration was most in vogue and esteemed for its beauty above anything else (mahogany was not yet come to be in use). The best chairs were turn'd ash died, or stuff'd, with Turkey or other rich covers. . . .

Spinning of household linnen was in use in most families, also making their own bread and likewise their own household physick. No tea, but much industry and good cheer. The bacon racks were loaded with bacon, for little pork was made in these times. The farmers wives and daughters were plain in dress and made no such gay figures in our market as nowadays. At Christmas the whole constellation of patty pans which adorned their chimney fronts were taken down. The spit, the pot, the oven, were all in use together.²⁸⁷ The evenings spent in jollity, and their glass guns smoking top'd the tumbler with the froth of good October till most of them were slain or wounded, and the Prince of Orange and Queen's Ann's Marlborough could no longer be resounded.

The accuracy of these descriptions is abundantly proved by the interesting series of diaries and journals of Sussex worthies, covering the period from 1665 to 1815, published in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*,²⁸⁸ from which numerous examples of both the brighter and darker sides of life at this time might easily be taken if there were space to give them.

Something of the simplicity of life in the early years of the nineteenth century may be gathered from the statement made by the first Lord Dudley in 1811.

In Brighton (he wrote), which, when it is full, contains twelve or fourteen thousand people, there is no police at all. There is neither Mayor, Bailiff, nor Headborough, nor, in short, any vestige of municipal government. The nearest justice of the peace lives at Lewes, nine miles off. Yet there is no place so quiet, and so completely free from crimes. The doors are all left unbarred, and yet I never heard of anything being stolen.²⁸⁹

The comment is a curious illustration of the suddenness of Brighton's rise to importance. Little more than thirty years before Dr. Burton had described it as

Not indeed contemptible as to size, for it is thronged with people, though the inhabitants are mostly very needy and wretched in their mode of living, occupied in the employment of fishing, robust in their bodies, laborious, skilled in all nautical crafts, and, it is said, terrible cheats of the custom house officers. The village near the shore seemed to me very miserable—many houses here and there deserted, and traces of overthrown walls.²⁹⁰

The place, however, had already acquired a certain amount of fame, for Dr. Richard Russell, a specialist in glandular diseases, who died in 1757, had brought it into notice by his tracts on the value of sea bathing, and had had baths and lodging houses built there.²⁹¹ In 1761 Dr. Relhan published a *Short History of Brighthelmston, with Remarks on its Air, and an Analysis of its Waters*, and in 1768 appeared John Awister's *Thoughts on Brighthelmston, concerning Sea-bathing and Drinking Sea-water*. But the fortune of the town was made when George Prince of Wales paid his first visit in 1782, and was so much delighted with the place that he began two years later to erect the building now known as the Pavilion.

The idea of a salt-water cure was quickly taken up by the world of fashion. In 1784 Hastings was described as 'a favourite place for

²⁸⁷ Cf. Account of Christmas dinners in 1706; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* i, 153.

²⁸⁸ *Journal of Rev. Giles Moore*, 1655-79 (i, 65-127); *Diary of Ric. Stapley*, 1682-1724 (ii, 102-182); *Journal of Timothy Burrell*, 1683-1714 (iii, 117-172); *Diaries of Stapley Family*, 1642-1736 (xxiii, 36-72); *Diary of Thomas Marchant*, 1714-1728 (xxv, 163-203); *Diary of Walter Gale*, 1750-59 (ix, 183-207); *Journal of John Burgess*, 1785-1815 (xl, 131-161).

²⁸⁹ *Letters to 'Ivy'*, by the first Lord Dudley, 147, quoted in Webb, *Engl. Local Govt.* i, 55, note.

²⁹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 263.

²⁹¹ M. A. Lower, *Hist. of Sussex*, 77 et seq.

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sea-bathing,'²⁹² and in 1787 there were many houses in Seaford 'let in the bathing season to visitors.'²⁹³ Bognor was first brought into notice in 1785 by Sir Richard Hotham, who spent £60,000 on the attempt to improve and advertise it as a watering place. He was not altogether successful in his efforts, but the task was taken up by others, and in the early years of the following century Princess Victoria and the duchess of Kent spent several seasons at Bognor Lodge.²⁹⁴ Other seaside resorts which owed their early fame to royalty were Eastbourne, which was visited by Prince Edward and the Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia in 1780,²⁹⁵ and Worthing, where Princess Amelia stayed for some time in the last years of the century. St. Leonards was the creation of a certain Mr. Burton, who built an entirely new town there about the year 1828. The new fashion was, however, regarded with unfavourable eyes in many quarters. Eastbourne was described in the *European Magazine* of the end of the eighteenth century as 'one of the favourite summer retreats for sickness, indolence, and dissipation,'²⁹⁶ and the *New Brighton Guide*, published in 1796, is a scathing, if not malicious, satire on the fashionable society of the town.

Amongst the many social changes which the rise of the south coast watering places occasioned, not the least important was the improvement of means of communication. The Sussex roads had long been notorious for their execrable condition, the complaints of Horace Walpole in 1749 were echoed by Dr. Burton in 1771.²⁹⁷ The Brighton, Hastings, and Portsmouth mail coaches are said to have been the slowest in the kingdom, and until about the year 1757 there was no competition in stage coaches on the Brighton road. In 1762, however, 'New Flying Machines hung on steel springs, very neat and commodious, to carry four passengers,' were advertised by a new proprietor to run from London to Lewes and Brighton on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and to return thence on the alternate days. The fare to Lewes was 13s. (inside), and to Brighton 16s. From this moment a war of advertisement and competition began, which was only ended by the death of the original proprietor in 1766.

The closing years of the century saw a further increase in the speed and number of the coaches between Brighton and the metropolis, and in 1795 a coach left Sea Houses, Eastbourne, for London every morning except Saturday,²⁹⁸ and in 1804 the London coach left Chichester every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning, returning on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, while wagons also plied between that city and the 'Talbot' in the Borough three times a week, carrying large quantities of wool.²⁹⁹ The Brighton road was, however, always the most popular. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the first amateur coaches driven between London and the Sussex coast. In 1821 it was estimated that over forty traversed the

²⁹² Harper, *The Hastings Road*, 181. Dr. Matthew Bailie sent pulmonary cases here from London. (Lower, *Hist. of Sussex*, 220.)

²⁹³ Anon. *Hist. of Eastbourne*, published 1787, p. 31.

²⁹⁴ Lower, *Hist. of Sussex*, 60.

²⁹⁵ *Hist. of Eastbourne*—Dedication. The writer stated that there were on the beach some 'tolerable good modern buildings' . . . 'chiefly inhabited by visitors who come in the spring, summer, and autumn months for the advantages of sea air and bathing,' 18.

²⁹⁶ J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 29.

²⁹⁷ C. G. Harper, *The Brighton Road*, 19 et seq.; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 250.

²⁹⁸ C. G. Harper, *The Brighton Road*; J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*.

²⁹⁹ Hay, *Hist. of Chichester*, 393.

road daily, and in 1826 the total coaching receipts amounted to £100,000 a year, £60,000 being taken by the sixteen permanent coaches, and the remaining £40,000 by the 'butterflies.' Between 1823 and 1838 the first 'steam-carriages' were seen upon the road, but in 1833 upwards of four hundred and eighty persons still travelled to Brighton by coach on a single day in October, and it was not for another six years that any serious falling off in the numbers was noticed. In 1839, however, the numbers had decreased appreciably and fares rose: in 1841 the Brighton railway was opened, and the day mail ceased, and in the following year the night mail ceased also.³⁰⁰ Hastings station was opened in 1846, and Eastbourne followed in 1849. The third-class fare from Brighton to London at this time was 7s. 6d. and the first-class 15s. or by express 19s. 1d., and for many years the third-class carriages were open to the weather and not provided with seats.³⁰¹ In spite of all drawbacks, however, the innovation proved the death-knell of the old coaching system.

Sussex was not exempt from the general distress which resulted from the maladministration of poor relief in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As early as 1730 the vestry of Hastings was ready to supply clothes and shoes to such 'persons belongen to the poore' ³⁰² as applied, and in Hailsham a great number of persons were in receipt of relief and a great variety of relief was required and granted.³⁰³ By 1776 the total expenditure of the county on account of the poor was £54,734 8s. 7d., £3,915 19s. being expended on rents of workhouses and £1,235 10s. 5d. on litigation—chiefly in connexion with the settlement of paupers.³⁰⁴ Within the next decade the poor rate had risen nearly £20,000, the average expenditure for the years 1783, 1784, and 1785 being £72,877 10s. 10d. The average expense of overseers' journeys was £839 3s. 2d., their entertainments cost on an average £457 7s. 7d., law business £1,445 os. 6d., and setting the poor to work £2,124 13s. 3d.³⁰⁵ The succeeding ten years saw the adoption of the policy of the Speenhamland magistrates, and a consequent further increase of pauperism and expense. In 1799 the vestry of Rye 'having taken into their most serious consideration the distress of the poor of their parish from the present high price of corn' ordered

that such poor families whom it shall be thought have not, or cannot supply, the means of support, shall be relieved out of the poor's rate, so far as to be supplied in proportion to the numbers of their families and of their distress, as per schedule . . . with brown flour, the bran and pollard being taken out.

The consequence was that between 1795 and 1832 the rates in that parish alone rose from £803 1s. 11d. to £4,656 3s. 9d.³⁰⁶

About the same time—that is during the closing years of the eighteenth century—Gilbert's Act was adopted in several parts of the county. The total number of unions formed under the Act was six, Eastbourne including sixteen parishes, Thakeham six, West Hampnett eleven, Yapton three, East Preston five, with which another fourteen were incorporated between 1793 and 1806,

³⁰⁰ C. G. Harper, *Brighton Road*, 43 et seq.

³⁰¹ J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 224–6.

³⁰² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 98.

³⁰³ L. F. Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 56.

³⁰⁴ *Accts. and Papers*, 1777, ix, 539.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 1787, ix, 730–1.

³⁰⁶ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 444. It should be noted that the year 1795 was one of scarcity.

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and Sutton sixteen.³⁰⁷ Arundel and Petworth were single parishes under the Act, and Brighton and Chichester were administered under local Acts.³⁰⁸ Discontent and poverty, however, increased to an alarming extent; threatening letters were circulated in West Dean as early as 1795,³⁰⁹ and rick-burning occurred in Hailsham in 1816-17; in Northiam the vestry was violently entered in 1822, and the labourers declaring that they would help themselves to their own, burnt the tithe ricks.³¹⁰ Elsewhere throughout the county riots became prevalent about the year 1830—Rottingdean, Singleton, Chiddingly, Worth, and Crawley being almost the only districts which were exempt from some form of rioting.

The causes of discontent most usually alleged in answer to the inquiry held in 1834 were the high price of provisions and the low rate of wages, especially to single men, and the attempt of the parish authorities to find employment for the labourers on the roads—the work being unprofitable, and consequently degrading and ill-paid, and affording ample opportunity for discussion of grievances. In certain districts the trouble was attributed to malice and drink and political agitation, due to revolutionary literature and William Cobbett's lectures,³¹¹ and in others, such as East Grinstead, it was said that the concessions granted by the employers in their first panic had encouraged the rioters to further excesses. For the most part, however, the tendency was towards a charitable policy in its most pernicious forms. The true secret of the outbreak was revealed in the report from Northiam. The labourers, ran the return, have for some time past been fully aware that they can claim a subsistence, and the opinion has so far prevailed, that whether idle or industrious, the amount must be regulated by the number of the family, that in the riots they took upon themselves to regulate the amount of relief, as well as the rate of wages—indeed the former yet more than the latter. The consequence of the riots was that both relief and wages were now given in accordance with the demands of the rioters.³¹²

There were two principal factors in this miserable policy of pauperization. In the first place the farmers preferred to pay low rents and high rates, and at Eastbourne, at least, they openly avowed the fact at the vestry meetings. By pursuing such a system they could always secure what extra hands they needed, and as soon as rain came they were able to turn them off on to the parish again, so that the shopkeepers and lodging-house keepers bore a share in their maintenance. They were not sufficiently far-sighted, nor had they a sufficiently permanent interest in the land to dread the destruction of property or the pauperization of the labouring population.³¹³ In justice to the good feeling of the ratepayers of the county at that period, however, it ought to be stated that by far the greater amount of demoralization was due to a real, though in part misdirected, interest in the welfare of their poorer neighbours. The great objection which was urged against the dissolution of the Gilbert unions of East Preston and Sutton in 1844 was that the rate-

³⁰⁷ *Accts. and Papers*, 1844, xl.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 1847-8, liii.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 1834, xxxiv.

³¹⁰ L. F. Salzmänn, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 60; *Accts. and Papers*, 1834, xxxiv.

³¹¹ At Brede there had been no burnings till 'after Cobbett's harangue at Battle'; Framfield, Guestling, and St. John sub Castro had also been roused by political agitators. At Brighton the outburst was attributed to wantonness and spleen; Arundel, Ditchling, Eastbourne, Framfield, Lindfield, and Ringmer complained of the beer-shops.

³¹² *Accts. and Papers*, 1834, xxxiv.

³¹³ *Ibid.* 1884-5, xxxii.

payers could not bear the idea of being restrained in their relief. They thought, with some show of reason, that they were themselves the best judges of people in distress in their own neighbourhood. If the Act of 1834 were enforced, help would have to come through the relieving officer or the board of guardians, or the Poor Law Commissioners.³¹⁴

Moreover, it is certain that the Act of 1834 had, in some instances, been carried out in a way eminently calculated to create prejudice even had it not already existed. In the case, for instance, of the new poor law union of West Hampnett, Lord Egremont, one of the most benevolent of Sussex landowners, was naturally excessively annoyed to find that Up Waltham, where he was sole landowner, and which should naturally have been grouped with his other parishes of Duncton and Petworth, had been added to West Hampnett. The commissioner had in that case, as the witness expressed it, 'made the union with a pair of compasses,' arbitrarily taking Chichester as his centre, with no regard to local interests or prejudices.³¹⁵

Moreover, the county had for many years previously not been at all blind to the need of reform, or negligent in its efforts to effect improvements; and the methods adopted, if not always successful, were both valuable and interesting as experiments. Lord Abergavenny, for instance, very early attempted to establish allotments at Rotherfield, but here the holdings proved too large and only tended to further pauperization. The ground had been leased at a quit-rent of 5s. an acre, and the tenant undertook to require no relief from the parish after the expiry of two years from his entering upon occupation. Should this condition not be fulfilled he was to surrender his land again. The tenements, however, were of such a size that the men could not cultivate them in addition to their ordinary labour, and consequently relied upon them for their whole support, and became petty farmers without sufficient capital to succeed. They fell further and further into poverty, and were finally obliged to sell their land to a man from some neighbouring parish, who in his turn became impoverished and came upon the rates.³¹⁶ The situation became so alarming that on 22 February, 1827, the vestry resolved to object to all grants and admittances, and by 1834 the parish was glad to buy up the allotments as they fell vacant in order to prevent a succession of families becoming pauperized.

About 1825 William Allen started a yet more elaborate scheme upon the Gravely estate at Lindfield. In the first instance he had established a school of agriculture and industries for boys and girls, where the children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, straw-plaiting, tailoring, shoe-making, printing, needlework, spinning, knitting, and other useful trades; and he had also been the chief promoter of the Lindfield Benevolent Society, whose members undertook to visit the poor in their cottages, and apparently to give help upon a more scientific method than that usually employed by the vestries. Shortly after the starting of this scheme Mr. John Smith, the member for Chichester City, purchased Gravely—an estate of about 100 acres—and with the co-operation of Mr. Allen built fourteen cottages, each with not less than 1½ acres of land attached, and six small farms of 5 or 6 acres apiece. The cottagers were supposed to be able to cultivate their land in addition to

³¹⁴ *Accts. and Papers*, 1844, x; Mr. Oliver's evidence.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1844, x; Rev. T. Sockett's evidence.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1884-5, xxxii.

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their regular labour, and if they could be persuaded to till the ground upon the system which he proposed, Mr. Allen was convinced that in the worst seasons they could make 2s. a week all the year round, in addition to their usual earnings. The distress in Lindfield at the time was terrible, and the expenditure on relief enormous. In 1831 it was estimated that £1,200 had been spent in one year on the support of 215 paupers, 100 of whom were able-bodied. The scheme met with considerable opposition, and the conservative mind of the Sussex native was slow to accept the system of potato cultivation and spade husbandry which was recommended, but in spite of this, up to 1831, considerable success had attended the attempt.³¹⁷

Somewhat similar experiments were tried in the neighbourhood of Eastbourne by Mrs. Gilbert, widow of the lord of the manor. She induced the parish to organize experimental allotments in 1827, and herself established most successful 3-acre holdings at Willingdon, upon which it was said that a man could support himself and three children, as well as paying rent, rates, and taxes amounting to £12 12s. a year, and selling dairy produce to the value of £10 per acre. Willingdon also had a 'self-supporting reading, writing, and agricultural school' at this time.³¹⁸

Another expedient which had been extensively tried in order to mitigate the evils of unemployment was the enforcement by the parish of the labour rate; by this scheme each ratepayer was compelled to employ a certain quota of labour in proportion to his assessment to the poor rate. In parishes such as Nuthurst, where the percentage of the population to the acreage of agricultural land was small, the plan met with success and approval, but elsewhere it proved both hard on the employer and injurious to the employed.³¹⁹ At Crawley and elsewhere where the rate had not been adopted, owing to the fact that there was not half enough agricultural land to give employment to all the inhabitants, great distress was occasioned. Men who had been in work in a distant parish were now sent home, owing to the obligation placed upon their master to employ his own parishioners whether they were equally efficient or not, consequently industrious labourers were thrown out of work and had to be supported by the parish in comparative idleness.³²⁰

A far more effectual remedy for the prevalent distress was an attempt made about this time to educate public opinion. A certain number of the most influential landowners in the county formed an association known as the

³¹⁷ *Quarterly Rep. of the Suss. Assoc. for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes*, i. The details of the scheme were as follows :—

PRODUCE.				OUTLAY.					
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
1½ bushels potatoes per rod	-	6	0	0	52 weeks rent at 2s. 6d.	-	6	10	0
½ acre of corn	-	4	10	0	Hired labour in aid	-	1	0	0
2 pigs fattened	-	3	17	0	Taxes	-	10	0	0
					12 bushel seed potatoes at 1s. 2d.	-	14	0	0
		14	7	0	3 " " oats at 3s.	-	9	0	0
							9	3	0

³¹⁸ J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 144-5.

³¹⁹ A labouring man of Hurstpierpoint complained bitterly that he was assessed to the poor rate, and therefore obliged to hire labour to outset his quota, though he himself was out of work.

³²⁰ *Accts. and Papers*, 1884-5, quoting the report of the Poor Law Commission of 1834.

Sussex Association for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes.³²¹ Their object, as stated in their first quarterly report, was to obtain correct information as to the condition of the labourer in different parts of Sussex, and details of experiments tried in other parts of the kingdom, and through their secretary to give advice and to promote allotments and other improvements. They were of opinion that the prevalent distress was not so much due to the superfluity of the population as to the misapplication of methods of agriculture. They were opposed to the system of giving out-door relief to able-bodied labourers, and cited the instance of Hellingly, where £360 was spent in 1830 on setting the unemployed to work upon labour which was almost entirely unproductive, and which tended to lower the rate of wages and to transfer part of the farmer's capital from its natural course—the employment of free labour—to the payment of compulsory and unproductive work.

The absolute necessity of taking some measures must have been clear to anyone who perused the Poor Law returns of 1834. In the parish of Battle the expenditure on relief in 1803 was £1,708, in 1813 it was £3,280, and in 1821 £4,001, and although by 1831 it had fallen to £2,325, it was still said that all the labouring population was out of work for four months in the year, and from thirty to eighty persons for the other eight months. Of these, some were billeted upon the tradespeople, and others employed by the parish in spade-husbandry or stone-breaking. In Rottingdean, on the other hand, there was no unemployment, and the expenses of relief had fallen by 1831 as low as 5s. 6d. per head of the population (the total expense being £245), but this was an exceptional case, and though in practically every instance the proportion of the rates to the population was considerably less in 1831 than it had been in 1813, and in most cases less than in 1821, yet in many parishes the expenses still exceeded £1 per head of the inhabitants, and the total figures ran into thousands.³²² The prevalent wage of the agricultural labourer throughout the county at this time was 12s. a week. In Eastbourne the single man only received 8s. a week, while the married man earned 12s. and 1s. 4d. for each child in addition; in Hamsey, Weston, and Lewes an efficient worker might earn as much as 15s. a week in summer, and in Meeching the usual rate of wages was 14s. In the hop districts of East Sussex women were extensively employed in the hop-fields, but elsewhere their labour was not in great demand except for occasional harvesting or weeding.³²³

In spite of the Act of 1834, and of all efforts to improve matters locally, very little was accomplished before the middle of the nineteenth century. All but three of the Gilbert incorporations were indeed dissolved before 1844, and into those that continued their existence some of the new ideas filtered; thus the guardians of the Sutton incorporation made an effort after the passing of the Act to do away with the system of giving the able-bodied relief in bread according to the number of their children; but 'the poor men came and represented their cases as very distressing,' and the guardian was directed to continue as before, though a stipulation was made that no one who had

³²¹ *Quarterly Rep. of Suss. Assoc. for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes*, i. Amongst the first members were H.R.H. the duke of Suffolk, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Chichester, the earl of Sheffield, Viscount Gage, and the earl of Surrey.

³²² *Acts. and Papers*, 1834, xxx.

³²³ *Ibid.*

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married after the passing of the Act should be entitled to such relief. The clerk to the board of guardians of East Preston Union had, moreover, assimilated the administration of out-relief as far as possible to the new Act to the saving, since 1837, of fifty per cent. in the keeping of the poor, and at Sutton a considerable reduction of expenses was effected between 1832 and 1837.³²⁴

The commission of 1844, however, revealed the most extraordinary abuses in the incorporations. The master of East Preston workhouse was unable to read or write, and had indeed been himself a pauper in Yapton workhouse. He had been brought to East Preston to teach sack manufacturing, and while there had married the matron of the workhouse, who apparently held office by a sort of hereditary title.³²⁵ Under his governorship the able-bodied men were not employed, the children were ill-taught, and in one case, certainly, most insanitary conditions had been allowed to prevail in the treatment of disease. Neither here nor at Sutton was there any proper classification of the inmates, and in both cases irregularities in the administration of the details of the Act had been permitted.³²⁶ In spite, however, of all these drawbacks, considerable reluctance was still felt to dissolve the incorporations. It was said that the inmates of the workhouse were better fed and more contented than they were in the neighbouring Poor Law unions, and two clergymen, who had always taken the keenest interest in the question, though they thought Gilbert's Act might well be amended, were yet most urgent that it should not be repealed.³²⁷

This was, perhaps, the less surprising in view of the partial failure of the local authorities to administer the new Act successfully. In 1848 the Commission on Vagrancy showed how far the guardians and relieving officers had failed in dealing with casual paupers, and in exercising that discretion with regard to admittance to the workhouse which was vested in them. From Hailsham came the complaint that the number of vagrants was greatly on the increase, and that the guardians were of opinion that it had become a system with many to travel from union to union to obtain food, the same individuals having applied more than once under different names at intervals of three or four months. At Midhurst the number of casual paupers was said to be 'fearfully increasing, now almost daily crowding the doors of the workhouse, and the residences of our relieving officers . . . as well as encouraging idleness and vagrancy throughout the district.' In a similar strain the Steyning guardians wrote that

in consequence of opinions . . . given in your reports from time to time upon this subject, officers fear the responsibility attaching to them if they refuse applicants a night's lodging in the workhouse. It is a fact that until the union workhouse was built at Shoreham, that parish was seldom troubled with applicants of this description. . . . Vagrants consider they have a right to lodgings in a workhouse, they go to the relieving officer and state that they are destitute . . . and take care never to have money about them.³²⁸

The second half of the century, however, saw a real improvement in the situation, new poor-law unions were created, and in the half-year ending

³²⁴ *Accts. and Papers*, 1844, x.

³²⁵ So also did the governor of Sutton workhouse.

³²⁶ Thus the guardian of Broadwater admitted that some things were probably done against the law. The overseer, for instance, often did the guardian's work; he himself, however, had never read the Act thoroughly, and did not know what provisions it contained. At Sutton the treasurer was appointed without security, the guardian did not, in his official capacity, try to find work for the able-bodied, and a certain amount of contracting was admitted.

³²⁷ *Accts. and Papers*, 1844, x.

³²⁸ *Ibid.* 1847-8, liii.

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Michaelmas, 1855, the expenditure on relief of all kinds was £2,962 less than in the corresponding period of the previous year ; while on 1 January, 1856, the numbers in receipt of relief throughout the county were 1,029 less than on 1 January, 1855. By the year 1883, moreover, the number of paupers of all classes in receipt of relief on 1 July throughout the county was exactly the same as the number in receipt of relief on the corresponding day of the year 1856, excluding the Gilbert unions and the parishes still administered under the poor-law of 1601 ; while by 1 July, 1884, the numbers had fallen from 16,922 of 1 July, 1883, to 16,766, out-door relief being decreased by 152 cases, and indoor by 4.³²⁹ In the half-year ending July, 1882, the total number of vagrants relieved was 1,600, while in the half-year ending July, 1883, the numbers were reduced to 1,456.³³⁰

It was well that a more efficient administration was able to effect these improvements, for though the agricultural depression was never so severely felt in the county as it has been in other parts of the kingdom, yet the Weald farmers were ill able to bear the burden of heavy rates. As early as 1798 William Marshall remarked upon the fewness of the inhabitants and the unproductive course of husbandry pursued in the district. The land was almost entirely arable, though in Marshall's opinion far better suited for permanent grass. The rotation adopted was fallow, wheat, oats, ley herbage as long as it would last, oats, fallow, &c., which he condemned as 'probably the oldest and certainly the worst course of management in the island,' while he considered the tenantry, notwithstanding the lowness of their rents, 'as poor, weak, and spiritless as their lands ; drawn down as for ages they have been, with exhausting crops, without sufficiency of stock, or of extraneous manures to make up for this endless exhaustion.' With good roads, and a suitable course of practice, however, he believed there were men who had substance and spirit enough to raise the Weald lands to twice their existing value.³³¹

The rest of the county, however, was in a far more prosperous condition. In the district between Pulborough and Midhurst, though 'a large portion of ill-placed prejudice' was prevalent, the farmers were on the whole wealthy and intelligent. The land was chiefly arable, but a considerable number of early lambs were reared for the London markets. The sea-coast and the Downs he regarded as being intelligently and successfully farmed, the chief produce being corn and sheep. The flocks of the South Downs he noted as having 'of late years grown into high repute.'³³²

The distress which followed the Napoleonic wars and the sheep-rot of the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century contributed not a little to the further depression of the Weald farmers. In 1833 it was said that land which had formerly been let at 12s. or 14s. an acre had fallen to 5s., and in spite of this it was difficult to get tenants. Several farms between Tonbridge and East Grinstead were untenanted, a good deal of poor land had gone out of cultivation, and since 1822 the remainder had deteriorated considerably, chiefly because it was not so well farmed as it had been, and had become sterile from over-cropping. It was stated that throughout the Weald of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, there was scarcely a farmer who was solvent, a

³²⁹ *Acts. and Papers*, 1856, xlix ; 1884, lxviii.

³³¹ Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, ii, 133-45.

³³⁰ *Ibid.* 1884, lxviii.

³³² *Ibid.* ii, 230, 363.

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state of affairs attributed to the smallness of their holdings and their consequent pauperization after the end of the war,³³³ but probably really due to the pursuit of a system of farming unsuited to the district and to their own means.

During the ensuing fifty years a considerable movement towards the conversion of arable into pasture took place, and in the Weald there was a noticeable increase in the number of cattle reared. The rapidly increasing population of the south-coast watering places, moreover, provided an ever-extending market for all kinds of agricultural and garden produce. At the same time there were still complaints of serious depression from nearly every part of the county. One land agent wanted tenants for fourteen farms, and on those which he had succeeded in letting he had allowed a reduction of rents varying from twenty to twenty-five per cent. A gentleman had taken a farm near Brighton at £300 a year which had formerly been let for £750, and another farm, the rent of which had fallen since 1872 from £550 to £300 a year, was not considered a safe bargain by an experienced land valuer.

Throughout the county there had been very general remissions of rents, varying from ten to twenty per cent., and one agent writing in February, 1880, stated that, whereas he had only had nine tenants in arrears in 1876, in 1878 there were thirty-six, and though the rents for 1879 were not yet collected he feared a yet further increase. It was again supposed that the Weald farmers were scarcely solvent, and this in spite of the fact that in many cases they lived harder and worked harder than the ordinary labourer, while their children were for the most part less well educated than his.

In the Chichester district the hill farms where sheep were bred and barley was grown had suffered but little until quite recently. They were, for the most part, owned by substantial men, the small farmers having been bought out about the middle of the century. Even here, however, there were complaints of the general rise in the cost of production due to high rents and high sanitary and school rates, and the expense of machinery, together with the rise of wages and the deterioration in labour, consequent on the better-educated lads leaving the neighbourhood. Both here and in the Pulborough districts it was said that the cottage accommodation for the labourers was good, rents varied from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a week, there were few allotments, but the general condition of the labourer, according to the Pulborough Market Committee, had improved in the last few years.³³⁴

The increasing popularity of poultry and dairy farming and the fall in the prices of corn and sheep, tended in subsequent years to re-adjust the balance between the Down and Wealden districts of the county. Owing to the lack of capital the small Weald farms, where poultry could be reared on anything varying from $\frac{1}{4}$ acre to 15 or 20 acres, easily found tenants at a comparatively high rent, and further breaking up of the larger properties was contemplated and indeed carried out where the owner had sufficient capital to build. On the Down farms, on the other hand, where sub-division was impossible, considerable reductions of rent were again necessary between 1873 and 1893, and further scarcity and deterioration in labour was noted—a difficulty not met with on the smaller holdings where the farmer and his family could carry on all the work themselves. A member of the East

³³³ *Accts. and Papers*, 1833, v.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* 1881, xvi.

Sussex Farmers' Club stated it as his opinion that the condition of the labourer was on the whole improved, but as wages had risen the demand for allotments had decreased; he considered that small holdings were suitable for small shopkeepers but not for labourers, whose position in the eyes of the farmer was apt to be prejudiced by the fact that he held land of his own, to which he would be naturally expected to devote his first attention! The relations between landlord and tenant were generally friendly, and rents, in his experience, were pretty regularly paid, though farms were frequently in a disgraceful condition when they fell vacant. Foreign competition was pressing hard upon butchers and market gardeners, and better means of distribution were much needed for all kinds of produce except poultry, which was bought up on the farms and distributed by 'higglers.' He considered the charge made by the County Council for technical instruction prevented its being much sought after by young men, who could hardly afford to pay for that as well as for their board and lodging; dairy schools, however, he stated were popular.³³⁵

As further evidence of the actual position of the Sussex labourer at the present day the report of the commissioners on agricultural wages issued in 1900 may be cited. The average total earnings of the agricultural labourer throughout the kingdom in 1898 amounted to 16s. 10d., while the average in Sussex for that year was 17s. 10d.; a large part of this sum was contributed by piece-work, the average cash wage not amounting to more than 14s. 2d., and allowances in kind being, comparatively speaking, small and infrequent. The most extensive piece-work was, of course, found in the hop-growing districts of East Sussex, but the harvesting work was carried out upon this system throughout the county, while carters received journey-money, shepherds lamb-money, and in some instances journey-money and shearing-money, and in certain districts free cottages and gardens were provided for some of the men, especially the shepherds, and here and there potato ground was given or fuel found and carted, while occasionally milk or skim-milk was provided. The highest wages were earned by shepherds and men in charge of horses and cattle—their total estimated weekly earnings averaging about 18s. 8d. or 19s. There was no very material variation in the general rate of wages between the year 1894 and January, 1899,³³⁶ but the average was considerably higher than that quoted in the Poor Law Commissioners' return for 1834.

A summary of the evidence afforded by this long series of reports would seem to show that the condition of the Sussex labourer has improved considerably during the past sixty years. But perhaps a yet more important feature is their indication of a reasonable prospect of successful small holdings, and of the adaptation of the district for the development of dairy and poultry farms—evidence which would seem to point to Sussex as one of the counties where the solution of existing social problems might most easily be found, and where education in scientific farming might most easily be repaid.

³³⁵ *Accts. and Papers*, 1894, xvi (1); cf. 1897, xv, for summary of agricultural conditions in the county.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* 1900, lxxxii.

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TABLE OF PRICES BETWEEN 1281 AND 1380

	1281-2	1283-4	1287-8	1289	1291	1292	1294	1302	1322	1324	1348-9	1349-50	1352	1361	1362	1376	1377	1380
Wheat, per quarter . .	5s. to 6s. 4d.	6s.	5s. 6d.	—	8s.	—	10s. 6d. & 6s.	5s. & 3s. 4d.	7s. & 5s.	10s., 7s., 5s. 7s.	6s. & 3s.	6s. 8d. & 3s. 4d.	8s., 6s. & 4s.	—	—	—	—	—
Barley, " . .	5s. 6d.	—	2s. to 4s.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beans, " . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3s. 4d.	3s. & 4s. & 1s. 4d.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cheese, per wey . .	8s.	—	8s.	—	—	7s.	8s.	3s.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salt, per bushel . .	—	—	—	—	—	4d.	—	1d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beer, per gallon . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Herrings, per hundred . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hens, each	—	—	—	—	—	—	1½d.	1½d.	1½d.	5d. 2d. & 1½d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eggs, per hundred . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	4d.	—	4d.	5d.	—	4d.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ox	6s. 6d.	—	8s.	7s.	—	—	9s.	—	23s.	—	11s.	—	13s.	—	—	13s. 4d.	—	20s.
Cow	—	—	5s.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7s. 6d.	—	—	8s.	6s.	—	—	—
Sheep	—	—	1s.	—	—	—	9d.	—	—	—	13d.	—	12d.	—	—	—	—	—
Pig	—	—	1s.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9d.	—	—	—	3s. 6d.	—	—	—
Mowing, per acre . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	4d.	—	—	6d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carrying corn, per acre . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ploughing, per acre . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ploughing and harrowing, per acre . .	—	—	—	—	—	12d. & 10d.	12d. & 9d.	12d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plumber, per day	—	—	—	10d. with boy	—	—	4d. + 1½d. with boy	5d.	—	—	4d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carpenter, per day . .	—	—	6d.	2d.	3d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cooper, " . .	—	—	3d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2½d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tiler, " . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3d.	6d. with boy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3½d.	—
Thatcher, per day . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sawyer, " . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unskilled labourer, per day . .	—	—	4d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6d. & 7d.	—
Wool, per nail (7 lb.) . .	—	—	1½d.	—	—	44s. 5½d. the wey	—	2d.	—	—	18d.	12d.	12d.	—	—	—	—	—

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Wm. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoin, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c. in this table are also given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of Charles II's reign which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (*a*) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (*b*) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (*c*) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population

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actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841–1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows :—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other sub-division to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which are only estimates. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a civil parish indicates that the parish was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

* after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that such parish (or place) contains a union workhouse which was in use in (or before) 1851 and was still in use in 1901.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census is coextensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such sub-divisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION

1801—1901

—	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ancient or Geographical County ¹	933,269	159,471	187,873	233,328	272,644	300,108	336,844	363,735	417,456	490,505	550,446	605,202

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF ARUNDEL—												
<i>Arundel Hundred</i>												
Arundel ² † . . .	1,969	1,855	2,188	2,511	2,803	2,624	2,748	2,498	2,956	2,748	2,644	2,739
<i>Avisford Hundred</i>												
Barnham † † . . .	872	124	112	173	148	125	149	125	155	184	230	255
Binsted † . . .	1,105	100	88	98	114	111	124	110	139	135	103	105
Climping ³ † † . . .	1,805	197	216	258	269	279	273	331	255	264	248	215
Eastergate † . . .	918	163	151	166	208	208	162	162	165	161	174	216
Felpham † . . .	1,886	306	536	581	588	555	596	592	611	565	724	744
Ford	474	70	71	83	81	70	106	82	73	100	102	94
Madehurst † . . .	1,891	133	132	169	154	150	204	208	194	190	176	192
Middleton † . . .	374	40	50	44	43	100	108	89	77	44	40	35
Stoke, South † . . .	1,279	106	99	115	101	102	107	111	108	133	131	117
Tortington † . . .	1,116	68	78	88	76	75	104	112	138	165	288	452
Walberton † † . . .	1,752	502	612	687	616	561	578	588	583	607	665	610
Yapton †	1,740	543	512	579	578	541	609	589	608	556	629	715
<i>Bury Hundred</i>												
Alfold (part of) ⁴ † . . .	296	—	—	—	—	33	—	20	24	31	30	29
Bignor ⁵ †	1,344	95	150	138	130	210	203	167	150	154	159	147
Bury †	3,495	361	379	504	547	611	599	500	533	517	511	489
Coates	347	30	41	41	75	67	63	78	94	61	84	71
Coldwaltham † . . .	1,231	237	265	357	449	460	441	447	426	389	338	351
Fittleworth † . . .	2,362	564	525	631	668	713	782	683	695	696	761	657
Hardham †	956	85	89	114	134	115	98	87	117	101	124	111
Houghton †	1,739	144	142	162	174	177	193	165	189	196	174	154
Wisborough Green †	8,565	1,307	1,421	1,679	1,782	1,807	1,746	1,682	1,756	1,656	1,599	1,585
<i>Poling Hundred</i>												
Angmering † † . . .	3,150 ⁶	708	793	897	928	1,002	1,012	953	1,019	955	990	1,022
Burpham †	2,725	201	229	223	273	280	267	256	304	286	280	249
Ferring	950	238	243	286	258	285	312	253	267	232	226	243
Goring †	2,004	419	439	476	527	503	569	535	464	528	561	551
Kingston	431	53	42	43	61	45	40	45	27	34	43	40

¹ *Ancient County*.—The County is defined by the Act 7 & 8 Vict. cap. 61, which altered Sussex to the following extent:—*Added to it* the Tithings of North Ambersham and South Ambersham (from Hampshire). In addition to these changes part of Bramshott Ancient Parish—viz. Bohunt Farm—was transferred from Sussex to Hampshire, with which County it had always been returned. A small part of Horsmonden Parish (area only at the 1901 Census) is in Sussex, but the whole is shown for convenience in Kent.

The population given for 1811 excludes 2,470 militia, who were not assigned to their respective Parishes. (*See also notes to Alfold, Bramshott, Broomhill, West Blatchington, Frant, and St. Mary Bulverhythe.*)

² *Arundel*.—Extensive building works were in progress at the time of the 1871 Census; they included the erection of a Roman Catholic Church.

³ *Climping*.—Barracks were established in this parish between 1851 and 1861; the military seem to have been mainly removed between 1861 and 1871.

⁴ *Alfold*.—The remainder is in Surrey (Blackheath Hundred, First Division), where the entire population is shown 1801–1831 and 1851.

⁵ It seems probable that the detached Hamlet of Buddington, which really belongs to *Bignor Parish*, was wrongly returned with *Easebourne Parish* in 1801; the latter Parish completely surrounds it.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF ARUNDEL— <i>cont.</i>												
<i>Poling Hundred</i> — <i>cont.</i>												
Lyminster † :—	3,597 ^a	478	554	675	715	785	794	908	1,230	1,715	1,852	2,031
Lyminster †	2,667 ^a	357	428	562	611	666	655	801	1,071	1,587	1,693	1,831
Warningcamp	930	121	126	113	104	119	139	107	159	128	159	200
Tything												
Littlehampton † †	1,100 ^a	584	882	1,166	1,625	2,270	2,436	2,350	3,272	3,932	4,455	5,954
Poling † † . . .	923 ^a	170	148	191	202	212	192	203	192	191	196	216
Preston, East †	489 ^a	170	218	259	242	270	310	320	335	425	417	572
Rustington † † . .	1,065 ^a	261	292	327	365	350	342	340	359	371	437	616
Stoke, North † . .	941	48	62	63	86	89	80	58	95	103	100	91
<i>Rotherbridge Hundred</i>												
Barlavington † . .	1,199	78	78	94	111	132	128	136	132	182	175	130
Burton †	814	14	27	14	7	7	28	45	67	73	57	54
Duncton † . . .	1,360	205	233	246	272	308	272	258	262	268	259	245
Egdean †	741	72	78	66	88	121	105	85	80	76	75	59
Kirdford † . . .	12,275 ^a	1,340	1,452	1,602	1,653	1,973	1,955	1,784	1,787	1,703	1,642	1,439
Lurgashall † † . .	4,850 ^a	521	549	664	718	771	744	727	751	739	768	709
North Chapel †	3,923	621	634	749	845	843	864	785	802	794	742	782
Petworth	6,128	2,264	2,459	2,781	3,114	3,364	3,439	3,368	3,304	2,942	2,867	2,503
Stopham †	863	164	163	139	129	135	161	130	145	156	151	139
Sutton †	2,064	303	342	353	379	420	389	364	331	310	325	243
Tillington † . . .	3,816	614	650	681	806	949	982	908	843	886	871	820
Woolavington ^b . .	2,530 ^a	192	201	272	338	418	462	488	405	372	505	595
<i>West Easwith Hundred</i>												
Amberley :—	2,942	346	444	548	637	722	671	650	686	731	659	692
Amberley	1,941	—	—	—	—	534	498	456	535	570	525	560
Rackham Ham- let	1,001	—	—	—	—	188	173	194	151	161	134	132
Billingshurst † . .	6,863	1,164	1,295	1,369	1,540	1,439	1,458	1,495	1,577	1,611	1,658	1,591
Chiltington, West † †	4,007	558	514	638	718	747	686	668	701	659	612	622
Greatham	770	79	55	71	79	64	76	51	60	59	66	52
Parham	1,284	51	58	77	46	53	55	71	65	88	58	73
Pulborough † . . .	6,395	1,334	1,613	1,901	1,979	2,006	1,825	1,852	1,855	1,808	1,787	1,725
Rudgwick ^c † . . .	6,022	760	837	974	950	1,097	1,031	1,068	1,069	1,122	1,177	1,148
Slinfold †	4,432	550	549	644	682	691	702	755	796	773	853	981
Storrington † . . .	3,249	846	792	901	916	990	1,038	1,104	1,184	1,351	1,293	1,016
Wiggonholt	849	42	43	47	37	36	39	34	39	38	52	48
RAPE OF BRAMBER												
<i>Brightford Hundred</i>												
Broadwater † . . .	2,240 ^a	1,018	2,692	3,725	4,576	5,345	5,970	6,466	8,641	11,841	15,970	18,216
Clapham	1,806	197	201	245	229	262	252	249	246	239	270	226
Durrington	900	140	186	194	162	191	177	171	165	181	153	257
Findon †	4,370	381	421	477	544	589	559	655	681	708	775	656
Heene †	431	101	136	178	153	185	233	194	427	845	1,691	3,019
Lancing †	2,534	451	519	590	695	781	828	950	1,069	1,341	1,285	1,244
Sompting †	2,917	405	441	472	519	515	559	628	726	682	700	679

^a Woolavington, Farnhurst, and Terwick.—Detached parts of Woolavington Parish were added to Farnhurst and Terwick Parishes by an Act of 1869. The populations of these detached areas were not distinguished at the 1871 and 1881 Censuses, and are consequently necessarily included with Farnhurst and Terwick Parishes.

^c Rudgwick.—The population in 1841 includes 73 visitors attending the fair

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801-1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF BRAMBER—<i>cont.</i>												
<i>Burbeach Hundred</i>												
Beeding, Upper:—	14,047	689	717	904	1,122	1,389	1,666	1,702	1,826	1,920	1,790	1,834
Beeding, Upper †	3,895	459	443	499	589	614	585	553	580	611	506	623
Beeding, Lower, Township	10,152	230	274	405	533	775	1,081	1,149	1,246	1,309	1,284	1,211
Edburton (part of) †	2,646	91	92	92	101	142	84	112	93	341	359	348
Ifield †	4,133	637	654	758	916	1,061	1,112	1,307	1,639	2,043	2,817	3,383
<i>East Easwith Hundred</i>												
Itchingfield † . .	2,519	249	268	349	356	357	371	377	377	434	492	535
Sullington † † . .	2,340 ⁸	256	234	287	320	242	243	241	246	303	320	250
Thakeham * † † . .	3,000	539	522	603	597	620	631	559	631	539	494	408
Warminghurst † .	1,105	112	91	116	113	117	116	106	140	97	70	81
<i>Fishergate Hundred</i>												
Kingston-by-Sea † .	782	77	60	56	60	46	153	93	245	262	253	545
Shoreham, New * †	135	799	770	1,047	1,503	1,998	2,590	3,351	3,678	3,505	3,393	3,837
Shoreham, Old † .	1,923	188	210	235	231	224	278	282	285	248	260	281
Southwick ⁹ † . .	1,006	271	321	374	502	957	1,190	1,358	2,339	2,561	2,564	3,364
<i>Patching Hundred</i>												
Patching	1,767	192	183	222	149	249	271	275	268	274	270	248
<i>Singlecross Hundred</i>												
Horsham * † . . .	10,741	3,204	3,839	4,575	5,105	5,765	5,947	6,747	7,831	9,449	10,955	12,994
Nuthurst ¹⁰ † † . .	3,260 ⁸	465	539	628	723	768	727	767	699	787	814	775
Rusper †	3,123	399	450	487	531	564	533	590	599	539	548	522
Warnham † . . .	4,960	680	774	914	952	1,007	1,016	1,006	1,007	1,065	1,060	1,075
<i>Steyning Hundred</i>												
Bramber	851	91	95	98	97	138	130	119	173	186	169	162
Botolphs	920	36	51	62	81	48	55	54	81	94	70	75
Coombes † . . .	1,280	47	61	70	71	80	72	77	92	71	86	68
Steyning † † . .	3,414	1,174	1,210	1,324	1,436	1,495	1,464	1,620	1,665	1,672	1,705	1,752
Washington † . .	3,185	512	619	704	793	880	884	908	908	844	831	735
Wiston † † . . .	2,842	258	289	293	296	341	301	311	311	315	311	279
<i>Tarring Hundred</i>												
Tarring, West . .	1,191	487	568	650	626	567	593	606	656	733	1,035	1,720
<i>Tipnoak Hundred</i>												
Albourne † . . .	1,763	253	293	360	362	395	377	341	334	306	305	277
Henfield † † . .	4,518	1,037	976	1,404	1,516	1,763	1,664	1,662	1,856	1,890	2,006	1,867
Woodmancote † .	2,239	231	247	294	342	378	326	331	320	347	314	306

⁸ *Edburton Ancient Parish* is situated partly in *Burbeach Hundred* and partly in *Poynings Hundred*. The entire area and population 1881-1901 are entered in *Burbeach Hundred*. The part of *Edburton Ancient Parish* in *East Sussex Administrative County* was created *Fulking Civil Parish* in 1894; the area of this new Civil Parish is 1,552 acres, and its population 225 persons in 1891 and 228 in 1901. *Lewes Rape* is in the ancient division of *Sussex* known as *East Sussex*, and *Bramber Rape* is similarly in ancient *West Sussex*; these divisions were erected into separate Administrative Counties by the Local Government Act of 1888.

⁹ *Southwick*.—The 1841 population includes 114 persons in vessels.

¹⁰ *Nuthurst*.—The 1861 population includes 52 labourers on railway works.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF BRAMBER (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>West Grinstead Hundred</i>												
Ashington † . . .	1,288	173	198	229	285	282	223	234	277	255	267	213
Ashurst, near Steyning † †	2,372	385	408	394	423	427	441	374	388	376	331	318
Grinstead, West ¹¹ † †	6,720	939	998	1,229	1,292	1,225	1,252	1,403	1,344	1,476	1,578	1,500
Shipley	7,778	997	1,011	1,159	1,180	1,187	1,277	1,212	1,147	1,114	1,061	901
<i>Windham and Ewhurst Hundred</i>												
Cowfold † . . .	4,501	601	614	822	809	943	975	946	993	1,042	945	968
Shermanbury † . .	1,915	274	270	320	345	411	458	464	388	363	356	340
RAPE OF CHICHESTER												
<i>Aldwick Hundred</i>												
Bersted, South :—	2,750	737	1,195	1,851	2,190	2,490	2,694	3,128	3,794	4,166	4,953	6,549
Bersted, South .	2,227	—	—	—	—	—	781	605	983	876	849	1,482
Bognor Town-ship	523	—	—	—	—	—	1,913	2,523	2,811	3,290	4,104	5,067
Lavant, East . .	3,655	274	348	364	407	370	421	421	392	401	421	370
Pagham	3,886	652	847	1,009	958	1,047	1,022	988	877	874	887	853
Slindon † . . .	2,614	374	437	471	539	544	599	521	518	507	512	482
The Gumber, Extra Par.	343	—	—	—	—	13	20	22		27		25
Tangmere † . . .	775	136	157	174	197	225	221	201	198	185	164	166
<i>Bosham Hundred</i>												
Bosham †	3,190	880	1,079	1,049	1,181	1,091	1,126	1,158	1,184	1,255	1,258	1,149
Chidham †	1,525	209	243	293	320	325	308	310	314	266	241	260
Funtington † . .	3,762	681	687	847	969	983	1,079	1,099	1,065	1,108	1,020	994
Stoke, West † . .	871	76	64	92	101	98	98	94	95	95	103	120
Thorney, West ¹² †	1,228	71	62	111	104	128	111	93	181	131	150	148
<i>Box and Stockbridge Hundred</i>												
Aldingbourne † .	3,098	725	636	855	833	772	744	772	772	743	798	779
Appledram † . .	937	136	119	133	188	156	150	129	136	159	144	134
Boxgrove † . . .	3,677	682	754	868	778	736	755	666	728	708	699	651
Donnington † † .	1,038	183	222	267	228	206	184	188	203	188	191	195
Eartham †	1,539	114	122	105	113	117	103	121	134	154	138	118
Fishbourne, New †	597	309	252	288	291	295	317	341	362	316	323	366
Hunston	1,013	123	111	166	173	193	219	176	183	176	187	217
Merston †	718	77	84	107	129	104	76	79	110	96	108	121
Mundham, North .	1,892	324	430	422	467	495	444	426	405	401	373	326
Oving	2,989	464	476	637	789	790	876	949	1,404	1,662	1,973	2,022
Rumboldswyke † .	652	224	269	303	319	324	318	582	642	902	1,497	2,033
Up Waltham † . .	1,275	65	49	99	95	99	67	71	67	82	67	41
West Hampnett † .	1,909	400	444	401	449	520	637	502	530	521	505	346
<i>Dumfries Hundred</i>												
Bramshott (part of) ¹³	349	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	80	136
Chithurst † . . .	1,047	94	127	146	172	232	223	215	279	315	277	243
Didling	825	83	79	81	82	119	102	85	94	85	61	45

¹¹ *West Grinstead*.—The increased population in 1861 is attributed to the temporary presence of labourers engaged on the new railway line from Horsham to Shoreham.

¹² *West Thorney*.—Extensive works in progress in 1871 to reclaim land from the sea. The area is taken from the 1901 Census Volume.

¹³ *Bramshott*.—The remainder is in Hampshire (Finch Dean Hundred), where the population is entirely shown 1801–1871.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF CHICHESTER (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Dumfries Hundred (cont.)</i>												
Elsted.	1,840	121	128	190	174	212	208	174	175	208	191	191
Harting †. . . .	7,946	863	947	1,072	1,290	1,267	1,330	1,247	1,277	1,274	1,279	1,238
Rogate	4,984	518	595	724	901	1,023	1,117	990	999	986	953	932
Terwick ^{13a} † †. .	718 ^a	91	109	112	97	108	97	106	138	192	168	155
Treyford	1,273	95	114	137	130	155	174	123	143	147	114	122
Troton †.	3,877 ^a	329	370	390	416	481	484	452	462	481	539	493
<i>Easebourne Hundred</i>												
Bepton † †. . . .	1,224 ^a	129	148	140	166	207	211	211	201	229	235	195
Cocking †. . . .	2,597	300	332	340	453	464	482	430	493	574	449	408
Easebourne ^{13b} * †.	4,040	764	720	777	904	1,074	1,076	859	881	1,016	1,360	1,355
Farnhurst ^{13a} †. .	4,757 ^a	383	508	593	769	762	768	769	880	1,040	1,020	919
Graffham	1,714	260	295	343	372	390	426	416	435	413	407	347
Heyshott †. . . .	2,184	275	265	309	358	408	432	396	386	448	393	389
Iping †.	1,925 ^a	209	314	305	338	409	438	404	468	459	457	368
Linch †.	1,220 ^a	78	84	77	88	70	94	111	95	115	111	135
Linchmere † †. .	2,101 ^a	249	258	282	301	280	339	283	320	387	391	415
Lodsworth Liberty and Par. † †. . .	1,805 ^a	433	393	513	599	634	661	629	607	625	592	575
Midhurst ¹⁴ †. . .	669	1,073	1,256	1,335	1,478	1,536	1,481	1,340	1,465	1,615	1,674	1,650
Selham † †. . . .	1,042 ^a	78	71	80	89	121	120	123	87	106	101	120
Stedham †. . . .	2,249 ^a	258	353	453	494	557	533	530	502	541	558	567
Steep (part of) ¹⁵ :-	2,614 ^a	263	260	309	304	322	289	254	311	287	346	271
Ambersham, . . .	1,112 ^a	106	99	134	121	133	128	111	160	163	160	145
North Tyth- ing †.												
Ambersham, South Tyth- ing †.	1,502	157	161	175	183	189	161	143	151	124	186	126
Woolbeding †. . .	2,253 ^a	212	238	261	307	311	320	338	354	400	390	312
<i>Manhood Hundred</i>												
Birdham †. . . .	1,811	361	375	532	486	506	531	436	456	455	453	389
Earnley †. . . .	1,140	115	106	148	153	139	137	116	142	132	140	115
Itchenor, West †.	546	161	199	181	237	232	254	167	180	154	115	121
Selsey †.	2,986	564	648	766	821	879	934	900	937	901	1,039	1,258
Sidlesham † †. .	3,961	805	865	1,029	1,002	927	941	960	960	946	920	799
Wittering, East † †	1,176	202	214	216	226	261	233	223	219	230	214	157
Wittering, West † †	2,286	396	483	504	606	575	609	616	613	655	582	494
<i>Westbourne and Singleton Hundred</i>												
Binderton	1,337	53	86	67	89	75	96	109	108	100	110	117
Compton †. . . .	1,661 ^a	199	216	233	241	274	285	266	286	281	264	281
Dean, East †. . .	4,654	305	353	397	391	433	419	343	318	343	303	305
Dean, West. †. .	4,803	510	554	622	641	657	669	681	683	732	611	614
Marden, East † †.	968 ^a	46	52	85	44	67	69	63	72	76	64	55
Marden, North †.	697	20	23	20	32	24	19	28	27	39	39	9
Mid Lavant. . . .	418	198	215	243	278	279	284	257	239	404	366	364
Racton †.	1,199	111	102	100	88	101	96	95	97	97	100	147
Singleton †. . . .	4,063	445	481	484	563	563	603	556	606	555	579	513
Stoughton †. . .	5,422 ^a	502	489	519	570	578	644	633	612	649	618	580
Up Marden	2,943	255	246	306	364	348	360	366	365	336	310	309
Westbourne * . .	4,503	1,549	1,702	1,852	2,031	2,093	2,178	2,165	2,335	2,450	2,409	2,269

^{13a} See note 6, *ante*.

¹⁴ *Midhurst* includes the Liberty of St. John of Jerusalem.

¹⁵ *Steep Ancient Parish*.—The remainder is in Hampshire (East Meon Hundred).

^{13b} See note 5, *ante*.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF HASTINGS												
<i>Baldslow Hundred</i>												
Crowhurst ¹⁶ † . .	2,168	321	265	340	370	326	591	430	405	421	446	574
Hastings St. Leonard (part of) ¹⁷ †	1,108	—	—	—	77	173	513	452	1,251	2,052	3,694	4,999
Hastings St. Mary-in-the-Castle (part of) ¹⁷	777	100	73	115	121	103	146	183	847	1,261	1,402	1,422
Hollington . . .	2,463	208	233	272	338	386	579	531	1,053	1,752	2,056	2,332
Ore (part of) ^{16 17} *	2,177	243	331	546	965	1,218	1,741	1,607	2,649	2,991	4,586	5,353
Westfield † . . .	4,314	306	707	897	938	866	900	883	1,031	1,051	1,051	956
<i>Battle Hundred</i>												
Battle ¹⁸ * . . .	8,252	2,040	2,531	2,852	2,999	3,039	3,849	3,293	3,495	3,319	3,153	2,996
Whatlington ¹⁶ † .	1,259	211	242	285	286	279	458	343	320	378	348	343
<i>Bexhill Hundred</i>												
Bexhill (part of) ¹⁹ .	7,134	1,091	1,627	1,907	1,867	1,822	2,026	2,011	2,051	2,333	5,089	12,110
<i>Foxearle Hundred</i>												
Ashburnham † . .	3,691	473	572	768	721	790	865	844	867	774	746	673
Herstmonceux † .	5,052	961	1,013	1,318	1,338	1,445	1,292	1,287	1,204	1,294	1,269	1,268
Wartling † . . .	4,743	858	874	990	948	962	1,039	914	846	787	748	702
<i>Goldspur Hundred</i>												
Beckley †	5,619	742	1,170	1,371	1,477	1,412	1,342	1,252	1,367	1,230	1,141	948
Broomhill (part of) ²⁰	1,134	—	—	—	—	78	75	44	112	111	85	110
Guldeford, East .	2,826	59	94	124	126	127	137	152	157	182	159	137
Iden †	2,969	289	456	542	517	554	626	600	571	551	503	462
Peasmarsh † † . .	3,772	611	781	913	920	902	898	906	920	837	795	734
Playden	1,295	179	223	317	297	312	314	305	313	294	282	282
<i>Gostrow Hundred</i>												
Brede † †	4,840	801	787	902	1,046	1,151	1,059	1,083	1,006	1,056	1,071	990
Udimore † † . . .	2,277	321	375	428	454	483	435	444	451	410	385	394
<i>Guestling Hundred</i>												
Fairlight † . . .	2,884	414	385	477	533	631	625	501	487	482	478	439
Guestling ¹⁶ † . .	3,576	496	514	697	768	803	860	731	818	802	801	753
Icklesham † † . .	4,934	384	411	585	604	681	728	816	865	867	954	934
Pett †	1,908	185	233	300	297	385	364	320	299	283	282	283
<i>Hawkesborough Hundred</i>												
Burwash (part of) ²¹	7,452	1,524	1,603	1,937	1,966	1,894	2,227	2,143	2,232	2,285	2,093	1,977
Heathfield	8,032	1,226	1,310	1,613	1,801	1,917	2,208	1,892	2,044	1,995	2,300	2,745
Warbleton † . . .	5,986	908	966	1,167	1,225	1,300	1,509	1,431	1,482	1,468	1,379	1,355

¹⁶ Crowhurst, Ore, Whatlington, Guestling, Etchingam, Salehurst, and Mountfield.—A number of railway labourers present in each of these Parishes in 1851.

¹⁷ Hastings St. Leonard, Hastings St. Mary-in-the-Castle, and Ore Parishes are situated partly in Baldslow Hundred and partly in Hastings Borough. The entire areas of St. Leonard and Ore Parishes are entered in Baldslow Hundred. The entire population of Ore Parish is entered in Baldslow Hundred 1801–1831. The entire population of St. Leonard Parish is entered in Hastings Borough, 1801–1821.

¹⁸ Battle.—The population in 1851 includes about 600 railway labourers.

¹⁹ Bexhill Parish is situated partly in Bexhill Hundred and partly in Hastings Borough and Cinque Port. The population is entirely shown in Bexhill Hundred 1801–1821.

²⁰ Broomhill.—The remainder is in Kent (Langport Hundred). The population is entirely shown in Kent 1801–1831. Too small an area was taken for the part in Sussex in 1861.

²¹ Burwash Parish is situated in (1) Hawkesborough Hundred; (2) Henhurst Hundred; and (3) Shoyswell Hundred. The entire area and population 1801–1831 and 1851–1901 are entered in Hawkesborough Hundred.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF HASTINGS (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Henhurst Hundred</i>												
Burwash (part of) ^{21a}	—	—	—	—	—	158	—	—	—	—	—	—
Etchingham ^{21b} †	3,783	414	485	625	631	820	950	864	894	907	894	897
Hawkhurst (part of) ²²	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	10	8
Salehurst ^{21b} †	6,565	1,611	1,653	2,121	2,204	2,099	2,191	2,014	2,080	2,133	2,061	1,803
<i>Netherfield Hundred</i>												
Brightling † †	4,647	507	497	641	656	692	812	661	641	674	730	554
Dallington †	2,894	401	449	548	577	612	664	591	629	522	479	464
Mountfield ^{21b} † †	3,900	564	581	683	663	601	769	585	642	622	576	562
Penhurst	1,455	81	67	106	102	103	120	105	97	106	120	84
<i>Ninfield Hundred</i>												
Catsfield † †	2,991	464	552	575	619	589	550	584	707	705	791	806
Hooe ²⁴ †	2,473	424	470	600	525	519	574	496	516	470	480	436
Ninfield † †	2,575	492	505	618	606	563	570	587	537	603	621	619
<i>Shoyswell Hundred</i>												
Burwash (part of) ^{21a}	—	—	—	—	—	41	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ticehurst ²⁵ *	8,265	1,436	1,593	1,966	2,314	2,465	2,850	2,758	2,939	3,007	2,931	2,931
<i>Staple Hundred</i>												
Bodiam ²⁶ †	1,604	225	261	314	349	377	306	303	306	324	310	252
Ewhurst †	5,846	847	1,032	1,225	1,200	1,169	1,213	1,043	1,079	1,095	1,041	935
Northiam † †	3,585	997	1,114	1,358	1,448	1,329	1,306	1,260	1,174	1,207	1,128	1,024
Sedlescombe †	2,061	510	506	667	732	668	714	703	639	648	622	522
RAPE OF LEWES												
<i>Barcombe Hundred</i>												
Barcombe † †	5,027	615	700	753	931	1,028	1,075	1,090	1,006	1,182	1,068	1,165
Hamsey †	2,747	367	492	537	608	533	529	541	577	553	564	552
Newick †	1,977	393	452	540	724	914	966	991	988	1,083	1,033	953
<i>Buttinghill Hundred</i>												
Ardingly	3,841	506	553	579	587	742	666	626	1,095	1,564	1,280	1,346
Balcombe ²⁷ †	4,795	451	559	606	641	1,542	851	880	965	878	977	1,052
Bolney †	3,557	497	510	560	635	713	789	789	804	800	829	886
Clayton ²⁸	2,459	337	425	453	489	747	645	863	1,111	1,849	1,966	2,295
Crawley †	780	210	234	334	394	449	447	473	505	451	437	441
Cuckfield ²⁹ *	11,275	1,693	2,088	2,385	2,586	3,444	3,196	3,539	4,420	4,964	5,730	7,058
Hoathly, West	5,340	794	840	943	980	1,095	1,068	1,120	1,210	1,547	1,442	1,446
Hurstpierpoint ³⁰	5,088	1,104	1,184	1,321	1,484	2,118	2,219	2,558	2,827	2,736	2,883	3,033

^{21a} See note 21, *ante*.

^{21b} See note 16, *ante*.

²² *Hawkhurst*.—The remainder is in Kent (East Barnfield Hundred).

²³ *Mountfield*.—In the 1831 Census Volume 102 persons are said to have emigrated to America from this Parish since 1821.

²⁴ *Hooe*.—Sixty-four families out of the 99 in the Parish were in receipt of relief in 1821.

²⁵ *Ticehurst*.—About 100 persons temporarily present in 1851 in consequence of the construction of the Tunbridge Wells and Hastings branch railway.

²⁶ *Bodiam*.—The population in 1841 includes 53 persons attending the annual fair.

²⁷ *Balcombe*.—The population in 1841 includes 550 persons temporarily present (labourers on the London and Brighton Railway and their families).

²⁸ *Clayton*.—The population in 1841 includes 137 labourers on the London and Brighton Railway.

²⁹ *Cuckfield*.—The population in 1841 includes 304 persons temporarily present (labourers on the London and Brighton Railway and their families).

³⁰ *Hurstpierpoint*.—The population in 1841 includes 77 persons temporarily present (labourers on the railway and their families).

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF LEWES (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Buttinghill Hundred</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Keymer ³¹ . . .	3,583	465	536	679	681	1,364	1,006	1,612	2,397	3,439	3,845	4,360
Slaugham † . .	5,482	560	759	933	740	1,286	1,418	1,518	1,574	1,593	1,616	1,527
Twineham † . .	1,937	238	234	275	337	358	343	339	369	292	314	273
Worth ³² . . .	13,331	1,501	1,539	1,725	1,859	2,423	2,475	2,988	3,209	3,571	4,047	4,297
<i>Dean Hundred</i>												
Patcham ³³ † . .	4,425	286	331	403	489	579	490	638	760	873	1,064	1,110
<i>Fishergate Hundred</i>												
Aldrington, or Atherington ³⁴ † †	744	0	0	0	0	1	9	7	27	144	2,222	6,829
Hangleton . . .	1,120	36	48	52	64	71	57	51	61	79	49	69
Portslade † . .	1,968	284	358	421	615	678	733	1,103	2,344	3,719	4,256	5,515
<i>Holmstrow Hundred</i>												
Newhaven, or Meeching* †	964	584	755	927	904	955	1,358	1,886	2,549	4,009	4,522	6,373
Piddinghoe . . .	2,342	194	208	251	231	263	253	243	237	225	241	231
Rodmell † . . .	1,936	256	291	336	350	360	323	292	280	233	229	231
Southease † . .	851	108	105	112	142	120	102	84	105	100	66	66
Telscombe ³⁵ . .	1,180	89	95	113	121	167	176	156	130	94	128	120
<i>Lewes Hundred and Borough</i>												
All Saints † . .	51	1,196	1,427	1,586	2,112	2,123	2,175	2,092	2,018	1,962	1,903	1,801
St. John the Bap- tist, Southover †	545	487	543	691	831	1,229	1,269	1,344	1,331	1,462	1,264	1,351
St. John-under-the- Castle †	1,372	659	1,126	1,795	2,388	2,502	2,447	2,308	2,707	2,778	3,050	3,178
Castle Precincts Extra Par. ³⁶	4	78	16	27	33	35	27	32	36	26	52	36
St. Michael . . .	19	786	933	961	1,074	988	957	1,076	1,041	978	804	748
St. Peter and St. Mary Westout, or St. Ann ³⁷ †	1,838	590	918	661	746	777	745	980	1,701	1,945	2,101	2,219
St. Thomas-in-the- Cliffe †	33	1,113	1,258	1,362	1,408	1,545	1,477	1,568	1,600	1,664	1,559	1,605
<i>Poynings Hundred</i>												
Edburton (part of) ^{37a} :—												
Fulking Hamlet	—	167	170	177	166	176	205	188	208	—	—	—
Newtimber † . .	1,721	148	173	161	172	165	161	162	180	217	203	167
Poynings † . . .	1,642	173	181	232	268	283	261	261	299	316	305	295
Pyecombe † . .	2,286	134	175	218	227	564	300	283	282	343	353	307
<i>Preston Hundred</i>												
Hove	778	101	193	312	1,360	2,509	4,104	9,624	11,277	20,804	26,097	29,695
Preston ³⁸ . . .	1,308	222	429	319	235	756	906	1,044	2,470	8,545	13,316	21,371

³¹ *Keymer*.—The population in 1841 includes 450 persons temporarily present (labourers on the railway and their families).

³² *Worth*.—The population in 1841 includes about 90 labourers on the railway.

³³ *Patcham*.—The population in 1841 includes 60 labourers on the railway.

³⁴ *Aldrington*.—The church and village destroyed by the encroachment of the sea prior to 1801.

³⁵ *Telscombe*.—The 1841 population includes 41 persons in barns and tents.

³⁶ *Castle Precincts*.—Too large an area was taken in 1801.

³⁷ *St. Ann*.—The population in 1811 included the wives and children of the soldiers in a barracks which was demolished before 1821. County Prison erected between 1851 and 1861.

³⁸ *Preston*.—The 1811 population includes the wives and families of some soldiers.

^{37a} See note 8, *ante*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF LEWES (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Street Hundred</i>												
Chailey † † . . .	5,944	738	818	946	1,030	1,091	1,263	1,344	1,462	1,522	1,333	1,363
Ditchling ³⁹ † . .	4,265	706	740	844	917	1,148	1,069	1,082	1,271	1,342	1,226	1,253
Plumpton † . . .	2,450	229	233	272	275	294	383	404	383	466	468	595
Street †	1,281	112	133	152	168	197	170	190	201	183	208	219
Westmeston † :—	4,107	368	379	494	494	533	617	569	634	738	718	674
Westmeston . . .	2,436	205	189	251	236	262	308	288	317	326	282	284
Chiltington, East Chap.	1,671	163	190	243	258	271	309	281	317	412	436	390
Wivelsfield ⁴⁰ . .	3,142	442	468	537	559	732	608	1,162	1,616	1,916	1,983	2,157
<i>Swanborough Hundred</i>												
Iford	2,199	140	117	157	187	174	182	167	190	181	183	179
Kingston (near Lewes)	1,676	124	149	172	160	149	134	137	129	120	117	128
<i>Whalesbone Hundred</i>												
Blatchington, West ⁴¹	873	44	49	54	58	64	53	59	49	59	95	99
Brighton, or Brighthelmston	1,629	7,339	12,012	24,429	40,634	46,661	65,569	77,693	90,011	99,091	102,716	102,320
<i>Younsmere Hundred</i>												
Falmer	4,393	255	322	437	432	493	537	512	519	577	543	458
Ovingdean † . . .	1,630	85	75	79	119	116	149	121	148	136	161	250
Rottingdean † . .	3,154	543	559	772	880	983	1,084	1,016	1,544	1,673	1,627	1,992
RAPE OF PEVEN- SEY												
<i>Alciston Hundred</i>												
Alciston †	2,088	186	233	247	266	275	257	220	212	191	204	180
Alfriston †	2,445	576	590	648	694	668	576	522	581	581	585	534
Lullington † . . .	1,157	32	48	39	49	39	26	16	19	16	25	25
<i>Bishopstone Hundred</i>												
Bishopstone † . . .	1,785	188	209	277	293	288	328	322	276	277	301	301
Denton †	1,018	54	83	133	117	120	195	206	238	486	534	516
<i>Burleigh Arches, or Burarches Hundred</i>												
Lindfield ⁴² † . . .	5,763	1,077	1,237	1,410	1,485	1,939	1,814	1,917	2,018	2,080	2,233	2,606
<i>Danehill Horsted Hundred</i>												
Horsted Keynes . .	4,232	591	627	713	782	812	847	790	811	1,149	932	1,005
Selmeston †	1,599	130	149	208	189	228	260	197	206	188	210	225
Tarring Neville, or East Tarring	933	74	80	81	80	81	74	84	79	65	87	72

³⁹ *Ditchling*.—The 1841 population includes 85 persons temporarily present.

⁴⁰ *Wivelsfield*.—The 1841 population includes 75 labourers on the London and Brighton Railway. Sussex County Lunatic Asylum built and occupied between 1851 and 1861.

⁴¹ *West Blatchington*.—The 1801 population is an estimate.

⁴² *Lindfield*.—The 1841 population includes 183 labourers on the London and Brighton Railway.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF PEVEN- SEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Dill Hundred</i>												
Hailsham ⁴³ † . . .	5,330	897	1,029	1,278	1,445	1,586	1,825	2,098	2,429	2,964	3,369	4,197
Hellingly	6,050	936	1,041	1,313	1,504	1,675	1,761	1,606	1,636	1,646	1,571	1,855
<i>Eastbourne Hundred</i>												
Eastbourne ⁴⁴ *. . .	4,755	1,668	2,623	2,607	2,726	3,015	3,433	5,795	10,361	21,595	34,278	42,701
<i>East Grinstead Hundred</i>												
East Grinstead . . .	15,128	2,659	2,804	3,153	3,364	3,586	3,820	4,266	5,390	6,968	7,569	8,610
<i>Flexborough Hundred</i>												
Blatchington, East ⁴⁵ †	729	154	362	187	170	163	138	128	130	213	434	740
Heighton, South . .	930	90	69	71	91	81	85	104	88	89	217	381
Seaford, Cinque Port and Par. † . .	2,344	847	1,001	1,047	1,098	953	997	1,084	1,357	1,674	1,991	2,615
<i>Hartfield Hundred</i>												
Hartfield	10,388	1,050	1,250	1,440	1,455	1,603	1,573	1,451	1,540	1,558	1,558	1,501
Withyham	8,126	1,074	1,155	1,393	1,610	1,607	1,692	1,597	1,970	2,150	2,073	2,147
<i>Longbridge Hundred</i>												
Arlington	5,232	472	550	614	727	686	614	623	611	585	648	542
Berwick †	1,104	170	169	172	203	199	175	169	156	173	172	174
Folkington † † . .	1,526	119	158	186	168	198	171	154	166	133	146	143
Litlington † . . .	904	111	117	133	143	140	105	134	113	89	112	108
Wilmington † † . .	1,788	236	270	321	328	314	288	250	280	246	277	215
<i>Loxfield-Dorset, or Loxfield-Cam- den Hundred</i>												
Buxted	8,961	1,063	1,292	1,509	1,642	1,574	1,694	1,624	1,868	1,934	2,039	2,038
Framfield † . . .	6,468	969	1,074	1,437	1,468	1,434	1,385	1,355	1,521	1,527	1,663	1,616
Isfield †	1,894	334	464	569	581	477	508	458	507	451	423	431
Uckfield * † . . .	1,760	811	916	1,099	1,261	1,534	1,590	1,740	2,041	2,146	2,497	2,895
<i>Loxfield-Pelham Hundred</i>												
Lamberhurst (part of) ⁴⁶	1,937	569	699	787	949	1,098	1,174	1,051	1,145	1,197	1,158	1,030
Mayfield	13,666	1,849	2,079	2,698	2,738	2,943	3,055	2,688	2,828	2,912	3,217	3,164
Wadhurst ⁴⁷ . . .	10,214	1,677	1,815	2,136	2,256	2,491	2,802	2,470	3,191	3,216	3,354	3,232
<i>Pevensey Lowey, or Liberty</i>												
Pevensey †	4,397	192	254	292	343	323	412	385	330	365	437	468
Westham †	5,031	560	584	583	752	770	761	833	858	1,000	1,140	1,286

⁴³ Part of *Hailsham* is in *Pevensey Lowey* ; none shown there.

⁴⁴ *Eastbourne*.—The wives and children of soldiers and sailors less numerous by 221 persons in 1821 than in 1811.

⁴⁵ *East Blatchington*.—The wives and children (numbering 215 persons) of soldiers in barracks in 1811 are the cause of the increased population in that year. The soldiers were withdrawn before 1821.

⁴⁶ *Lamberhurst*.—The remainder is in Kent (*Brenchley* and *Horsmonden Hundred*).

⁴⁷ *Wadhurst*.—A number of railway labourers present in 1851.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
RAPE OF PEVEN- SEY (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Ringmer Hundred</i>												
Glynde †	1,570	216	203	250	276	270	323	321	362	284	329	359
Malling, South † . .	2,545	348	443	620	705	646	730	716	677	732	743	725
Ringmer ⁴⁸ † . . .	5,739	897	1,055	1,271	1,271	1,339	1,374	1,522	1,478	1,388	1,497	1,488
Stanmer	1,341	105	105	123	123	120	130	147	124	129	147	94
<i>Rotherfield Hundred</i>												
Frant (part of) ⁴⁹ . .	8,580	1,090	1,439	1,727	2,071	2,280	2,447	2,162	2,949	3,210	3,354	3,516
Rotherfield . . .	14,731	1,963	2,122	2,782	3,097	3,036	3,531	3,413	4,149	4,334	5,099	6,462
<i>Rushmonden Hundred</i>												
Fletching	8,522	1,279	1,397	1,690	1,870	1,914	2,007	2,028	2,155	2,213	2,245	2,111
Horsing, Little † . .	2,384	207	235	286	300	278	283	296	298	300	265	265
Maresfield	8,132	960	1,117	1,439	1,650	1,579	1,805	1,911	1,965	2,082	2,116	2,001
<i>Shiplake Hundred</i>												
Chalvington † . . .	748	143	169	181	188	192	170	149	155	127	152	115
Chiddingly	4,481	673	739	870	902	930	1,085	992	946	881	882	824
Hoathly, East † . .	2,622	395	468	510	505	607	667	615	730	857	882	808
Laughton †	5,177	539	612	731	804	850	812	742	770	712	723	616
Ripe †	1,901	296	331	364	360	375	383	393	385	385	387	322
Waldron †	6,244	752	840	965	997	1,065	1,106	1,132	1,252	1,342	1,431	1,698
<i>Totnore Hundred</i>												
Beddingham. . . .	2,888	219	227	255	264	268	321	334	350	448	454	481
Farle, West	3,429	494	551	644	618	722	701	631	615	573	530	535
<i>Willingdon Hundred</i>												
Dean, East	2,163	284	249	296	330	360	368	334	327	290	268	277
Dean, West †	2,268	88	114	163	150	129	129	153	139	134	117	123
Friston	1,436	35	45	62	89	91	78	89	80	94	92	135
Jevington † † . . .	2,052	229	280	300	350	329	325	263	321	296	237	256
Willingdon † . . .	4,281	347	445	520	603	621	678	709	794	1,243	1,521	1,667
CITY OF CHICHESTER												
All Saints, or the Pallant †	12	297	311	294	288	327	286	265	317	327	269	250
St. Andrew †	10	573	649	708	719	625	670	613	578	512	448	416
St. Bartholomew . .	238	259	282	306	296	297	312	373	359	325	259	308
The Cathedral Close Precinct	15	187	198	145	169	145	134	156	110	127	135	121
St. James, Extra Par.	10	—	—	—	—	40	47	54	16	22	25	38
St. Martin †	4	303	352	321	315	282	291	277	244	242	210	256
Newtown, or Black- friars, Extra Par.	5			82	112	123	135	143	127	157	138	132
St. Olave †	4	244	282	260	280	238	257	247	246	225	174	166
St. Pancras †	139	939	1,046	1,058	1,156	1,065	1,177	1,087	1,061	1,184	1,001	1,004
St. Peter-the-Great, or Sub-deanery ⁵⁰ †	1,428	1,605	2,910	3,766	4,579	5,021	4,986	5,325	4,777	5,056	4,894	5,951
St. Peter-the- Less † †	23	345	395	422	356	349	352	344	370	392	334	292

⁴⁸ *Ringmer*.—Some soldiers' wives and families present in 1821.

⁴⁹ *Frant*.—The remainder is in Kent (Washlingstone Hundred). The population is entirely shown in Sussex 1801–1851.

⁵⁰ *Sub-deanery*.—Chichester Barracks contained no soldiers in 1851.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
HASTINGS BOROUGH AND CINQUE PORT												
All Saints	394	1,094	1,522	2,197	3,111	2,839	3,410	3,486	3,477	4,613	6,037	6,771
Bexhill (part of) ^{50a} :—												
Liberty of the Sluice	881	—	—	—	64	94	122	73	107	119	117	103
Ore (part of) ^{50b}	—	—	—	—	—	10	4	29	28	666	1,094	1,279
St. Clement . . .	130	1,589	1,823	2,360	2,981	3,189	4,166	4,073	4,508	4,623	4,856	4,656
St. Leonard (part of) ^{50b}	—	73	104	100	269	595	827	1,241	2,427	5,113	6,589	7,142
St. Mary Bulver- hythe ⁵¹	136	20	25	34	51	37	77	68	45	47	191	273
St. Mary-in-the- Castle (part of) ^{50b}	216	238	349	1,113	1,890	2,823	4,278	4,626	4,933	9,228	11,869	12,498
St. Andrew . . .	34					7	8	84	1,444	1,759	1,666	1,447
St. Mary Magdalen	360					1,911	3,803	7,106	9,547	12,238	14,415	13,123
St. Michael-on-the- Rock	3											
The Priory, or Holy Trinity ⁵²	202	10	76	294	1,074	9	124	1,683	2,518	3,619	5,172	4,825
RYE CINQUE PORT												
Rye*†‡	2,462	2,187	2,681	3,599	3,715	4,031	4,592	4,288	4,366	4,667	4,368	4,337
WINCHELSEA TOWN AND CINQUE PORT												
St. Thomas the Apostle †‡	965	627	652	817	772	687	778	719	679	613	686	670

GENERAL NOTE

The following Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts are co-extensive at the Census of 1901 with one or more places mentioned in the table :—

Municipal Borough, or Urban District	Place
Battle U.D.	Battle Parish (Battle Hundred)
Seaford U.D.	East Blatchington Parish (Flexborough Hundred) and Seaford Parish (in the same Hundred)
Uckfield U.D.	Uckfield Parish (Loxfield-Dorset Hundred)
Arundel M.B.	Arundel Parish (Arundel Hundred)
New Shoreham U.D.	New Shoreham Parish (Fishergate Hundred)
Southwick U.D.	Southwick Parish (Fishergate Hundred)

^{50a} See note 19, *ante*.

⁵¹ *St. Mary Bulverhythe*.—The 1801 population is an estimate.

⁵² *Holy Trinity*.—The decline in population in 1841 is caused by the removal of houses built on derelict land, which was taken possession of by the Crown.

^{50b} See note 17, *ante*.

INDUSTRIES

INTRODUCTION

IN treating the industrial history of a county it is necessary to select for examination such industries as are either peculiar to that district or are noticeable for their great development or the possession of some peculiar feature. It is clearly impossible, even if it were desirable, to chronicle every reference to 'the butcher, the baker and candlestick-maker'—the latter, by the way, a trade of which the rarity should have preserved it from the contempt which seems to have attached to it even as early as 1611, when a goldsmith of Rye 'said the harbor makers were brewers and bakers, shepherds and silver candlestick-makers, carters and hogschops, and divers other bad speeches.'¹ In Sussex one industry stands out pre-eminent—the manufacture of iron; but although very large quantities of iron were produced in the shape of bars, ordnance, chimney-backs and similar objects, no particular metal-working industries appear to have arisen; nailers are occasionally mentioned, as at Ashburnham in 1574² and at Horsted Keynes in 1592,³ edge-tool-makers occur at Crowhurst in 1594⁴ and Waldron in 1627,⁵ and a sickle-maker at Frant in 1644,⁶ while in 1599 Ralf Willerd of East Grinstead described himself as an 'armourer.'⁷ These are but incidental references; there was, however, an important manufacture of NEEDLES at Chichester, which town is even said to have practically 'monopolised the trade of England in needle-making' at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸ The date at which this industry was established is not known, though Dallaway mentions⁹ that a John le Nedeler was an official at Chichester in early times, and a Richard le Nedler occurs there in 1308.¹⁰ Very few facts concerning this trade are recoverable, but it seems that the needle-makers resided mainly in the suburb of St. Pancras, and that when this

was destroyed during the siege of Chichester in 1642 the industry received a blow from which it never recovered.¹¹ One of the manufacturers whose business appears to have survived this period was Robert Hichcock, who in 1667 issued a halfpenny token bearing the arms of the needle-makers. At a later date, in 1685, the Rumboldswyke registers contain the marriage of Thomas Belchamber of St. Olave's, Chichester, needle-maker;¹² but soon after this the competition of the rising manufacturing towns in the north, which produced an inferior but far cheaper type of needle, began to be felt, and Spershott, writing of the year 1725, said, 'I remember there were also many master needle-makers who kept journeymen and apprentices at work, but now are reduced to one.'¹³ By the end of the eighteenth century the industry had 'dwindled almost to nothing,'¹⁴ and shortly afterwards became extinct.

The mineral wealth of Sussex was always confined to its iron, though it may be noticed that in 1570 Sir Thomas Smith endeavoured to remedy this by some experiments made at Winchelsea in the transmutation of iron into copper.¹⁵ The soil of the county, however, besides yielding excellent clay for pottery and bricks, contains a considerable supply of stone, its QUARRIES, though now little worked, having been of some importance in the past. The most interesting variety of stone in some ways, though by no means the most important commercially, is that known as 'Sussex marble'; it is a calcareous stone formed by a deposit of freshwater shells, of which the remains are clearly visible, and takes a high polish, being used with excellent effect for ornamental features in the cathedrals of Chichester and Canterbury and at Petworth House. It is found mainly in the neighbourhood of Petworth and Kirdford. Sandstone appears to have been worked by the Romans at Pulborough for use at Bignor;¹⁶ and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 147.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxiii, 57.

³ *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i, 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* 21.

⁵ *Lewes Wills* (Index Soc.).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxii, 223.

⁹ *Hist. of Rape of Chich.* 204.

¹⁰ *Coram Rege R.* 3 Edw. II, Hil. m. 19.

¹¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxii, 223.

¹² *Ex inf.* Rev. Canon Deedes.

¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxx, 149.

¹⁴ *The Chich. Guide* (ed. 1794), 30.

¹⁵ *Strype, Life of Sir T. Smith*, 101.

¹⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xi, 136.

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the quarry of greensand at Eastbourne supplied the enormous quantity of stone required for facing the great Roman walls at Pevensey, and was subsequently used for the building and repairs of the mediaeval castle of Pevensey. The regular price of hewn blocks of this Eastbourne stone was 5s. the hundred in 1290,¹⁷ exclusive of the cost of carriage; it was used in several neighbouring churches, and was even carried as far as Hastings, the churchwardens' accounts of that town containing a payment made about 1580 'for bringing of stone from Borne' for the windows.¹⁸ Three quarries are mentioned in Domesday, one at Stedham being valued at 6s. 8d., another at Iping worth 9s. 4d., and the third at 'Greteham' worth 10s. 10d.; there was also at Bignor a quarry yielding stone suitable for millstones, which was worth 4s.¹⁹ The high values here given point to the economic importance of stone as an article of commerce, but in a large number of cases the quarries seem to have been worked only for building and repairs upon the estate. When the erection of Battle Abbey was begun a quarry was found so opportunely adjacent as to be considered miraculous,²⁰ and in the case of Dureford Abbey the founder made a grant of any quarry found upon his land, and William le Vaisseler made the specific gift of a quarry at 'Wyhus.'²¹ A local outcrop of sandstone seems to have been used for building the church at Hailsham in the thirteenth century, and in 1536 a quarry at Bolney was worked 'for dyggyng of ston for the stepyll' of Bolney church.²² At East Grinstead, when the church tower was rebuilt about 1785, stone was obtained from Wych Cross;²³ in the case of Steyning the church quarry appears to have been in Shoreham,²⁴ but in 1477 when repairs were to be done to the bridge of Bramber the contractor arranged to obtain his stone from the Isle of Wight.²⁵ Sandstone was constantly required for the iron furnaces, and was usually obtainable in the vicinity, as in the case of the rebuilding of Brightling forge in 1648, when 140 loads of stone were dug in Dallington Forest at 1s. the load for rough and 2s. 6d. for shaped stones,²⁶ or at Waldron, where a quarry was opened on the beacon hill in 1704 for use at the furnace.²⁷ The question of a tenant's right to dig stone was occasionally raised, and in 1587 Roger Gratwick seems to have been considered to have exceeded his privileges as a lessee of iron mines in St. Leonard's Forest in digging 200 loads of sandstone for his

house at Cowfold.²⁸ The tenants of the Duchy of Lancaster in Ashdown Forest had the privilege of taking stone for the repair of their buildings from the Stonequarry Hill at East Grinstead, subject to the condition of leaving the quarry clear of rubbish.²⁹

The most economically important quarries in Sussex were those of 'Horsham stone,' sometimes called 'Horsham slates.' Dr. Burton, speaking of Horsham in 1751, says, 'From the quarries of stone there they work out split slabs and use them instead of tiles to roof their houses.'³⁰ This stone, owing to the readiness with which it could be split laterally into comparatively thin slabs, was at one time much used for roofing purposes, and its warm tones still lend beauty to many Sussex villages, though it has fallen into disuse, owing no doubt chiefly to its great weight, which not only renders its transport expensive, but would prove disastrous to the unsubstantial timbers of many modern residences. It is found chiefly at Horsham and in Slinfold, where, however, it is difficult to work,³¹ the largest hewn blocks being probably those used in the cellars of Chesworth manor-house.³² An early reference to stone of this nature, of which the place of origin is not given, occurs in 1301, when 2,500 'stones which are called scletes' were bought for the barn of Thorney manor.³³ About a hundred years later, when repairs were being done at Warminghurst, some 9,000 blocks of 'Horsham stone' were obtained at Sedgewick,³⁴ where there was a quarry which was still working in 1600.³⁵ In a lease of the manor of Littlehampton made in 1468 it was stipulated that the lessee, John Cooke, should receive 'Horsham stones' for repairs from the lands of the abbess of Syon.³⁶ The quarries in this case were no doubt those at Shortsfild, in an account of which manor for 1470 it is noted that there were no profits from the sale of stone slabs (*petras laterales*) that year as none had been sold, though five loads had been used for repairs to the manors of Ecclesdon and Burphamwick.³⁷ Slightly earlier than this we find one Thomas Burgess, a 'stonehelyer' of Horsham, prominently associated with the rising under Jack Cade.³⁸ Few references as to the value of this material are available, but in 1550 when the church of South Malling was pulled down, the Horsham stone with which it was roofed brought 5s. 8d. the load.³⁹

¹⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 479, No. 15.

¹⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 110.

¹⁹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 367.

²⁰ *Chron. Battle Abbey* (ed. Lower), 11.

²¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 10.

²² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 246.

²³ *Ibid.* xx, 149. ²⁴ *Ibid.* xxii, 7.

²⁵ Magd. Coll. D. 'Bramber,' No. 16.

²⁶ Add. MSS. 33155, fol. 43.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 33154, fol. 53.

²⁸ Dep. by Com. 30 Eliz. Easter, No. 17.

²⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 245-70.

³⁰ *Ibid.* viii, 255.

³¹ *Ibid.* xl, 38.

³² *Ibid.* xxiv, 232.

³³ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1031, No. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.* No. 9.

³⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxv, 52.

³⁶ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1100, No. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.* bdle. 1100, No. 4.

³⁸ Anct. Indictments (K.B.), 122.

³⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxi, 182.

Although chalk has been used for building purposes, notably in the chancel of Ditchling church, and in recent times at Lancing college, Parkminster and Arundel, its commercial value lies in its use for conversion into LIME, either for mortar or for manure. The early method of burning seems to have been in pits. In 1407, when certain repairs were being done to the castle of Pevensey,⁴⁰ 18*d.* was paid 'for making a pit to burn lime,' and 30*s.* 'for burning 3 pits-full of lime,' the high rate of payment indicating that successful burning required considerable skill at that time, as it did later. In 1535 the archbishop was receiving 23*s.* 4*d.* for the rent of a 'lymepytte' at Ringmer,⁴¹ and five years earlier the 'lymepytte' had brought in 13*s.* 4*d.*, while an additional 10*s.* had been received from the prior of Lewes for chalk from Cliffe,⁴² no doubt from the same 'quarry of the cliffs of Southram near Lewes,' whence chalk was obtained for making mortar in the reign of Edward IV.⁴³ At what period the lime-kiln was introduced it is difficult to say, but during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the liming of arable was almost universal on Sussex farms, nearly every large farm near the chalk hills possessed a kiln. These kilns⁴⁴ were usually cask-shaped, about 8 ft. in diameter at top and bottom and 9 ft. in the centre and some 10 ft. in height; the walls were of stone lined with bricks, and about 3½ ft. thick; the floor was 'dishing,' or hollow, and surrounded by a stone 'bench' on which the chalk to be burnt was built up into a kind of oven, leaving a vaulted hollow for the fuel, which was introduced through the mouth or eye in one side of the kiln. The art lay in 'setting the kiln,' that is to say, in building up the arch of chalk so that it should be strong enough to bear the weight of the chalk which was placed upon it, the larger pieces being put lowest and the top filled with small pieces and finally covered with bricks, so that the fire might readily and evenly pass through the mass, but not escape to waste at the top; as the 'setting' required expert knowledge, lime-burning became an industry of some importance and not ill-paid, 10*s.* being the charge for setting a kiln. Such a kiln as has just been described would require 1,000 'spray-bavins,' or faggots, for fuel, costing about £2 10*s.*, and would yield some 250 bushels of lime, which in 1798 fetched at Petworth 7*d.* the bushel,⁴⁵ and at Hastings from 50*s.* to 54*s.* the hundred bushels.⁴⁶ Besides these 'flame kilns' there were large 'tunnel kilns' using coal. The latter fuel seems to have been occasionally used for this purpose at a very early date, as in

1288 'sea coal' was obtained at Seaford to use in burning lime at Willingdon.⁴⁷ In these 'tunnel,' 'draw' or 'perpetual' kilns a layer of faggots and wood was first laid, and on that were placed alternate layers of coal and chalk; the faggots were then lit, and the lime, as it was burnt, drawn out at the bottom, fresh layers of coal and chalk being added at the top.⁴⁸ Both types of kiln are still in use, though coal fuel is now used in each case; opinions as to quality of the resultant lime appear to differ, and it seems probable that with equal skill and care equally good lime can be produced by either process, the 'draw' kiln having the advantage of a greater output. The kiln described by Young was of 1,200 bushels' capacity with a daily yield of 300 bushels of lime. This was at Hastings, where, as also at Rye, there were important kilns supplied from the Holywell chalk pits near Eastbourne, about 350,000 bushels being consumed in a year at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ It is probable that the consumption of chalk increased considerably, as there were only sixteen sloops employed in the trade when Young wrote, but in 1833 there were often twenty or twenty-five boats loading at Holywell, and new kilns had been erected at Wallsend and Pevensey.⁵⁰ In 1851 there were sixty-six persons engaged in quarrying and burning lime; this number had risen to seventy-six in 1871, but fell to forty-seven in 1901, the decrease being no doubt largely due to the much smaller use of lime as a manure. This cause has especially affected the production of lime from the pure white chalk, that made from the grey chalk, or limestone, being more suitable for mortar and cement, so that the principal limeworks at present are those of Messrs. Pepper, at Amberley, and Newington at Glynde and Lewes; there are also two works at Pulborough, and one at Jevington. Details of output are difficult to give, as there are constant fluctuations, the supply being controlled by the demand.⁵¹

Closely connected with the lime industry is the manufacture of CEMENT. 'The Sussex limestone, upon trial, has been discovered to be superior both to the Maidstone and Plymouth stone, and it is now supposed that for cement none equal to it is found in the kingdom.'⁵² As a consequence of this natural advantage several important cement works have been established in the county, namely those of Messrs. Newington and Pepper at Amberley, the Sussex Portland Cement Co., at Newhaven and at Upper Beeding, and the Lewes Portland Cement Co. at Lewes. These all employ a considerable number of hands, and turn out a good quality

⁴⁰ Dy. of Lanc. Accts. bdle. 32, No. 24.

⁴¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 2.

⁴² Lambeth Ct. R. 1328. ⁴³ *Ibid.* 1306.

⁴⁴ Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, 179; Young, *Agric. of Suss.* 206-9.

⁴⁵ Marshall, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ Young, op. cit. 205.

⁴⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 479, No. 15.

⁴⁸ Young, op. cit. 204.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 203.

⁵⁰ Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 68.

⁵¹ H. W. Wolff, *Suss. Indus.* 113.

⁵² Young, op. cit. 13.

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of cement. There are also manufactures of the varieties of cement known as Keene's and Parian, and of plaster of Paris, at Mountfield, controlled by 'The Gypsum Mines, Ltd.' This industry originated in 1872 as the result of scientific borings made at Mountfield for geological purposes. During these experiments a rich bed of gypsum was struck at a depth of 160 ft., and has since been worked with great success. Gypsum is sometimes sold in the natural state for use in brewing, but for the most part it is converted into plaster of Paris by desiccation for some four and twenty hours in a kiln. The blocks required for cement are burnt, in much the same way as chalk for lime, and then ground and sifted previous to receiving the distinctive treatment required:—

Keene's cement is made by treating the burnt gypsum with one part of alum to twelve parts of water at a temperature of about 95 degrees. Having stood three hours the material is re-baked in the furnace, and then thoroughly ground and powdered. When so treated it requires less water, sets more slowly, and acquires a tenacity half as great again as that of ordinary cement. Parian cement is ordinary plaster hardened with water containing ten per cent. of borax, and afterwards rebaked and ground. Stucco is plaster prepared with a strong solution of glue.⁵³

The beds of red ochre at Graffham, Chidham, and elsewhere, and of fuller's earth at Tillington, do not call for special treatment. Nor do the chemical works near Rye and Lancing; ⁵⁴ and the only mineral substance which remains to be dealt with here is SALT. Valuable as salt is now as a condiment, it would be difficult to over-estimate its value in early times when modern preservative methods and artificial foods for the support of cattle during the winter were unknown, and the population were dependent for their meat supply during part of the year upon salted provisions. The great source of salt was the sea, and the industry of salt-making flourished all along the coast, and not least in Sussex. The simple method employed at Appledram as late as the nineteenth century was to admit sea water into a series of broad, shallow 'pans,' or ponds with clay bottoms. The water was reduced in three or four days by the heat of the sun to a strong brine, which was further concentrated by boiling in shallow iron vessels, and was then allowed to cool, when the salt crystallized out and the remaining liquor was drawn off.⁵⁵ Another method commonly employed in England was to allow the sea water to flow over a sandy soil, or 'sleeche,' exposed to the sun's rays, and after collecting the top layer of sand and salt crystals, dissolve the latter in a pit filled with salt water, filtering through peat and concentrating as before by boiling.⁵⁶ Possibly both these processes were

used in Sussex in early times. In 1086 there were in the county, according to the Domesday Survey, 285 salt-pans, varying greatly in value, but worth on an average 2s. 6d. each.⁵⁷ Of these 100 were on the lands of the abbey of Fécamp, in the marshes round Rye and Winchelsea; in Pevensey Levels were another 26, exclusive of 16 belonging to Eastbourne manor on the one side, and 30 belonging to Hooe on the other. In the estuary of the Ouse only 11 are mentioned, but in that of the Adur were 42, besides an unspecified number in Coombes, which yielded 50s. 5d. An entry under the manor of Washington⁵⁸ shows that the five salt-pans in that manor yielded yearly 110 'ambers' of salt worth 9s. 2d., so that the 'amber' was clearly worth 1d. It is worth noticing that at this time, and for some centuries later, the water flowed sufficiently salt for salt-making at least as high as Bramber. About the end of the twelfth century a salt-pan close to the castle of Bramber was given to Boxgrove priory,⁵⁹ the 'aqua de Cnappe' occurs in 1200 amongst the 'aque salsae,'⁶⁰ tithes of salt are mentioned here and at Sele in the Nonae returns of 1341,⁶¹ and salt works occur at Bramber in 1404,⁶² and again as late as 1422.⁶³ Grants of salt-pans and salt-cotes, the buildings in which the manufacture was carried on, were frequently made to monastic houses, as, for instance, a salt-pan in Lancing called 'Oxeneput,' to Dureford Abbey,⁶⁴ and the 'Guldenesaltkote' in Pevensey marsh to the abbey of Otham.⁶⁵ Rents of salt are also of common occurrence; ⁶⁶ the villeins of Otham who held half a virgate of land were bound to carry to their lord's court an amber of salt from the pan at Otham,⁶⁷ and special arrangements were made towards the end of the thirteenth century by the dean of Hastings for the delivery of the salt due to his prebend.⁶⁸ All these facts point to the extent of the industry, which is further borne out by the numerous entries of the sale of salt at Winchelsea to French, Dutch, and other merchants between 1266 and 1272,⁶⁹ in spite of the great destruction wrought amongst the salt-cotes in this place by the storm in 1250.⁷⁰ Further havoc must have been wrought along the coast by the great storm of 1287, to which we may probably attribute the destruction of seventy salt-cotes at Lancing, the tithes of which

⁵⁷ *V.C.H. Suss.* i, 367.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 444.

⁵⁹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 50.

⁶⁰ Gervase of Cant. *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), ii.

⁶¹ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 389.

⁶² Anct. D., A 11033.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 9865.

⁶⁴ Cott. MS. Claud. A. vi, fol. 77.

⁶⁵ Add. MS. 6037, No. 50.

⁶⁶ e.g. Anct. D. D 1073.

⁶⁷ Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 177.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Chant. R.* ii, 251.

⁶⁹ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1031, Nos. 19-21.

⁷⁰ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 14.

⁵³ *Suss. Indus.* 67-74.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 116-25.

⁵⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxv, 85.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 380.

had formerly been worth 23s. 4d.⁷¹ The encroachments of the sea continued; at least one salt-cote at Rye, which was working in 1320,⁷² being submerged before 1342,⁷³ and by 1350 it would seem that the output of the Sussex pans had so far diminished that it was worth while to send salt from la Baie de Bourgneuf in Poitou to Winchelsea, although the freight was 15d. the quarter.⁷⁴ In 1357 also there is mention of salt being brought by ship into Shoreham for sale,⁷⁵ but its place of origin is not given. To restore the industry assistance appears to have been called in from outside, as in 1440 John de Schiedame was given licence to export tin to Germany as a reward for having assisted in developing the manufacture of salt at Winchelsea.⁷⁶ The price of salt appears to have remained constant, for in 1400 it was selling in Winchelsea at 32d. the quarter,⁷⁷ and in 1500 it stood at the same price in Hastings.⁷⁸ Between 1457 and 1475 a few entries relative to the export of salt from Rye occur,⁷⁹ and in 1573 a ship left the same port for Dantzic with a cargo of salt,⁸⁰ but this was possibly not of local manufacture, as in 1574 the mayor and jurats complained of the great scarcity of salt in the district, and mentioned that vessels laden with salt had called at the port, but owing to a recent prohibition they were unable to avail themselves thereof.⁸¹ The industry appears to have been almost dead at this time, and, although a 'salt boyler' was living in Rye in 1632,⁸² it must have been finally killed for the time being in 1638, when the Sussex ports unsuccessfully opposed the grant of a monopoly for the manufacture of salt at Shields.⁸³ A revival took place in the western part of the county, but when, and in what circumstances, does not appear to be known; extensive saltworks were, however, in use at Appledram down to the middle of the nineteenth century,⁸⁴ and two salt-workers were returned in the census of 1871, but as one was over 55 years old and the other over 75 it is probable that they were survivors of the extinct works at Appledram.

The county of Sussex being still very heavily wooded, and having been in former days still more so, it is natural that the TIMBER industry in its many branches should always have been of much importance. The excellence of Sussex

oak caused it to be in constant demand, not only for local building and repairs, but also outside the county, large quantities being used at Dover in King John's reign,⁸⁵ and again early in the fourteenth century.⁸⁶ Two oaks were also sent from Worth Forest in 1337 to the Tower,⁸⁷ and the shingles for the roof of Westminster Hall came from this county in 1312.⁸⁸ It is not, however, easy to obtain any details of the regular timber trade. About 1490 Shoreham and Rye exported considerable quantities of logs, laths, and 'sawe borde,'⁸⁹ the latter commodity occurring also at Arundel in 1550.⁹⁰ When the inhabitants of Rye complained in 1577 of the threatened destruction of the adjacent woods by the new iron foundry at Westfield, Lord Buckhurst replied that they had no right to complain, as within the last two years they had themselves exported 'not so little as 1,000 tons of timber.'⁹¹ It is probable that most of the timber here referred to was exported in the form of billets, a form of fuel for which Rye and Winchelsea early became famous. In 1307 the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to prepare 20,000 great billets of wood and send them to Boulogne,⁹² and a return for the years 1323-6 shows that the purchases of billets made by foreigners at Rye and Winchelsea were extremely large.⁹³ In 1430 a tax, or 'maltode,' was levied at Rye on vessels loading with these billets, the payment being $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per thousand, or 1d. if the billets were laid on the 'strond': the suggestive addition is made that anyone cursing a collector of maltodes should be fined 3s. 4d.⁹⁴ The value of these billets was about 3s.⁹⁵ or 2s. 6d.⁹⁶ the thousand, but the growth of the iron industry, with the consequent destruction of wood, rapidly forced the price up, so that in 1580 the charge at Brighton for 'billet or tale wood' had risen from 2s. 6d. the hundred (weight) to 8s.⁹⁷ It would seem that as a consequence of the rise in price there was tendency to reduce the size of the billets, for in 1581 the authorities at Hastings, Winchelsea, and Rye determined

that such billets called by the name of Winchelsea billets for Calais may be made for those towns as formerly, so that they keep the ancient size, for that kind of billet is the fittest for those towns and for shipping and carrying along the Ports to the aforesaid towns;

the further proviso being made that any infringement of the assize should entail forfeiture, to be

⁷¹ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 389.

⁷² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 507a.

⁷³ *Mins. Accts.* bdle. 1028, No. 11.

⁷⁴ Close, 24 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 2.

⁷⁵ *Mem. R.*, K.R. Mich. 31 Edw. III.

⁷⁶ *Cal. French R.* 19 Hen. VI, m. 4.

⁷⁷ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 205.

⁷⁸ *Mins. Accts.* Hen. VII, No. 862.

⁷⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 493-4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 30.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 36.

⁸² *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i, 198.

⁸³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 205-8.

⁸⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 85.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 4, 7; xxii, 235.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* xvii, 116.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 15.

⁸⁹ *Customs Accts.* $\frac{3}{4}$ s., $\frac{3}{8}$ s.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* $\frac{3}{8}$ s.

⁹¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 57.

⁹² Close, 1 Edw. II, m. 16.

⁹³ *Customs Accts.* $\frac{3}{8}$ s.

⁹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 489b.

⁹⁵ *Ct. R.* (P.R.O.), bdle. 206, No. 59.

⁹⁶ *Customs Accts.* $\frac{3}{8}$ s.

⁹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 51.

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taken for the benefit of the harbours of the said three towns.⁹⁸ Complaint was made by the mayor of Rye in 1584 that Lord Montague had been granted a licence, and apparently a monopoly, of the export of 'Callice billets, a kynde of fuell of longe tyme used here and alongest the coast,' to be made of his own wood; but although his own cut wood had long been exhausted he continued to export the billets, selling them at Winchelsea, so that as their sale was prohibited at Rye the traders were resorting to the former town and buying up all the billets, with the result that little fuel came through to Rye, 'and the poor can have none for their money.' Moreover, as they could no longer load up with billets, ships with cargoes of wheat, malt, &c., came no more to discharge at Rye⁹⁹—a fact which points to the export of wood being almost the only trade left to the once prosperous port. The complaint would appear to have caused the prohibition to be withdrawn, as in November, 1589, the mayor of Rye licensed John Allen to carry twenty or thirty thousand billets to Dieppe for the use of the persecuted Reformed Church.¹⁰⁰ In 1628, however, the export of billets was again prohibited, and this, combined with the increasing demands of the iron furnaces, the deterioration of the Sussex harbours, the disturbances of the Civil War, and possibly foreign competition, appears to have practically killed the trade in fuel. But though one branch of the timber trade was thus ruined, other branches continued to flourish and make rapid growth, oak timber being in great demand during all periods of naval activity, and especially during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1798, Young said :—

The quantity of oak which has of late years been sent to Portsmouth and other places has exceeded the amount which was transported twenty-five years back in the proportion of four to one. . . . Far greater quantities of oak timber have been lately felled and carried coastwise from Sussex, chiefly to the king's yards, than the country will in future be enabled permanently to supply.¹⁰¹

The industry continued to grow during the nineteenth century, but gradually assumed a double character in face of the expanding Norwegian timber trade and the coincident demand for cheap wood, so that the imports of timber have now overwhelmed the exports along the sea coast. There is still, however, a steady demand for Sussex oak for such purposes as plank-fencing and palings, the chief seat of this branch of the industry being round Billingshurst.¹⁰² Oak is also required locally for such purposes as the

manufacture of the wattles used so extensively by sheep farmers in East Sussex.

Wattles consist of four-barred wooden fencing, measuring each 6½ feet in length, held together by cross-stays fastened diagonally, and provided with stakes at either end, the pointed feet of which are driven into the ground.¹⁰³

These wattles are also made, in a lighter and cheaper form, of chestnut, but the special use of the latter wood is for hop-poles, for which purpose very large numbers were at one time required,¹⁰⁴ though the demand has naturally fallen off lately with the rapidly diminishing area of hops grown in the county. The census returns show 87 timber merchants in the county in 1851, 331 in 1871, and 238 in 1901; in connexion with which should be taken the numbers of sawyers in those years, which were respectively 881, 747, and 503, the fall being no doubt partly due to labour-saving machinery.

Of the wood industries the most important in Sussex was SHIPBUILDING. The history of this industry has already been dealt with from the naval and political aspect,¹⁰⁵ but here it is necessary briefly to trace its economic history. The Sussex builders were evidently expert at their trade by the beginning of the thirteenth century, as in 1231, when repairs were required for the king's ship at Portsmouth, William Wade, a carpenter of Winchelsea, was sent with other carpenters from Shoreham.¹⁰⁶ Repairs to the king's galleys were also carried out at Rye in 1252 and the following year,¹⁰⁷ while in 1337 a galley was built, or refitted, at Winchelsea, at a cost of about £70.¹⁰⁸ Other repairs were done to royal ships at the same port in 1352, the accounts of which show that shipwrights received from 4d. to 6d. a day, 'castlewrights' 6d., and sawyers 5d., while men employed in the unskilled labour of cutting a way from the dry-dock to the harbour received 3d.¹⁰⁹ Two balingers of thirty-two oars were built at Rye in 1377,¹¹⁰ and it is possible that one of those who worked upon them was John Wikham, 'schipwrite,' of whom the mayor and barons of Rye testified in 1392 that he had been a worthy freeman of the town for sixteen years while building the ships of that port.¹¹¹ A certain amount of shipbuilding was no doubt being carried on at many places along the coast of Sussex, as in 1399 Hugh de Veretot, agent of the abbot of Fécamp, began to build a ship at Pende near Shoreham; but, as he had

¹⁰³ Ibid. 138.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 132-3.

¹⁰⁵ See *ante* 'Maritime Hist.'

¹⁰⁶ Close, 15 Hen. III, m. 16.

¹⁰⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 123.

¹⁰⁸ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 20, No. 22.

¹⁰⁹ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 72.

¹¹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 124.

¹¹¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 500a.

⁹⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 76.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 84.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 89.

¹⁰¹ Young, *op. cit.* 164.

¹⁰² *Suss. Industries*, 137.

taken for the purpose 80 tons of timber from the woods at Warminghurst without the king's licence, the ship was seized the following year while still upon the stocks (*super palos*), and lacking 'pychyng, rosenyng, hecchyng, calfatyng, and takelyng.'¹¹² For some time after this date no details touching this industry appear to be available. In 1580 the constable and leading landsman at Brighton was a ship carpenter,¹¹³ but the chief seat of the industry was clearly at Rye, for it was stated in 1581 that the towns of Brighton, Meeching (Newhaven), Eastbourne, Lydd, Romney, Hythe, Folkestone, Dover, the Downs, Sandwich, and the Isle of Thanet all came to have their barques and fishing boats built at Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea,¹¹⁴ and of these the latter was practically extinct as a port, and Hastings was little better. Shoreham, however, soon began to rival the eastern port, and rapidly surpassed it, becoming, early in the seventeenth century, the chief centre of ship-building in the county.¹¹⁵ Further west, ships were being built at Arundel at least as early as 1630, as ships built in that port were exempt from paying 'anchorage' and 'boomage' when passing up the river on their first trip; and in 1675 it was said that Arundel 'enjoys a good trade; several ships being here built, as of late the *Society* and *Mary*,' &c.¹¹⁶ The reason for the establishment of the industry at these two places is given in an Admiralty report of 1728, which names Shoreham and Arundel as

eminent for building of ships, hoys, and ketches—the first at Shoreham, the latter at Arundel; and they are great builders because of the vast quantity of large timber which this part of England produces more plentifully than elsewhere.¹¹⁷

Nor was it only in quantity that the advantage lay—

the quality of the oak timber may be collected from the circumstance of the Navy contractors preferring it in all their agreements and stipulating for Sussex before every other species of oak.¹¹⁸

During the nineteenth century the Sussex ship-building trade may be said to have been in a flourishing condition. In 1849¹¹⁹ Shoreham was 'noted for its shipbuilding, in which above 100 men are generally employed,' several vessels of over 500 tons 'remarkable for swift sailing' having been launched there. At Lewes there was a small yard, Rye had three yards, at Hastings 'some of the finest schooners in the Mediterranean trade' were built. In 1851 there were at Hastings 16 shipbuilders and

10 boatbuilders,¹²⁰ while the census returns for that year show a total for the county of 297 shipwrights and 38 boatbuilders, the combined total of the two trades in 1871 being 355. About this latter date vessels up to 200 tons were being built at Rye, but by 1882 only small craft were issuing from the two yards which were still working there. Of these two yards the larger, that of Mr. James Hoad, built

chiefly for ports outside Sussex. The smaller vessels go to Ramsgate, say from 35 to 50 tons measurement; the next in size, varying from 50 to 60 tons, go to Lowestoft, and the vessels larger still, say from 70 to 75 tons, to Grimsby.¹²¹

For this last port Mr. Hoad was also building 'well-vessels' of about 90 tons for the conveyance of live cod, &c. The vessels from this yard were

what is called carvel-built, the planks being fitted square upon the ribs, in contradistinction to the overlapping of planks termed clinker-building in use at Hastings, and the diagonal principle, which is common for life-boats and is adopted by his local rivals, Messrs. Clarke.¹²²

The largest ships, ranging from 500 to 1,000 tons, were at this time built at Littlehampton,¹²³ where Mr. Harvey, of Rye, had established in 1846 a yard which is still in the hands of his successors, Messrs. J. & W. B. Harvey. In 1882 Hastings had still a reputation for fast-sailing yachts, Mr. Tutt's yard—which,

at the Great Exhibition of 1851 took two prizes, the one with a lifeboat, the other with a fishing-boat, which was judged the best of its kind for the purpose

—having turned out, amongst others,

the lugger-yacht *New Moon*, of 209 tons, built for Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, of which yacht the *Yachting Magazine* said in 1886 that she was considered 'the ablest sea boat of her class and tonnage in the world.'¹²⁴

The yachts built at Shoreham by Messrs. Stow had also a good reputation, a special feature being their roominess and excellent internal planning.¹²⁵ Messrs. Hutchinson at Worthing also turned out sailing boats, the *Skylark* of Captain Fred Collins being especially well known to Brighton visitors.¹²⁶ The trade, however, has decreased; in 1901 there were only 181 actual shipwrights and boatbuilders and 82 'others' employed in the trade. Of boat builders fourteen firms remain, four being at Brighton; yachts are built by Messrs. Courtney & Birkett at Southwick, Gausden & Sisk at Eastbourne, and Suter at Shoreham. Besides Messrs. Harvey's yard at Littlehampton the only firms of shipbuilders are Messrs. G. and T. Smith at Rye, and T. Apps at Bosham.

¹²⁰ *Hastings Past and Present*, 84.

¹²¹ *Suss. Industries*, 59.

¹²² *Ibid.* 59.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 64.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 60.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 63.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 66.

¹¹² Mem. R., K.R. 3 Hen. IV, East. m. 16.

¹¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 49.

¹¹⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 76.

¹¹⁵ See *ante* 'Maritime Hist.'

¹¹⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xix, 158.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* xi, 181.

¹¹⁸ Young, *op. cit.* 164.

¹¹⁹ Lewis, *Topog. Dict. of Engl.* (ed. 1849).

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An industry of comparatively small extent, but interesting as being peculiar to Sussex, is the manufacture of TRUGS. The trug, which derives its name from the Anglo-Saxon *trog*, a tub or boat, is a flattish oblong or elliptical basket made of strips of wood, strengthened with 'braces' and having a curved handle and, usually, broad feet. The industry has its only seat at Herstmonceux, where the present type of trug was evolved from its rough and cumbersome predecessor by Thomas Smith — father of Messrs. George and Thomas Smith, the present chief manufacturers—about the end of the eighteenth century. The body of the trug is formed of five or more strips of willow wood, which is very pliable when moistened; the widest strip forms the bottom of the basket, the others being fastened symmetrically on either side; the top band or edge to which the strips are nailed is made of a band of ash, steamed and bent into the required shape, as are also the handles and the strengthening braces.¹²⁷ Such trugs, which may vary in length from 8 in. up to 4 ft., the breadth being as a rule about a third of the length, form ideal baskets for gardening purposes, being light, strong and capacious, and have therefore found their way not only into such representative agricultural collections as those at the Kew and Royal Dublin Agricultural Museums, but also into the catalogues of most leading providers of garden requisites. Small trugs are also made with elaborate neatness for fancy uses, and some of these, finished with silver nails, were awarded prizes at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Paris Exhibition of 1855, the Fisheries Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1884, and the International Exhibition, London, 1885. At the former they attracted the attention of Queen Victoria, who ordered a number, her example being followed by members of the Russian imperial family and others.¹²⁸ Sussex trugs at present are sent to all parts of the kingdom and to most countries on the continent. Although the Sussex trug in its present form has an antiquity of little more than a century it possesses a pedigree of respectable length. An inventory of the goods of Cornelius Humphrey of Newhaven, taken in 1697, mentions 'one dozen of truggs' in the dairy;¹²⁹ 'four truggs' are amongst the household goods enumerated in the will of Thomas Fuller of Hellingly in 1611,^{129a} and the *Calendar of Wills at Lewes* mentions 'truggers' or 'trug-makers' at Rotherfield in 1566, East Grinstead 1592, Isfield 1598, Warbleton 1626, and Slaugham 1629 and 1639. It would be interesting if

we could identify as a follower of this trade the 'factor corbell,' working at Hurstpierpoint in 1380;¹³⁰ but it is perhaps more probable that he was an ordinary basket-maker, a trade which is still well represented in the county, especially round Hailsham, Herstmonceux, Brighton, and Crawley, at which latter place a company called 'The Sussex Basket Industry, Ltd.,' has recently been formed. A special variety of basket which was in use in early times was the 'dorser,' used in East Sussex for carrying fish. In 1598 the earl of Nottingham asked the mayor of Rye to send him 'twoe dorsers of your beste fishe,'¹³¹ and in 1685 orders were issued at Hastings for the 'feeters or dosser-makers' to make their dorsers 12 in. wide in the yoke 'between the bores,' 7 in. deep, and 17 in. 'between bayle and bayle.'¹³² Dorser-makers occur at Peasmarsh in 1574, Westfield 1582, and in 1611 at Brede,¹³³ at which latter place John Sanders carried on the trade as early as 1450, when he was concerned in Jack Cade's rebellion.¹³⁴

An allied industry is the manufacture of Hoops for casks, which has long flourished in Sussex. Although references to coopers are of frequent occurrence in early documents, they are too widely scattered over the county to point to any definite seat of the trade. In 1798 large numbers of hoops were required for export to the West Indies for binding sugar casks; these, however, were not bent in Sussex, but were sent up in the form of rods.

The Hoop Rods are slit and shaved up rough in the woods; and are sent to London in bundles of sixty each, and about thirteen feet long, to the hoop-benders.¹³⁵

Hoops are of two main varieties; the ordinary hoops used on casks being known as 'smart hoops,' while the stiff hoops round which these are moulded are called 'truss hoops.' To make a 'truss hoop' a well-seasoned ash stem is split and steamed in 'a special apparatus, consisting of a long closed case of boards, with a boiler underneath,' and is then bent into shape, 'an operation which requires the labour of two strong men.'¹³⁶ The manufacture of 'smart hoops' is naturally a simpler matter:—

When the wood is stacked it has to be soaked for at least 24 hours before use, having been previously split with an axe and shaved. When the boughs are green soaking is unnecessary. Next the split boughs are bent on an instrument called a 'jorer,' and that done, they are formed into rings inside a truss-hoop lying on the floor, and bound together with withes, six in a bundle.¹³⁷

¹²⁷ *Suss. Industries*, 11–17

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 16.

¹²⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 194.

^{129a} *Lewes Wills*, A 13, fol. 148. John Edwardes of Slaugham, trug-maker, in 1629 left to his son James the tools of his trade, namely 'one sledge, two sockett wedges, foure adzes, one axe and one hatchett and foure shaves'; *ibid.* A 20, f. 158.

¹³⁰ *Lay Subs.* 189.

¹³¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 116.

¹³² *Ibid.* 362.

¹³³ *Cal. of Lewes Wills*.

¹³⁴ *Anct. Indictments*, K.B. bdle. 122.

¹³⁵ Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*,

129.

¹³⁶ *Suss. Industries*, 135.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 136.

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A good workman can turn out 600 hoops a day, and even as many as 750 have been made. In 1871 coopers and hoop-makers together numbered 368 persons, which number had fallen in 1901 to 284. It is probable that there has been a further considerable decrease during the last five years, as there appear to be now only ten firms of hoop-makers and twelve of coopers.

At the end of the wood industries may be put the burning of CHARCOAL. As charcoal was the most used fuel of the mediaeval period it is natural that references to its manufacture in the wooded county of Sussex should be not uncommon. The sheriff was frequently required to supply large quantities of charcoal for the needs of the army or royal household, as for instance in 1307, when he was ordered to have 200 quarters of charcoal made and sent to Boulogne.¹³⁸ On the other hand in 1290 orders were given to prevent the export of charcoal from Sussex.¹³⁹ One of the chief places of export seems to have been Winchelsea, at which town much charcoal was made, to the danger of the shipping, so that in 1355 an order was issued that in future it should only be burnt at 'le Sloghdam,' within the port of Winchelsea.¹⁴⁰ The poll tax of 1380 mentions a 'factor carbonis' at Worth and a 'carbonator' at Lindfield,¹⁴¹ while documents relating to the woodlands of the Weald afford numerous instances of 'colliers,' more especially during the most flourishing period of the iron industry, for which enormous quantities of charcoal were annually required. The demands of the iron furnaces not only threatened the existence of large tracts of woodland, but naturally sent up the price of charcoal, so that in 1580 the inhabitants of Brighton complained that charcoal had risen from 6s. 8d. a load to 14s.¹⁴² A further stimulus was given to the trade at the expense of the county by the latter being required to send supplies to 'his Majesty's collehouse in Whitehall'; the amount at first demanded in 1605 being 400 loads, subsequently reduced to 240.¹⁴³ For these supplies the government appears to have paid the value, probably at a rather low estimate, of the material, leaving the county to discharge the cost of carriage; so that in 1628, when 250 loads were required, payment was made at 13s. 9d. the load, the justices contracting with William Flood to supply the same at 22s. the load.¹⁴⁴ As the iron industry died out in Sussex, and pit coal began to come into general use, charcoal-burning began to lose its importance, though fresh sources of demand were found in the increasing cultivation of hops, for the drying

of which charcoal was used, and in the manufacture of gunpowder. For the latter purpose alder and dogwood were used almost exclusively. 'The gunpowder wood is invariably peeled, being left standing until the bark will run; and is charred with peculiar care.'¹⁴⁵ The ordinary method of burning, however carefully done, proving unsatisfactory, the government about 1800 set up a special manufactory at North Chapel to supply the ordnance powder mills at Waltham and Faversham. The process here used consisted in charring the wood in closed cylinders.

The cylinder room is 60 feet in length; . . . three sets of iron cylinders are placed in a bed of brickwork built nearly along the centre of the house; each of them contains three cylinders, each being 6 ft. long and 2 ft. diameter. To prevent every possibility of air being admitted, iron stops are contrived, 18 in. in length and the size of the inner circumference of the cylinder, which are placed in the mouth, and are filled and rammed down with sand; besides which sand-doors are made to project obliquely over the front or opening of the cylinder, and are entirely filled with sand, and the stops covered with it. At the back of the building are copper pipes projecting 7 ft. in length, communicating with the far end of the cylinder, and at the other extremity immersed in half-hogshead barrels. These pipes serve to draw off the steam or liquid, which flows in large quantities into the tar barrels during the process of charring.¹⁴⁶

These cylinders were charged with wood cut into pieces from 3 to 4 in. long from which the knots had been removed, the larger pieces being put in the centre, the whole closed with the iron stop and sand, and fires of pit coal lighted and kept burning brightly until the tar ceased to flow, when the fires were allowed to die down; next morning the charcoal was removed into large tin coolers and the cylinders recharged. The daily consumption of the three sets of cylinders was 15 cwt. of wood, yielding 4 cwt. of charcoal.¹⁴⁷ With the invention of more powerful varieties of explosives the need of this manufactory of charcoal ceased, and it was closed down about 1831.

The earliest reference to the making of GUNPOWDER in Sussex appears to be an entry made in 1448 in the town accounts of Rye:—

P^d. the maker of pellet powder (*pulveris librarum*) for the old gonnyes, for his labour 3s. P^d. for a quart of vinegar to test the saltpetre 1½d. P^d. John Bayle for making a little sack of sheep's leather to carry sulphur and saltpetre for the pellet powder which the Lord Chamberlain gave 6d. P^d. John Bayle for a strainer through which the charcoal was sifted or cleansed for the pellet powder.¹⁴⁵

This, however, is merely an incidental reference; the regular manufacture of gunpowder

¹³⁸ Close, I Edw. II, m. 16.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 14.

¹⁴⁰ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 120.

¹⁴¹ Lay Subs. 189. ¹⁴² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 51.

¹⁴³ Add. MS. 5702, fol. 235-43.

¹⁴⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xl, 32.

¹⁴⁵ Marshall, *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, 129.

¹⁴⁶ Young, op. cit. 433.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 432-5. ¹⁴⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 490b.

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seems hardly to have been practised in England before the middle of Elizabeth's reign, and its connexion with Sussex dates from the reign of her successor. The East India Company early in 1625 established works for the manufacture of gunpowder on the borders of Windsor Forest, but being compelled to close these, petitioned in 1626 for leave to erect others in Kent and Sussex,¹⁴⁹ which petition, thanks to the good offices of Sir John Coke,¹⁵⁰ was granted the same year.¹⁵¹ The company, however, did not avail themselves of the permission so far as Sussex was concerned, but it is clear that the making of gunpowder was being carried on by private persons, for amongst the unauthorized powder-mills which were to be suppressed in 1627 was a water-mill at Battle.¹⁵² It was at Battle that the leading Sussex gunpowder factory was subsequently established. In November, 1676, John Hammond of Battle, joiner, obtained a twenty-one years' lease of 'Peperynge Lands' in that parish with permission to erect a powder-mill.¹⁵³ This lease was renewed to William Hammond, powder maker, in 1690,¹⁵⁴ and again in 1710.¹⁵⁵ In 1750 George Matthews of Battle, late officer of excise, gave security to Sir Thomas Webster, George Worge, and William Gilmore, gunpowder maker, for the proper conduct of their powder works at Battle.¹⁵⁶ About this time the reputation of the Battle factory was very high, Defoe mentioning that the town was remarkable for making 'the finest Gunpowder, and the best perhaps in Europe.'¹⁵⁷ The quality of the powder must have somewhat deteriorated, or at least been surpassed by that of rival establishments soon after this, as Young, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, said :—

There is an extensive private manufactory of gunpowder at Battle. The chief proprietors are Sir Godfrey Webster and Mr. Harvey. Every sportsman knows it ; but the Dartford is stronger and the quality superior.¹⁵⁸

There were also powder-mills at Brede from about 1766 down to 1825,¹⁵⁹ and one was working at Maresfield as late as 1862.¹⁶⁰

In a county employing so much shipping as Sussex ROPEMAKING must always have been practised to some extent, but few early notices of it are to be found. Ropemakers occur at Playden in 1572 and 1587 and at Rye in 1610¹⁶¹ and

1626 ;¹⁶² at the latter town the ropemakers were amongst the trades which in 1680 paid 3*d.* a quarter—persons not being freemen of the town paying 6*d.*¹⁶³—while in 1683 mention occurs of the rope-walk on the north side of the town.¹⁶⁴ The allied manufactures of sacking and mats were, and are, often carried on with that of ropes. Manufactories of sacking were started for the employment of the poor at Rye in 1794¹⁶⁵ and at Petworth about the same date,¹⁶⁶ but neither appears to have been very successful. The number of persons employed in the rope and sacking industry has remained pretty nearly constant at about 140 since 1851, the chief seat of the industry being at Hailsham, where from eighty to ninety people were being employed in 1846,¹⁶⁷ numbers which are if anything exceeded at the present time. The firm of Burfield & Sons, who employ machinery, and the smaller firm of Green & Sons, who use only hand labour, send large quantities of twine, cordage, fibre-mats, hop-sacking, &c., from Hailsham to all parts of the kingdom.

PAPER appears to have been made in Sussex as far back as the beginning of the eighteenth century, as tenements called 'the Paper mills' in Hooe were in dispute in 1704.¹⁶⁸ At the end of the century Young recorded that 'Paper is manufactured at Iping and other places. Lord Egremont has established a manufactory of it at Duncton.'¹⁶⁹ Both the factories here mentioned were working in 1837,¹⁷⁰ and that at Iping, now in the hands of Messrs. J. C. Warren, is the last surviving mill in the county. Paper-mills of considerable size existed on 'the Pells' at Lewes, from about 1800 to about 1850 ; Thomas Savage, papermaker, occurs in 1803,¹⁷¹ Thomas Johnston in 1818.¹⁷² Johnston occurs again in 1826 with Charles Hester and George Munn and three journeymen papermakers ;¹⁷³ in 1830 the trade is represented by Charles King, William Thomas, papermaker's foremen, and a journeyman,¹⁷⁴ while in 1835 Henry Savage and William Thomas are both entered as papermakers.¹⁷⁵ In 1851 there were 41 persons engaged in this industry, in 1871 only 12, but this number had risen in 1901 to 24.

At what date PRINTING was established in the county it is difficult to say, but Sussex was early provided with a newspaper of its own, the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser or Lewes Journal* being started

¹⁴⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625–6, p. 376.

¹⁵⁰ *Catholic Rec. Soc.* i, 96.

¹⁵¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1625–6, p. 407.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 1627–8, p. 493.

¹⁵³ Thorpe, *Cal. Battle Chart.* 164.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 167. ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 170.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 179.

¹⁵⁷ Defoe, *Tour* (ed. 1753), 182.

¹⁵⁸ Young, *op. cit.* 435.

¹⁵⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 207.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* xiv, 158.

¹⁶¹ *Cal. of Lewes Wills* (Index Soc.).

¹⁶² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 133.

¹⁶³ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 362.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 364.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 357.

¹⁶⁶ Young, *op. cit.* 34.

¹⁶⁷ Salzmann, *Hist. of Hailsham*, 64.

¹⁶⁸ Exch. Dep. by Com. 1 Anne, Easter, No. 21.

¹⁶⁹ Young, *op. cit.* 436.

¹⁷⁰ Moule, *English Counties Delineated* (s.v.).

¹⁷¹ *Poll Book, Lewes* (1803).

¹⁷² *Ibid.* (1818).

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* (1826).

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* (1830).

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* (1835).

INDUSTRIES

in 1745, and only coming to an end in 1906 by amalgamation with the *Brighton Gazette* and certain other papers under 'The Sussex Amalgamated Newspapers Ltd.' Lewes was probably the first town to set up a press, and the firm of Lee seems to have been the only printers there until about 1818,¹⁷⁶ when John Baxter settled in Lewes. Baxter was the most notable of the Sussex printers, and was the inventor and first user of the inking-roller; his quarto Bible, with notes and illustrations, attained a great reputation, and had a wide sale in America as well as in England.¹⁷⁷ His son George Baxter was the inventor of the well-known oil process of printing in colours. J. Seagrave was printing at Chichester during the last decade of the eighteenth century, when he published a *Chichester Guide* and some of Hayley's poems. Presses were working at Rye in 1773, when *The Cabinet, or Christian Miscellany*, was printed there, and in 1785 at Hailsham; James Hurdis issued his poem 'The Favourite Village' and other works from a private press at Bishopstone, between 1797 and 1800, and there was a private press at Glynde in 1770.¹⁷⁸ The growth of this industry has been as remarkable in Sussex as elsewhere, but presents no particular features of interest; at the present time the county has 42 local newspapers, and the number of persons engaged in printing, which was 221 in 1851 and 553 in 1871, had risen in 1901 to 1,310.

In the industrial history of any district, factors of great importance are the means of communication and transport. The more completely a district is isolated the more it will be compelled itself to produce the articles it requires, while at the same time the production will be limited by local needs. So that, broadly speaking, where transport and communication are lacking, industries will tend to be numerous but unimportant, but where they are good the industries will be more or less confined to those for which the district is particularly suitable, and will therefore probably be of some importance. In the case of Sussex we have a long seaboard with a chain of harbours which were of importance in mediaeval times, though owing to the change of the coastline and the increase of size in shipping they are now mostly of small value; there are also a series of rivers, of no great size, but even now for the most part navigable for barges to a considerable distance inland. Against this system of water communication must be set the possession of roads which were, at least in the northern portion of the county, notoriously bad. In the south, where the roads could run for the most part over the high ground of the Downs, the

requirements of traffic were sufficiently well met, but in the Weald, with the exception of the Roman road of the Stane Street from Chichester to London, and possibly one or two other highways, communication was only possible by country lanes sheltered from the drying influence of sun and wind by great woods, difficult and unpleasant in any but the driest summer weather, and impossible in winter. 'Souseks full of dyrt and myre' the county was called in the time of Henry VIII, and for some centuries it continued to deserve the title. When Prince George of Denmark visited Petworth in the winter of 1703 one of his suite wrote to a friend describing the journey

through the worst ways that I ever saw in my life. We were thrown but once indeed in going, but both our coach, which was the leading one, and his highness's body coach, would have suffered very often if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it up, or supported it with their shoulders from Godalming almost to Petworth; and the nearer we approached the Duke's house the more unaccessible it seemed to be. The last nine miles of the way cost us six hours time to conquer them; and indeed we had never done it, if our good master had not several times lent us a pair of horses out of his own coach, whereby we were able to trace out the way for him.¹⁷⁹

Defoe in his *Tour* of 1724 also alludes to the execrable state of the Sussex roads, mentioning an instance of a lady of quality being drawn to church by a team of oxen as the mud was impassable for horses. Dr. John Burton, in his account of a journey through the county in 1751,¹⁸⁰ speaks enthusiastically of the Romans' work in making the Stane Street,

for from the moment I left it I fell immediately upon all that was most bad, upon a land desolate and muddy, . . . and upon roads which were, to explain concisely what is most abominable, Sussexian. No one would imagine them to be intended for the people and the public, but rather the byways of individuals, or more truly the tracks of cattle drivers; for everywhere the usual footmarks of oxen appeared, and we too who were on horseback going on zigzag almost like oxen at plough, advanced as if we were turning back, while we followed out all the twists of the roads. Not even now, though in summer time, is the wintry state of the roads got rid of, . . . our horses could not keep on their legs on account of these slippery and rough parts of the roads, but sliding and tumbling on their way, and almost on their haunches, with all their haste got on but slowly.

Writing some fifty years after this the Rev. Arthur Young said:—

The turnpike roads in Sussex are generally well enough executed . . . The cross-roads upon the coast are usually kept in good order; . . . but in the Weald the cross-roads are in all probability the very worst that are to be met with in any part of the island.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ In that year he printed the *Lewes Poll Book*, which from 1768 onwards had been printed by William Lee.

¹⁷⁷ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁷⁸ Cotton, *Typographical Gazetteer* (2nd. ser.).

¹⁷⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 15.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* viii, 254.

¹⁸¹ *Agric. of Suss.* 416-17.

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He further mentions that a turnpike road had been made from Horsham to London in 1756.

Before that time it was so execrably bad, that whoever went on wheels were forced to go round by Canterbury, which is one of the most extraordinary circumstances that the history of non-communication in this kingdom can furnish.¹⁸⁷

Marshall also, writing at the same time, in 1798, bears similar witness regarding the Sussex roads :

Excepting the more public ones, as between Godalmin and Petworth ; Petworth and Horsham (by Pulborough) ; and Horsham and Dorking ; and except a less public one from the Godalmin road towards the center of the Weald ; this extensive district may be said to be at present without roads The lanes through the enclosed lands as well as the glades across the commons lie in their natural state ; worn into gullies and trodden into sloughs. Even in the spring and early summer months they appear intolerable to a stranger ; and in winter are barely passable to a native of the country.¹⁸⁸

For many centuries, the upkeep of communications was enforced upon the owners of the adjacent lands, and the manorial court rolls contain innumerable presentments for allowing portions of the roads to become impassable or bridges to fall into disrepair. Bequests were also frequently made of money to be expended on mending the foul ways in the neighbourhood, from which no doubt the testators had suffered during their lives. In 1534 an Act was passed extending to Sussex certain provisions already allowed in Kent, for substituting new roads for less convenient old ones.¹⁸⁴ More important than this was the Act of 1585, 'for the Amendment of High Waies decaied by carriage to and fro Yron Mylles,' in Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, by which any person carrying charcoal, ore or iron, between 12 October and 1 May, should carry for every six loads of 'coales or mine,' and for every ton of iron, 'one usuale carte loade of sinder, gravell, stone, sande or chalke, meate for the repairing and amendinge of the said Highways.' The effect of this, however, was lost, as apparently owing to an error in the drafting of the Act, it was made to apply only to Surrey and Kent.¹⁸⁵ This Act having proved a failure, another was passed in 1597 which included Sussex, and enacted that every one so carrying charcoal, ore or iron, should pay for every three loads or for every ton of iron, 3s. to a justice of the peace as a highway rate ; while further, anyone carrying thirty loads, or ten tons of iron between 1 May and 12 October, should carry and lay one load of cinder, gravel, stone or chalk.¹⁸⁶ A notice of the methods used for improving the roads occurs in May, 1632, when the justices of the rape of Bramber reported :

'we have caused the Dikes in the Highways of the wildishe parte of the rape to be made or scowered, and have ordered the surveyors to mend the worst places with sinder (i.e. iron slag) and rubbishe stone.'¹⁸⁷ In 1663 the legislature introduced the turnpike system, by which the burden on the parishes was lessened by the taking of tolls from persons using the roads. Apparently, however, it was not until 1696 that Sussex availed itself of the Turnpike Acts, the roads between Crawley and Reigate being made subject to tolls in that year.¹⁸⁸

Attempts to improve the roads were not appreciated by the populace, and when an Act for amending the way from London to East Grinstead was introduced, the gentry, farmers, and other persons using the roads, petitioned against the charging of tolls, partly on the ground that the worst part of it lay in Surrey.¹⁸⁹ Nor was it only an objection to paying tolls that animated the conservative men of Sussex, for when there was a proposal to make a road from London to Brighton, by way of Cuckfield, the inhabitants of Hurstpierpoint petitioned that it might not pass through their parish for fear of its bringing pick-pockets and other bad characters down from London, to contaminate their village, so long preserved from evil influences by its protecting sea of mud.¹⁹⁰ At Mayfield, also, the proposal for a turnpike road was opposed as extravagant and absurd, 'because, how can a broad-wheeled waggon stand upright if it has no ruts to go in ?'¹⁹¹ In spite of opposition, however, new roads were made and old ones improved, until now it is only in the country lanes that it is possible to realize what the roads were like that gained Sussex so bad a name in times past.

The London and Brighton Railway was incorporated by Act in 1837, the line to Brighton being opened 21 September, 1841, and branches east to Hailsham, Eastbourne, and Hastings, and west to Chichester, during the next five or six years. This railway amalgamated with the London and Croydon Railway in 1846, under the title of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, and has now a network of lines covering the greater part of the county, except the extreme east, where the South Eastern and Chatham Railway have a line, built under an Act of 1846, from Hastings to Tunbridge Wells, with branches from Robertsbridge down the Rother valley to Tenterden, and from Crowhurst to Bexhill. The South Western have also a short branch from Petersfield to Midhurst. One of the earliest light railways, or steam tramways, built in England was that opened between Chichester and Selsey in 1897, while the most recent development of communications has been the running of small motor trains between Hastings

¹⁸² *Agric. of Suss.* 418.

¹⁸³ *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, 98.

¹⁸⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 139.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 140-2.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 142.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* xvi, 42.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 147.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* xxi, 21.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* xv, 143.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* xix, 168.

and Eastbourne, Lewes and Seaford, and Brighton and Kemp Town.

Sussex possesses several canals which, though at present comparatively neglected, may possibly in the near future recover something of their former value. The most important of these are

in conjunction with the River Arun, which is connected with Chichester Harbour and Portsmouth by the Arundel and Portsmouth Canal, with Petworth and Midhurst by the West Rother Canal, and with the Wey by the Arun and Wey Canal, now practically disused.

IRON¹

There can be little doubt that Caesar's statement that iron was produced in the maritime regions of Britain, though only in small quantities, refers to the Weald of Sussex as well as, if not exclusive of, other districts along the coast. Circumstantial evidence of the early working of the mineral wealth of Sussex was produced by Professor Boyd Dawkins in 1862, when he found a rude type of pottery and some flint flakes on the top of, and therefore evidently of later date than, a slag heap in Battle parish.² This points to the smelting of iron in the county at a period when metal had not entirely replaced the earlier instruments of the Stone Age. For the period of the Roman occupation we have ample evidence of the activity of the iron works; at Maresfield large quantities of Samian ware were found in the beds of 'cinders' (i.e. metallic slag), when they were dug for road metal.³ Roman coins were also found here and in similar cinder heaps at Sedlescombe, Westfield,⁴ and Beauport, near Battle.⁵ From the fact that the coins found at Maresfield were principally those of Vespasian (died A.D. 69), though some ranged as late as Diocletian (286), and that coins of Trajan and Hadrian (A.D. 138) were found at Beauport in fine condition, pointing to a short length of circulation, it is evident that the Sussex ironworks date from an early period of the Roman occupation. An examination⁶ of this cinder mound at Beauport, and one of similar date near Brede, suggests a very elementary knowledge of smelting and the use of primitive methods, which is further borne out by the richness of the cinders in iron.

Apparently a hearth of charcoal was first laid, on this a layer of the 'mine,' or ore, was placed, and a layer of clay put over the whole to retain the heat, the iron running out at the foot of the mound; and this process was repeated, each set of layers being placed upon its predecessor, with the result of eventually forming a regularly stratified mound, with a maximum height of about 50 ft. in the case of the Beauport heap.

It is remarkable that an industry so well established in a spot so well supplied with the raw material of ore and fuel, and one moreover so valuable for a warlike race, should have been completely overthrown by the Saxons, but such appears to have been the case, for documentary and circumstantial evidence is alike lacking for any workings of iron by the Saxons in Sussex. Moreover, the Domesday Survey makes no mention of such renders of iron as occur in its account of Gloucestershire or Somerset, and merely mentions the existence of one iron-mine (*ferraria*) in the hundred of East Grinstead.⁷ It would seem that for some two centuries after the Conquest, the monopoly of iron production in southern England was practically in the hands of the miners of the Forest of Dean and that neighbourhood. The extensive demands for iron occasioned by the Crusades, and by building operations at Winchester and elsewhere,⁸ do not seem to have galvanized the Sussex ironworks into life, and as late as about 1225, that excellent man of business, Simon de Senliz, the bishop of Chichester's steward, advised his master about procuring iron from Gloucestershire, with no suggestion of the possibility of obtaining it locally.⁹ It would appear, however, that by the middle of the thirteenth century, the industry was beginning to revive, as in 1253 the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to send 12,000 nails to Freemantle for the roofing of the hall, and next year he had to supply 30,000 horse-shoes and 60,000 nails.¹⁰ A few mines and ironworks were evidently in existence, but apparently little valued or used, for in 1263, when the right to a third part of a mine of iron in East Grinstead was disputed between Agnes wife of Nicholas Malemeins, and Isabel wife of Thomas de Audeham, it was stated that during the life of Isabel's first husband, Ralf de la

¹ The *Suss. Arch. Coll.* contain much matter relating to the iron industry; vols. ii and iii having good lists of forges and their owners; xiii a good early inventory, and later inventories in xxiv and xxxii; xlv, descriptions and illustrations of a large number of iron articles of local manufacture, for which see also ii, and *Archæologia*, lvi, pt. i. The accounts for the works at Worth in 1548 are of much interest (Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 501, No. 3), as are those of the Waldron and Brightling works, extending from 1628-1730 (Add. MSS. 33154-6).

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 2.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 171-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 174.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxix, 173. The most interesting object found in the Beauport mound is a small Roman statuette of good execution, particularly valuable from its being of *cast* iron, the use of which amongst the Romans had hitherto been unknown; *ibid.* xlv, 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.* xxix, 169-72.

⁷ *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 367.

⁸ See article on 'Mining,' in *V.C.H. Glouc.* ii.

⁹ *Roy. Let.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 278.

¹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 117, from Lib. Rolls.

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Haye, a third part of the profits had always been sent to Agnes, but since the death of Ralf, Thomas and Isabel had had no profits from the mine.¹¹

Much has been made of the Lewes murage grant in 1266, the inhabitants of the borough being empowered to levy a toll of one penny on every horse-load or cart-load of iron brought into the town; one writer even says 'this obviously pre-supposes an already flourishing trade in iron';¹² but as an identical toll was to be levied on lead and tin, neither of which was ever found in the county, the argument is clearly unsound. Iron, as a necessary of life to civilized men, would naturally be brought into a market town such as Lewes, but it was probably for the most part foreign, as large quantities of Spanish iron were being imported at Winchelsea about 1270.¹³ By the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, there is evidence of activity in the Sussex iron manufacture, as in 1300 the guild of ironmongers in London made formal complaint against the 'smiths of the Wealds (*de Waldis*)'—most of whom were probably Sussex men—that they brought into the city iron rims for wheels too short for use, and accordingly three iron rods were made of the standard length and breadth, and notice was issued to all smiths that they should conform to the standard.¹⁴ In 1327 the sheriff was paid £4 3s. 4d. for 1,000 horse-shoes and an extra 3s. for carriage of the same from Roffey, near Horsham, where they were made, to Shoreham.¹⁵ The fact of these shoes being made at Roffey renders it probable that the 3,000 horse-shoes and 29,000 nails furnished by the sheriff in 1320¹⁶ were also of local production, while this was certainly the case as regards the 6,000 arrows, with heads well sharpened, provided in 1338, as the payment of £14 10s. 4d. included carriage from Horsham.¹⁷ In 1347, however, when the sheriff had to provide 266 sheaves of arrows, he obtained only 150 sheaves at Horsham and bought the remaining 116 at London Bridge.¹⁸ For some little time evidence of iron-working in Sussex is very scanty, but to about the middle of the fourteenth century may be assigned the cast-iron monumental slab in Burwash church, bearing an ornamental cross and the inscription ORATE P ANNEMA JHONE COLINS.¹⁹ This probably commemorates a member of the family of Collins who were at a later date owners of the Socknersh

forges. Towards the end of this century, in 1379, the poll-tax returns show that the industry was flourishing in Crawley, as William Rokenham, 'factor ferri,' was assessed at the very high rate of 6s. 8d., and another 'factor ferri,' William Danecombe, at 40d.; there were also two smiths and a farrier (*ferour*) in the same vill.²⁰ The returns do not give such positive evidence in any other vill, but the occurrence of a charcoal burner and six smiths at Lindfield suggests that iron was worked in the immediate neighbourhood.

For the fifteenth century we have little documentary evidence, but there are a number of firebacks and andirons, especially noteworthy being a pair of the latter terminating in human heads with the characteristic caps of the period, which were until recently at Michelham priory.²¹ There was also at Eridge as late as 1790 a hooped bombard or mortar of the early part of this century, traditionally held to have been the first made in England;²² another mortar of about the same date was found in the moat of Bodiam Castle, and is now at Woolwich; the interior of this is of cast iron, and the outer body of wrought iron.²³ Both these may have been of local manufacture, but the greater part of the iron ordnance for the French wars of Henry VI was apparently made in London.²⁴ One of the chief works in the county at this time was at Buxted, and there is at Lambeth a note of the payment of £67 0s. 2d. to 'ye Iernefounders of Buxstede' in 1492.²⁵ To about the same period, namely, between 1493 and 1500, belongs the complaint of 'Pieter Roberd *alias* Graunt Pierre yernefounder dwellyng in Hertfelde.' In this he set forth that he had entered into partnership with one 'Harry Mayer otherwise Harry Fyner of Southwarke, goldsmythe,' and had sent him 52 tons 7½ cwt. of iron at £3 the ton, and had also done various repairs, but the said Harry had caused him to be arrested and 'fetyred w^t grete yernes' on an action for debt for £20, and had done him other injuries.²⁶

With the reign of Henry VIII we enter upon what we may call the historic period of the Sussex iron industry, when it ceases to be a local and assumes the character of a national industry. It will therefore be as well at this point to consider some of the details of the process of manufacture. The deposits of iron ore lie widely diffused throughout the whole geological district of 'the Hastings sands,' stretching westwards and north from Hastings, and bounded by the

¹¹ Assize R. 912.

¹² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvi, 3.

¹³ *Mins. Accts.* bdle. 1031, Nos. 19–21.

¹⁴ *Liber. Cust.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 85.

¹⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 117.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 178.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* xvii, 117.

¹⁸ Pipe R. 20 Edw. III.

¹⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 178, and plate. Iron grave-slabs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are numerous in Sussex, e.g. at Uckfield, Mayfield, Sedlescombe, and especially at Wadhurst.

²⁰ Lay Subs. $\frac{189}{44}$.

²¹ Figured in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 180.

²² *Ibid.* 182; *Archaeologia*, x, 472.

²³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvi, 15–16.

²⁴ See, e.g. Foreign R. 12 Hen. VI, m. D.; 13 Hen. VI, m. L.

²⁵ Lambeth Court R. 1352, schedule.

²⁶ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 222, No. 112.



FIRE-BACK (FIFTEENTH CENTURY) FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LATE DR. PRINCE, OF CROWBOROUGH



FIRE-BACK WITH SALAMANDER, DATED 1550, IN THE LEWES MUSEUM



FIRE-BACK AT PENSURST, DATED 1652



FIRE-BACK, DATE 1636, SHOWING RICHARD LEONARD, FOUNDER, OF BREDE, WITH THE IMPLEMENTS OF HIS TRADE

chalk hills of the North and South Downs. 'The ore mostly used was clay ironstone, occurring in thin beds of nodules near the bottom of the Wadhurst clay. There is a thin bed of shelly ironstone beneath it, the lime in which was probably used as a flux. A nodule of the ore when broken is of a bluish-grey colour, but bright steely specks can be seen in the fracture. The outer side of the nodule is usually rusty with iron-oxide.'²⁷ A more technical account of the ore²⁸ says:—

The stone from which this iron was manufactured seems principally to have been a spathose ore, or an altered spathose ore, where the carbonate of iron has been converted into a hydrated peroxide. The percentage of this class of ore seems to be very good, some of which, on being tried, produced as much as 50 per cent. ; a fair average would seem to range from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. Other classes of ore have also probably been used, for clay ironstone is often found, although, so far as observed, generally poor, and siliceous ores occur in other places. But the spathose ore is certainly the most valuable ; indeed, as far as one can judge, it seems the only stone existing in sufficiently compact bodies to be worked to profit.

Mr. P. J. Martin,²⁹ also, speaking of the clay country of the Weald, mentions 'a kind of "bog-iron," frequently turned up by the plough, and called iron rag. It is composed of clay, gravel, and perhaps about 25 or 30 per cent. of oxide of iron, and is a superficial and fragmentary formation, a recent "pudding-stone." ' Arthur Young, writing in 1792, gives a section of the different varieties of ironstone found at Ashburnham:—³⁰

1. Small balls, provincially called the *twelve foot*s, because so many feet distant from the first to the last bed.
2. Grey limestone ; what is used as a flux.
3. Foxes.
4. Riggitt.
5. Bulls.
6. Caballa balls.
7. Whiteburn ; what Tripoli, properly calcined and treated, is made of.
8. Glouts.
9. Pity.

Several of the terms here used occur, but in a different order, in a valuable, but imperfect, eighteenth-century treatise, 'Of the Iron Mines in the County of Sussex,' amongst the Sloane manuscripts.³¹ The interest of the details given by this treatise, and apparently by it alone, justifies its inclusion here:—

The principle indication of iron ore in this county is the badness of the highways, for where they are very deep and clayey the iron is not far off. The

mine itself lying in beds of Blew Marle, which is admirable mendment for sandy light landes, tho it does very well upon stiffer landes if it be not laid on in too large a quantity.

All the names and measures of our mine are accounted and beginn from the lowest stratum of all which they call Bottom, from which they count upward to the surface, which Bottom lies from sixteen to thirty foot deep from the surface. All the veins run from East to West, tho very rarely they sometimes are North and South. The miners are very often troubled with water, which they draine by making Rock Pitts. . . .

The admirable and exact order the strata are placed in and from which Nature seldom varies (tho very few places have all the strata entire) is very surprising. Wherever any particular stratum is wanting, there is generally an appearance of its going of upon the stratum that lyes next to it either above or below, and whatever is wanting in one stratum is made up by the thickness of another so that there is generally the same quantity of mine in each Pitt when you are upon the middle of the vein. If the strata of the best sort of mine are thick there is very little course mine. If the course on the contrary is thick there is very little fine.

The first stratum of mine is called Bottom. This is a course indifferent sort of mine having very little iron but it is useful to work with the richer mines, because it is a sort of Limestone, which fluxes other metall and keeps it alive and quick in the Furnace, the best sign of its goodness is being of a Cherry Red Colour and that only is good, the Iron Masters seldom taking any other, it (is) sometimes two and even three foot thick.

The second stratum next to the Bottom is Bull and lyes about a foot and a half above it, the Vein itself is generally a foot thick. It is a Hard Hott mine, and abounds with Iron which is hard to melt out of it, it is reckoned among the course mines. If upon breaking it with a hammer it break blew and clear and bite sharp to the teeth it is good. If otherwise it is bad, vizt. sandy or soft it is good for nothing, and generally no stone has iron which bites soft. The Bull that is rocky on the underside the upper part of it is good. If the Vein be above six or eight inches thick it is generally nought.

(10)³² Good Bull ready burned for the Furnace. The charcoal fire in which all our mine is burnt gently before it is put into the Furnace causes it to run into the striae at the bottom of this stone which the Hard mines never doe unless it be this sort of mine, and of others that run into these striae the Looking Glass Grinders make their Tripoli, they have people att our Furnaces continually picking the mine for that purpose, the Bull ought to be of a whitish blew colour before it be burnt.

In the place of this Bull sometimes lyes a sort of mine called Pitty Rugg, it is but indifferent mine unless it come up in great round pieces or Balls as big as a man's head, and then is as good as any, as is generally all mine that comes up in such round pieces.

In the place of this Bull sometimes lyes Colour, so like the Cherry Coloured Bottom that it is hardly distinguished from it (and) of the same nature.

³² The number appears to refer to a specimen, possibly in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane.

²⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.* from *The Pick and Gad*.

²⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 170.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 206.

³¹ Sloane MS. 4020, fol. 189.

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The third stratum next the Bull upwards is Three foot Pitty that is three foot from the Bottom, of this there are three sorts vizt. The White Veined Pitty, Pitty half White half Gray, the Gray Pitty.

The White veined Pitty is very good mine especially if it lye deep, about 16 foot from the surface and differs from the best mine only in hardness, which may be perceived by the touch, and also by the coarseness of the grain which as it appears to the eye finer or harder or more gross makes iron accordingly.

The half White half Grey Pitty in the same stone is good according as there is more or less White veined in it.

The Gray Pitty (which I take to be Gray Measure of Mr. Plott) is the hardest and worst of all the Pittys tho it contains as much Iron as any; but works so very hott and fiery in the Furnace that if they carry too much of it it will tear the Firestones to pieces, and will very often come through the Furnace unmelted. It is apt to be in great quantities in most places, and as there is more or less of this quantity of mine we judge of the goodness of a vein of mine in generall for where there is much of this and the former sorts already described there is less of the other sorts which come now to be described, which are the best. However some of it must be used in all Iron. . . .

It is unfortunate that the treatise is defective just at the point at which would have begun the description of the best varieties of ore, which were probably the 'mine called veines,' charges for digging which occur in the Waldron accounts of the beginning of the eighteenth century, the lower layers occurring therein as 'marle pitte mine' and 'botom mine.'³³ The method of mining whenever the iron lay at any depth was by means of bell-pits, that is to say, shafts wider at the bottom than at the surface. In good mining each pit would be carried down to the lowest layer of 'mine'; but sometimes only the richer and more accessible layers were taken, and a fresh pit was then started. Thus in 1587 in a dispute between Edward Carrill and Roger Gratwick³⁴ it was stated that Gratwick's workmen

Take onlie the uppermost veynes of myne which lie fleetest and are most easie to come by and many tymes have left undigged the lower veynes so that the miners of the complainant and others have drawn out of the s^d myne pytts to the number of 7 or 800 loads after the defendant's workmen had left digging in the said pittes.

Moreover, they had

Lost and spoiled great quantities of myne and ower by suffering the water (by their negligence in not digging the pits deeper) to drown the said myne.

That is to say water accumulated in the half-worked pits and so prevented access to the lower

layers of ore. The natural result of thus using up the more accessible ironstone was that they could not 'find the myne to be so fleet as heretofore it hath don,' and the cost of digging accordingly rose from about 20*d.* to 3*s.* for a load.³⁵ The general question of the respective rights of the lord of the manor and his tenants to dig iron ore appears to have been doubtful; but in the case of the manors of Chiltington and Nutbourne we find in 1634 that Lord Abergavenny on two occasions when he had drawn mine for the use of Sir Edward Carrill's furnace at Pallingham had allowed the copyhold tenants on whose lands he had dug 2*d.* a load; it is noted at the same time that if the land is dug for ore the loss is about seven years' profits.³⁶

The ore having been 'drawn,' or dug, was subjected to a preliminary calcination, alternate layers of charcoal and ore being laid in a small kiln and burnt sufficiently to enable the ore to be easily broken, but not sufficiently to cause the iron to 'loop,' that is to say, to melt and run into a mass. The furnace being charged with charcoal the broken mine was cast in from above and, slowly melting, fell through into the hearth, from which it was run out into rough moulds of sand, the resulting mass of iron being termed a 'sow' if over 1,000 lb., or a 'pig' if under that weight. No Sussex furnace now exists, but in the valley of Cwm Aman in South Wales are the remains of one built by certain iron-masters of the sixteenth century who came from Sussex.³⁷ Roughly speaking the furnace was a building some 24 ft. square outside, measuring about 26 to 30 ft. in height, containing an egg-shaped cavity, at the bottom of which was the hearth of sandstone and the iron vent of the bellows. These latter were at first worked by foot blast, but by the middle of the sixteenth century water power was chiefly used, in all probability. When a furnace had once been lit it was kept burning, sometimes for as long as forty weeks, the period of its blowing being reckoned in 'foundays,' each 'founday' being six days, that is to say the working week. During each 'founday' on an average eight tons of iron would be made at the expense of twenty-four loads of charcoal (each load being 11 quarters), and as many loads of mine (at 18 bushels to a load).³⁸ The great heat of the furnace, which was gradually increased, attaining its maximum about ten weeks after the start, more or less rapidly ate away the sandstone of the hearth, 'so that at first it contains so much as

³⁵ Ibid. No. 8.

³⁶ Exch. Dep. by Com. 9 Chas. I, Easter, No. 17.

³⁷ *Arch. Cambr.* (Ser. 3), ix, 86, where detailed measurements are given.

³⁸ These figures are for the end of the seventeenth century, and are taken, as is most of this paragraph, from the contemporary account of Walter Burrell of Cuckfield. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 200-2.

³³ Add MS. 33154, fol. 39.

³⁴ Exch. Dep. by Com. 30 Eliz. Easter, No. 17.

will make a sow of six or seven hundred pounds weight, at last it will contain so much as will make a sow of two thousand pound.' Consequently the hearth had to be renewed after every period of blowing.

The iron having been cast into sows had next to be worked at the forge before becoming a marketable commodity. The forge, iron-mill, or hammer, was a building containing two open hearths, the 'finery' and the 'chafery,' and a great hammer of some seven or eight hundred-weight worked by a waterwheel :—

At the finery . . . they melt off (from the sow) a piece of about three-fourths of a hundredweight, which . . . is called a loop. This loop they take out with their shingling-tongs, and beat it with iron sledges upon an iron plate near the fire, that so it may not fall in pieces, but be in a capacity to be carried under the hammer. Under which they, then removing it, and drawing a little water, beat it with the hammer very gently, which forces cinder and dross out of the matter; afterwards by degrees drawing more water, they beat it thicker and stronger till they bring it to a *bloom*, which is a four-square mass of about 2 ft. long. This operation they call *shingling the loop*. This done they . . . bring it to an *ancony*, the figure whereof is, in the middle, a bar about 3 ft. long, of that shape they intend the whole bar to be made of it; at both ends a square piece left rough to be wrought at the chafery. At the chafery they only draw out the two ends suitable to what was drawn out at the finery in the middle and so finish the bar.³⁹

The greater part of the iron manufactured in Sussex, apart from ordnance, was disposed of in bars, and it would seem that these were often made of such a size that they could be easily worked into ploughshares, the term 'share-mouldes' being of frequent occurrence in accounts. Thus in 1705 there were sent to Maidstone 27 tons of iron from Waldron furnace,⁴⁰ 'it being all shearemouldes except one ton of clout iron that Mr. Ludd had; there was 1388 barres of y^e said 27 ton of iron.' Other forms of iron bars were 'longe tire iron'—presumably iron tires for wheels, similar to those about which complaint was made in 1300—'short broades' and 'meane broades.' There are also occasional payments for the making of small quantities of 'scrapp iron,' that is to say bars made out of old iron and 'scrappes'; this was charged at a higher rate, being counted 'dowble worke,'⁴¹ and there was the additional expense of selecting suitable material, £11 11s. being paid in 1648 at Brightling to 'Russell the scrapper for pickinge of soe much iron as made three tunne and 17 hundred at 3^{li} p tunne.'⁴² All

this was wrought iron, but a certain amount of casting was also done at most furnaces, hammers and anvils being of common occurrence, and a certain number of firebacks being also made. One of the earliest surviving ironmasters' accounts, that of 1548 for Worth Forest,⁴³ enters 'the value of iiij plates for Chymnyes at y^e furnes at iijs. iiijd. the peece, xiijs. iiijd.', while those of Waldron furnace for 1708⁴⁴ record the payment of 10s. 'for 2 large plates for Halland Halle,' and of 12s. 6d. 'for casting 5 small plates for farm houses.'

Returning now to the general history of the Sussex iron industry, we find, in addition to such works as have already been mentioned, that there were iron mills of some standing in the forest of Ashdown early in the reign of Henry VIII, as in 1523 the steward of the Duchy of Lancaster's lands in Sussex⁴⁵ enters '£14 13s. 4d. from the farm of the iron mills in the forest of Asshedowne not received, because they are in the king's hands unoccupied, with all the implements and necessities belonging thereto, because no one will take them on farm,' and they continued for some years unworked until one of them was leased to the earl of Wiltshire for a term of twenty-one years.⁴⁶ Upon the death of the earl in 1539 a survey^{46a} was made of some of his property, including 'The yron mylles called Newebridge in the nether end of the Forest of Asshedon,' in connexion with which the surveyors report :—

One Nysell hath assignment of this mill of my Lord Wiltsh^r, & yeres to come vij or thereabout. The myll well repaired in all things.

M^d. that to melt the Sowes in ij forges or Fynories ther must be iiij persones and at the Forge to melt the Blomes ther must be ij psones. So ar ther at every forge ij psones whereof the oone holdeth the work at the hamo^r and the second kepeth the work hot.

M^d that oone man cannot kepe the hamo^r because the work must be kept in suche hete that they may not shifte handes.

They ar paid for every tonnes hameryng 6^s 8^d viz to the hamor man and his man for every tonnes drawing into Barres 6^s 8^d the said forgermen or Fynors.

M^d that they paie to the lord of the soill for licence to dyg or myne for oore for every loode j^d. xiiij lood of orre or myne will make j tonne of yron. The dygging of every tonne aft^r viij^d the lood dothe amount to ix^s iiij^d. The cariage of every lood to the furnace iiij^d amount in the tonne iijs viiiij^d for cariage of a tonne of Soues to the forge x^d.

For xj lood of Cole delivered at the Furnace to mak the tonne of Iron into Sowes for every load iijs—xxxiijs.

³⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 200–2. For an interesting seventeenth-century inventory of implements used in iron-working see *ibid.* xxxii, 29

⁴⁰ Add. MS. 33154, fol. 53.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 33156, fol. 65.

⁴² *Ibid.* 33155, *sub anno*.

⁴³ Exch. K.R. Accts. 501, No. 3.

⁴⁴ Add. MS. 33154, fol. 87.

⁴⁵ Mins. Accts. bdle. 446, No. 7157.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* No. 7185.

^{46a} For. Proc. (T.R.), No. 197.

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For v lood delivered at the Forges to melt sowes and at the hamor to make a tonne of Iron up every lood iiij^s—xv^s

The Casting of every tonne at the Furnace into Sowes iiij^s iiij^d Sm^a iiij^h xx^d

Yf the Stylford were up she wolde mak yerely xl or I tonne Sm^a Claro—xl^h or I^h

Repacons coibus annis in Bellowes Hamors Andevilles romars lynkes sundry great Spynsars and Skepes xl^s or more after as the workemen ar so are the newe instrumentes preserved.

M^d this myll will make yerely if she be well stored and applied every yere iiij^{xx} tonne at least.

M^d she is well watered and well repaired.

A newe furnace pteyning therto lying in the Kynges comon called the Stomlett.

M^d if the yron be caried to London it cost vj^s viij^d the loodes cariage.

Yf the Tonne be solde at Forge it is comanly solde for v^h somtyme vij^h. So comenly clere of the tonne oone with another at lest xx^s. At clere by the yere at lest xx^h or at lest xl markes.

M^d they say Iron is fallen in price by reason of no Utterance.

M^d this if it be not well folowed cannot prevaiil.

This myll will spende at fynories & furnaces xij^e lood of cole at lest or xv^e.

Ther is another myll called the Stylford myll & xiiij acres of ground val^r p ann^r iiij^s viij^d molend nⁱ quia prostrat

At this point the manuscript comes to an end, but whether there were any more of these interesting though disjointed notes is not certain.

The accounts of 1523 mention 'a tenement called a Forge of Stele in the same forest,' then in the hands of John Glande, and in 1525 demised to John Bowley, who still held it in 1548.⁴⁷ This is one of the very scanty references to the manufacture of steel, which was also made at Warbleton, and at Salehurst, where in 1609 John Hawes held the site of the abbey of Robertsbridge with eight steel forges and other buildings for the steel-makers.⁴⁸ At Robertsbridge the steel industry appears to have been established by the introduction of foreign workmen early in Elizabeth's reign, as in 1567 one John Sharpe of Robertsbridge, 'naming himself a master of fence,' was complained of for beating certain 'Duchemen' (i.e. Germans) employed by Sir Henry Sydney in making steel, and using opprobrious language towards them.⁴⁹ Another early furnace was that of 'Pannyngridge,' near Ashburnham, of which the accounts for 1546 are extant,⁵⁰ and about the same date Denise Bowyer, widow, obtained a lease of an iron-mill and furnace in Hartfield from one Richard Warner, whose title was subsequently challenged by William Saunders as

lessee of John Carryll, lord of the manor of Parrock. The dispute led to a pretty quarrel, Saunders and his son-in-law, Thomas Mynn, coming with eight servants 'with swordes, bucklers, staves, and other warrelyke weapyns, and with sculles upon theyr heddes in maner of warre arrayed,' to remove the bellows and let the water out of the ponds; which they did after a slight affray in which the worthy widow was said to have taken some part, striking the cart oxen 'overwarte the mussells' with her stick, and encouraging her men to attack one of the others by crying out, 'Downe wyth Greyberde,' and 'Shoote at greyberde.'⁵¹

The most important event of this period, however, was the introduction of the improved process of gun-founding, by which cannon were cast in the entire piece and bored, instead of being wrought of separate portions banded together. It was in 1543 that Ralph Hogge, of Buxted, with the assistance of Peter Baude, a Frenchman, cast the first pieces of ordnance thus made in England, according to Holinshed, who was writing at a time when this event must have been within the memory of many persons, and may therefore be relied upon. The manufacture of ordnance speedily took a firm hold in the county where it had been thus introduced, and the Lord Admiral Seymour's iron-mills in Worth Forest alone turned out 56 tons 1 cwt. of 'ordnance of dyvers sorts,' valued at £560 15s., as well as 52 tons 5 cwt. of shot for the same, worth £214 15s. 3d., between 1547 and January 1549.⁵² The actual cost of making the ordnance was £280, to which has to be added the value of the metal used, a sum of £4 12s. 3d. 'for making a workhowse for y^e gonne founders,' and £69 6s. 1d. for constructing 'a duple furneyns' for the work; there were also payments of £9 19s. for carrying 16 tons 11½ cwt. of ordnance to the Tower, and of 110s. for carriage of 13 tons of shot as far as Southwark, and 5 tons 15 cwt. thence to the Tower. Particulars of the cannon made are given in an inventory of 1549,⁵³ which shows ordnance to the value of £620, that remaining at the furnace being 'culverens, xiv.; dim. culverens, xv' (with 6 tons 5 cwt. of shot for the same); 'Itm. ordnance caryed from thens to Southwark, and remanyth ther as foleth, sakers, xv; ffawkons, vj; mynnyons, ij; and dim. culverens, j; Itm. in shotte for the same xiiij tonne.'

The industry was now growing rapidly in all branches, and for the first time we find iron figuring among the exports of Sussex in 1550,⁵⁴ though its destination in each case was to a home

⁴⁷ Mins. Accts. bdlc. 445, No. 7185.

⁴⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 197.

⁴⁹ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), vii, 333.

⁵⁰ Thorpe, *Battle Abbey Charters*, 143.

⁵¹ Star Chamber Proc.; xxiv, 422; xxv, 107; xxvii, 30.

⁵² Exch. K.R. Accts. 501, No. 3.

⁵³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 129.

⁵⁴ Customs Accts. 87.

port, foreign export being prohibited. From Chichester six casks⁵⁵ of 'English iron' were sent to Jersey, from Lewes ten casks to Dartmouth and fifteen to Southampton, nine casks from Hastings to Sandwich, and twenty-eight from Rye to London; but the largest shipments were from Pevensey, forty casks of 'rough iron' being sent to Colchester, six of 'English iron' to Chichester and elsewhere, while fifteen were dispatched to London and eighteen to Southampton by Edward Woodman, a relation no doubt of Richard Woodman, the great iron-founder of Warbleton, who suffered for his faith during the Marian persecutions, his fate being commemorated on a fireback which shows a man and woman chained to a post in the midst of flames.⁵⁶ Pevensey continued to be the port of an iron-working district, of which the centre might be taken as being at Brightling, where the Socknersh furnace was working at least as early as 1550,⁵⁷ and where the Pelhams had two forges at the end of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ Adjacent to the haven of Pevensey was 'the liberty of the sluice,' in the parish of Bexhill but part of the liberty of Hastings, where a certain amount of iron was shipped from time to time.⁵⁹ The chief ports, however, while the iron industry was at its height, were Lewes or Newhaven and Rye.

During the reign of Elizabeth the iron industry continued to expand, to the great enrichment of the county; many families through its aid rose from the yeomanry to the ranks of the gentry, as the Fowles, the Fullers, and the Frenches, while many of the great landowners, the Carrylls, Pelhams, Nevilles, and others added to their wealth. Moreover, employment was given to large numbers of the labouring class; in 1549 the iron mills at Sheffield in Fletching⁶⁰ employed twenty-three men, 'whereof, hammerman and servaunts ij; fyners, ii; servaunts, ij; a founder, j; and a fyler, j; coleyars, ij; sarvants, vj; myners, ij; servaunts, iiij,' besides an overseer and two 'wyenmen' or carters; the works at Worth at the same time employed thirty-three men,⁶¹ including gun-founders. In 1557 Richard Woodman declared, 'I have set aworke a hundreth persons, ere this, all the yeare together,' though allowance must be made in this instance for the rhetorical attraction of the round number. The names of forty-nine of Edward Carryll's miners in the forest of St. Leonard's are mentioned in 1587,⁶²

while in 1631 the justices of Pevensey Rape said—

As for worcke for the poore, our parte of the contrey affordeth great plenty of its owne nature . . . by reason of our iron workes which yeelede employments for the stronger bodies.⁶³

In 1664 the number of workmen employed in the county was estimated at the impossibly high figure of 50,000.⁶⁴ But while the mineral wealth of Sussex was thus coming to the fore, there was a danger that its valuable stores of timber should be lost, or at least seriously diminished. Acts were passed in 1558, 1581, and 1585 regulating the cutting of wood for use, as charcoal, in the furnaces, and prohibiting the use of timber trees for that purpose. Nor were these acts passed without reason, for at the beginning of the seventeenth century Norden⁶⁵ said:—

I have heard there are or lately were in Sussex neere 140 hammers and furnaces for iron . . . (which) spend each of them in every twenty-four houres two, three, or foure loades of charcoale, which in a yeare amounteth to an infinit quantitie.

The Worth accounts for 1547-9 show an expenditure of 5,872 cords of wood (the cord being 125 cub. ft.) to make 2,418 loads of charcoal for the furnace, and of 2,753½ cords of wood for the forge,⁶⁶ and about 1640 some 1,300 cords of wood were being used yearly at the Brightling works.⁶⁷ The woods at Kirdford, Petworth Park, Balcombe, Dallington, and the Dicker⁶⁸ were only a few of the greatest sufferers.

Jove's oak, the warlike ash, vein'd elm, the softer beech, Short hazel, maple plain, light asp, the bending wych, Tough holly, and smooth birch, must altogether burn, What should the builder serve, supplies the forger's turn.⁶⁹

While the country's loss in timber might be held to be balanced by its gain in mineral wealth, there was another danger incident to the iron trade in which the gains were those of individuals and the loss national. This was the export of ordnance to foreign nations, and especially to Spain, with whom our relations were always strained almost to breaking. The impolicy of thus supplying possible enemies with high-class weapons to be used against ourselves was clear, and the more open question of the export of the raw material appeared to Elizabethan statesmen equally impolitic. Forfeiture, fines, and patriotic sentiment, however, were alike powerless against

⁵⁵ The iron bars appear to have been usually packed in casks.

⁵⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvi, plate 8e.

⁵⁷ *Suss. Rec. Soc.* iii, 31.

⁵⁸ Add. MSS. 33155, 33156.

⁵⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xix, 34.

⁶⁰ Ibid. xiii, 128.

⁶¹ Ibid. 129.

⁶² Exch. Dep. by Com. 30 Eliz. Easter, No. 8.

⁶³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 31.

⁶⁴ Ibid. xxxii, 25.

⁶⁵ *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 192.

⁶⁶ Exch. K.R. Accts. 501, No. 3.

⁶⁷ Add. MS. 33155, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 193.

⁶⁹ Drayton, *Polyolbion* (1612), quoted in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 197.

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the handsome profits of this contraband trade, and seizures of iron destined for foreign parts were frequent, no fewer than fourteen cases occurring in 1591 at Lewes and Newhaven alone, John Harman of Lewes in one case exporting twenty-six 'sacars and miniones' worth £312, and in another case forty-five 'sacars, minions, and falcons' worth £420; while Ludolph Ingolsted of Hamburg shipped iron gun-metal to the weight of 40,000 lb.⁷⁰ Six years later eighteen cases of the unlicensed export of wrought iron were reported from Chichester, Newhaven, Shoreham, Arundel, and Rye, the largest quantity being 26 'casks,' valued at £312.⁷¹ A further check was put upon such illicit export by granting monopolies. Thus in 1574 Ralph Hogge, the crown ordnance maker, complained of the infringement of his patent for the sole export of ordnance, and bonds were taken of the holders of more than a hundred ironworks⁷² in the county not to export. In 1626 the monopoly of export was held by Philip Burlamack and Philip Jacobson, and that of manufacturing ordnance and shot in Sussex and Kent by John Browne and Sackville Crowe,⁷³ the latter of whom held the export monopoly in 1620. About this date, not only the products of the Sussex forges but also their workers were apparently in demand abroad, and efforts were made in 1627 to induce workmen at Maresfield to give their services to foreign employers.⁷⁴

During the Civil War a certain amount of injury was done to ironworks held by royalists, those at Ifield being apparently destroyed by Waller's troops,⁷⁵ but those belonging to the crown were evidently not damaged, as is shown by the survey of the iron-mills in St. Leonard's Forest in 1650.⁷⁶ The period of the Commonwealth was at first one of much activity, especially during the Dutch War, but was succeeded by a period of slackness, so much so, that of twenty-seven furnaces which were working in 1653 (seventeen of which cast ordnance and shot) seven were completely ruined before 1664, and ten others had been discontinued and only repaired shortly before that date, when the war brought a revival of the iron trade; and of forty-two forges working in 1653, nineteen were ruined, five others stood unused, and only eighteen continued 'in hope of encouragement' in 1664.⁷⁷ The reason for this depression,

according to the grand jury at Lewes in 1661,⁷⁸ was

the Importacon of great Quantities of Swedish Iron (made after the English fashion though not soe usefull, to y^e abuse and deceit of the Buyer and workeman) and other Foraine iron at low rates.

It was further alleged that the object of the foreigners was to capture the English market, when they would be able to raise their prices as they chose:—

It will be proved upon oath that some Swedes who brought over iron this yeare, being demanded why they imported soe great quantities at such low rates, plainly affirmed that they hoped thereby to destroy the making of Englishe iron.

His late Ma^{ties} Gunfounder formerly carryed over great quantities of guns into Holland hoping to sell them at the Swedes price, but the Swede thereupon lowered his price from 20^{li} p ton to 12^{li} p ton till he had beate out the English gunfounder, and then raised it to 20^{li} p ton againe which is his present designe.

As a remedy the jury prayed for an additional impost of at least 40s. per ton on the Swedish iron, adducing other arguments of which the most remarkable, in view of the havoc wrought by the furnaces in Sussex woods, was that,

As woods maintaine iron workes soe doe iron workes mutually maintaine them and in them great quantities of timber soe that timber is not cheaper on any part of this Island. . . . Nor can any timber be destroyed by Iron workes, being above four times in vallue more than the price of cordwood commonly used for that purpose. . . . If the English iron works cease the coppices will be grubbed up, which are the great nurseries of timber.

The counter argument was advanced that English iron was of bad quality, to which the reply was made:

In Sussex and other places of England where iron is made the iron made there is much more proper for o^r English manufactures in scythes, hooches, sickles, white-ware, nayles and many other things then Swedish iron, from whence it comes that those whoe worke y^e English Iron will and doe give higher prizes to the same men and at the same Markettes then for Swedish Iron.

A considerable recovery took place about this time in the Sussex iron industry, partly owing to the constant demand for military supplies. A letter of April, 1695, sent apparently to one of the Fullers, owners of several works in East Sussex, mentions the sale of twenty-eight small guns to the Ordnance Office at £16 10s. per ton, and asks for twenty minions of 5½ ft. and twenty 3-pounders of 5 ft. to be sent up, and further sends a list of guns required for the fleet.⁷⁹ The Waldron furnace turned out 100 tons of shot

⁷⁰ Memo. K.R. Mich. 33 Eliz. m. 64-78.

⁷¹ Ibid. Mich. 39 Eliz. m. 422-31; as the 'cask' is uniformly valued at £12, and quantities of 500 lb. are valued at £3, it is clear that the 'cask' contained 2,000 lb.

⁷² The list is printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 240-5.

⁷³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 178.

⁷⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1627-8, pp. 196, 254.

⁷⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 211.

⁷⁶ Ibid. xxiv, 238-41.

⁷⁷ Ibid. xviii, 15-16; xxxii, 21-3.

⁷⁸ Add. MSS. 33058, fol. 81-9; cp. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxii, 25.

⁷⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxii, 32.

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between 25 October, 1690, and the June, the cost being as follows :—⁸⁰

	£	s.	d.
P ^d to Joseph Mittell for making y ^e shott moldes for 32 payer of 24 pounders at 1 ^s . y ^e pair	1	12	0
P ^d to him for making of 42 payer of 12 pounder at 1 ^s . y ^e payer	2	2	0
P ^d to him for making 54 paire of 9 pound' at 1 ^s . y ^e paire	2	14	0
P ^d to him for setting y ^e Broad R upon y ^e 128 paire at 3 ^d . y ^e paire	1	12	0
P ^d for making of one hundred tunn of Shott at seaven shill' y ^e Tunn	35	0	0
P ^d for carying of 90 Tunn and a halfe to Lewes of y ^e s ^d shott at 5 ^s . 6 ^d . ye Tunn	24	17	9
	67	17	9

For some years the Waldron accounts continue to contain entries relative to the making of shot, and between October, 1694, and May, 1695, the furnace turned out over 150 tons of 'shelles and carracases,' and about 3 tons of shell-moulds.⁸¹ The discovery, however, of the way to use mineral coal for iron-smelting brought dangerous competitors into the field in the north and west of England, so that during the eighteenth century the number of Sussex ironworks rapidly dwindled. By 1740 there were in the county

only ten furnaces, with a total annual output of only 1,400 tons. Cannon were still made in considerable quantities at Heathfield⁸² and other places, especially at the Gravetye and Warren furnaces on the borders of Sussex and Surrey, from which place large numbers of guns ranging from 3-pounders to 32-pounders were carried to Woolwich about 1762,⁸³ and at the Gloucester furnace in Lamberhurst, whose owner, Mr. Legas, made a large fortune before his death in 1752.⁸⁴ From this last-named furnace also came a series of iron castings representing scriptural subjects, apparently taken from German originals by Thomas Prickett, about 1770.⁸⁵ The greatest production of the Lamberhurst ironworks in some ways was the massive iron railing cast for St. Paul's in the early part of the eighteenth century, at a cost of over £11,000.⁸⁶ This furnace, owing to mismanagement, came to an end in 1765;⁸⁷ one in West Sussex, at Linchmere, struggled on until 1776,⁸⁸ but by 1788 there were only two furnaces left in the county,⁸⁹ and that of Farnhurst succumbed shortly after this date, so that by 1796 there was but one solitary survivor.⁹⁰ The last of the Sussex ironworks was that at Ashburnham, of which the furnace appears to have blown out about 1811,⁹¹ though the forge was continued for some years longer, and only abandoned about 1822.⁹²

BELL-FOUNDING

The earliest reference to the casting of bells in Sussex appears to be the entry, in the twelfth-century list¹ of householders in the vill of Battle, of the message of Ædric 'qui signa fundebat,' which Mr. Lower translates, probably quite correctly, as 'who cast the bells.' From this time down to the late sixteenth century we have no definite proof of the existence of any bell-founder in Sussex, but from the evidence so carefully collected by Mr. Daniel-Tyssen,² it is clear that many of the ancient bells still hanging in the churches of Sussex were cast within the county, though under the direction of founders 'from the shires,' to use the local term for the inhabitants of other counties. That this was the case at a later date is sufficiently established by actual records. Thus the four bells of All Saints', Hastings, were cast in that town in 1614, by, or under the direction of two founders whose works were seated at Chichester and Tarring; four at Hailsham were cast in 1663 by William Hull, foreman of John Hodson, a London founder, at

Bell Banks in that parish, which appears to have been subsequently chosen, in 1676, as the place for re-casting one of the Ninfield bells. In 1673 the earl of Dorset contributed towards the cost of re-casting a peal of five for the church of Withyham, which had been burnt down ten years earlier, and further provided fuel for melting the metal; three of these bells were re-cast at Withyham in 1715 by John Waylett, an itinerant founder, by whom some forty Sussex bells were made, mostly in their own or adjacent parishes, as, for instance, those of Ripe in 1717, and one at St. Clement's, Hastings, in 1718. Early in 1724 Waylett erected a temporary furnace at Lewes, where he re-cast the bells of St. John-sub-Castro, those of Laughton, and one of the Mayfield peal, for which he further made a new bell. Another itinerant founder was John Wood of Bishopsgate, who in 1697 visited Hastings, and cast three bells for All Saints' and one for St. Clement's, the latter parish providing 'four hundred and a quarter and twenty-four

⁸⁰ Add. MS. 33156, fol. 5.

⁸¹ Ibid. fol. 58.

¹ *Chron. of Battle Abbey*, trans. by M. A. Lower, p. 17.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 138-232. To this admirable article I am indebted for the materials for my own article, except where other references are given.

⁸² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 211.

⁸³ Ibid. xlv, 64-8.

⁸⁴ Ibid. ii, 213.

⁸⁵ Ibid. xxxix, 214; xlv, 40-41.

⁸⁶ Ibid. ii, 203.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 213.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 214.

⁸⁹ Ibid. iii, 247.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid. xxxvi, 3.

⁹² Ibid. xxxiii, 267.

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pound of Brass Gunn which was had of Mr. Thomas Lovell'; he was next year at Alfriston, where he cast one of the bells of the parish church and one for that of Berwick, giving in the latter case a bond that the bell should be 'found tuneable.'

Arguing from the known to the unknown, we may safely assume that at an earlier period, when transport was even more difficult than in the seventeenth century, bells would be more often made in temporary furnaces erected by itinerant founders, than sent from, say, Reading or London, to their destinations in Sussex. The principal foundries from which this county was supplied seem to have been at London and Reading; to the latter may be assigned a group of nine West-Sussex bells—at Eastbourne (2), Elsted, Cocking (2), Fittleworth, Findon, Felpham, and West Itchenor. A group of twelve mid-Sussex bells—at Preston, Pyecombe, Wivelsfield, Clayton, Edburton, Little Horsted, Woodmancote, Litlington, Tarring Neville, and Iford (3)—bear a shield³ with what is apparently the monogram of Thomas Lawrence, who succeeded to the business of William Culverden of Houndsditch about 1523, and it is most probable that all this group were cast at or near Lewes, possibly at two separate visits, as the bells at Clayton, Iford, and Litlington differ slightly from the remainder of the series. Lewes may also have been the birth-place of ten handsome bells cast in the reign of Henry VIII by John Tonne, for Lewes (the market tower), Beddingham, Keymer, Twineham, Sullington, Botolphs (3), Findon, and Rotherfield.

Edmund Giles of Lewes appears to have been the first known bell-founder resident within the county, and he was probably also an ironfounder, as the implements of that trade are figured on two of his bells—at Portslade and South Bersted; indeed, from the small number of his bells that are known, only nineteen, and those covering a period of nineteen years, from 1595 to 1614, this portion of his trade could hardly have supplied a living. He died in February, 1614–15, his Lewes foundry passing to his relative, Thomas Giles, bell-founder of Chichester, of whose earlier work only three specimens remain, at Mayfield 1602, Oving 1613, and South Bersted 1614. After his settlement in Lewes Thomas Giles cast bells between 1615 and 1621 for Cliffe, Glynde, Beeding, Findon, Chiddingly, and Ashburnham. It is probable that he sold his Chichester business to Thomas Wakefield, whose foundry in that town turned out about a dozen bells of poor execution for West Sussex parishes between 1615 and 1618.

³ Fig. 22 in Mr. Daniel-Tyssen's account; the reference to Thomas Lawrence is in a note facing this illustration, but the writer did not connect the two, though I think there can be little doubt about the reading of the monogram.

Wakefield had previously been in partnership with Roger Tapsell of West Tarring, whose father Henry had been a bell-founder before him, Henry Tapsell's initials occurring alone on a bell at Bury in 1599, and in conjunction with his son's on one at Felpham in 1600. Tapsell and Wakefield together cast bells at Hastings, Washington, and Stopham in 1614, after which year, as we have seen, the latter set up for himself at Chichester, but he does not seem to have long prospered there, as in 1621 he and Roger Tapsell are again found together casting a bell for Graftham. This partnership did not last apparently, as Tapsell is found working by himself down to 1633, in which year he made bells for Pevensy and Chiddingly. Wakefield's name occurs again in 1628 at Up Marden, this time in connexion with Bryan Eldridge, the founder of the famous Chertsey foundry and previously connected with Wokingham and Horsham.

As early as 1593 we find bells sent from Slinfold⁴ and Lindfield⁵ to Horsham to be re-cast, so that there was evidently at least a temporary foundry there at this time, and Mr. Stahlschmidt⁶ suggests that this may have been the establishment of a founder whose initials A.W. appear on eight Sussex bells, ranging from 1594 to 1605, as well as on several in Kent and Surrey. It is, however, evident that the foundry had ceased to work before 1606, as in that year the parishioners of Slinfold, wishing to have one of their bells re-cast, had to send it to Whitechapel, incurring expenses⁷ naturally very much in excess of those of 1593 when they could get their work done at Horsham. From 1610 to 1622 there was a permanent foundry known as the 'Bell House' leased by the churchwardens to Richard Eldridge, formerly of Wokingham, and the Slinfold people availed themselves of its existence to have two more bells recast in 1611 and 1618,⁸ while in the parish accounts of Horsham⁹ there are many entries of work done by Eldridge in connexion with the bells. Bryan Eldridge was tenant of the 'Bell House' in 1618, when he cast a bell for Ifield, but he removed soon after this date to Chertsey, where he rapidly established a large connexion in Surrey and Sussex, the latter county being apparently without any local foundry after 1623, when Richard Eldridge disappears from Horsham, from which place bells were sent to Chertsey in 1633, 1645, and 1652. At this latter date there was a small foundry at Chiddingly in the hands of John Lulham, who

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 88.

⁵ *Ibid.* 82 n.

⁶ *The Church Bells of Surrey*, 109.

⁷ The details of these expenses are given from the churchwardens' accounts by Mr. Rice; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxi, 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* 81–94.

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cast some bells for Eastbourne in 1651, but his business must have been very small as only two specimens of his work now remain, at Cliffe, bearing the date 1649. An establishment of more importance was that of William Hull who acted as foreman to a great London bell-founder, John Hodson, between 1654 and 1671, in which capacity he superintended the re-casting of the Hailsham peal in 1663. About 1672 he appears to have worked for Michael Darbie, his initials occurring on two of Darbie's bells at Withyham in 1674; finally in 1676 he set up for himself at South Malling, where during the

next eleven years he produced more than a score of bells, the largest being the tenors of Catsfield and St. Clement's, Hastings. Upon his death in 1687 he left his business to his son John Hull, who, however, seems to have only cast one bell, that at Kingston, bearing the date 1687, which was probably in the foundry at the time of his father's death. This was most likely the last bell cast in the county, and since this date Sussex has been supplied with bells almost entirely by the Whitechapel foundry, from which some four hundred bells in this county derive their origin.

POTTERY¹

That earthenware was made in Sussex previous to and during the Roman occupation is certain, but no particular characteristics appear by which the products of this district may be distinguished. Traces have been found of a Roman pottery and brickfield at Bignor,² and recent excavations at Pevensey suggest that part at least of the tiles there used were manufactured on the spot. It is not until the late twelfth century that any distinctive Sussex pottery appears, but to that date may be assigned two remarkable objects, of which one, found at Lewes in 1846, is a rude representation of a man on horseback, while the other, found at Seaford in 1858, is of somewhat similar design, being in the shape of an animal of which the flanks are ornamented with small grotesque figures in relief. Both are hollow and were apparently designed to contain liquids, and the glaze in each case is a light green.³ From comparison with a number of fragments found with the remains of several kilns at 'Bohemia' in Hastings,⁴ it seems highly probable that they were products of these Hastings potteries.

To the thirteenth century may be ascribed a number of green glazed pitchers and jugs found in 1867 at Horsham, and evidently of local origin, as the iron tool with which they had been roughly ornamented was found with them.⁵ Some more pieces of a similar ware were found at Horsham in the summer of 1906,⁶ and the site of the kilns was probably commemorated by the name Pottersfield, which occurs in a rental

of 1532.⁷ Midhurst would seem to have been another seat of the industry at this time, as an inquisition of 1283 mentions a rent of 36s. 8d. called 'Potterresgavel,'⁸ this being presumably a payment similar to that of the potters of Ringmer. In this latter parish a sum of 9d. was paid yearly by each potter for licence to dig clay on the Broyle Common; this customary payment can be traced back to 1312, when however the number of potters paying is not given.⁹ In 1349 there were six potters at Ringmer paying 4s. 6d.;¹⁰ in 1388 the three potters then working gave in addition to their customary dues of 2s. 3d., a further 300 eggs for licence to dig clay in the forest of the Broyle.¹¹ There were four potters in 1395,¹² but next year it is noted that three had died;¹³ their numbers subsequently rose to six or seven, but again an epidemic, possibly the 'sweating sickness,' attacked them, and in 1457 no payments are recorded from the potters 'because they are dead and no one has taken their place.'¹⁴ The industry subsequently revived, and in 1485 there were seven potters working,¹⁵ and the same number as late as 1530.¹⁶ The sites of two of the Ringmer kilns were opened up in 1894.¹⁷ The dimensions of the bricks, or blocks of roughly moulded unbaked clay, of which the kilns were built, were unusual, in the one case being 7½ in. by 3½ in. by 2½ in., and in the other 9¾ in. by 4¾ in. by 2½ in. They appear to have been cemented by the use of a sandy loam which vitrified under the heat of the furnace. The beds of the kilns inclosed longitudinal passages covered in with narrow arches, the spaces between which apparently served to

¹ I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Heneage Legge for most of the items from the Lambeth Court Rolls relating to Ringmer and Mayfield.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xi, 139.

³ *Ibid.* x, 193-4; cf. the example found in Wilts.; *Arch. Journ.* No. 102, p. 188; and the miniature specimen showing a female figure mounted on a pig (?) in brown pottery, found at Hastings; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 190.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xi, 230; xii, 268.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Antiquary*, Oct. 1906.

⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v, 260.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. Edw. I.*, No. 533.

⁹ *Min. Accts. bdle.* 1128, No. 4.

¹⁰ Lambeth Ct. R. 1301.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 927.

¹² *Ibid.* 929.

¹³ *Ibid.* 937.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1302.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1328.

¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 128-38.

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transmit the hot air to the superimposed tiles and earthenware. The hearths were charged through arched openings at their ends with charcoal fuel. The ware manufactured appears from the fragments to have been simple types of domestic vessels, unglazed or with a slight yellow glaze, the only ornamentation as a rule being nail marks on the handles.

A considerable manufacture of earthenware appears to have existed at Graffham in the fourteenth century, as we are told in 1341¹⁸ that the vicar has 'a composition (*commoditatem*) from the men who made clay pots (*olla lutea*) which is worth 12d.' Two potters occur in the poll tax of 1380 at Lindfield,¹⁹ and a 'Pottereslane' is mentioned in 1403 at Harting,²⁰ while about the same date Brede appears to have been a centre of the industry, John Harry, potter, being one of the leading inhabitants and an owner of lands which he granted in 1404 to John Clerk, potter.²¹

Another branch of the mediaeval potter's art was the manufacture of tiles. It is generally held that the decorative encaustic tiles used in monastic houses were usually made in the immediate neighbourhood and often designed by the monks themselves, and although Sussex cannot boast of any tiles to rival those of Chertsey Abbey in Surrey, some of the specimens found in the county, and especially those from the sites of Dureford Abbey and Lewes Priory, show considerable artistic merit. A kiln at Hastings was evidently used for the manufacture of encaustic tiles during the thirteenth century,²² but no other site of this branch of the industry is known. Plain roofing tiles, however, were made at Mayfield during the fifteenth century, the earliest reference, apparently, being in 1456, when there were 500 tiles left over from the previous year, and another 11,000 were made, of which 9,000 were used upon the estate for repairs; the expenses of making these tiles included 2s. 6d. for the cutting, preparation, and carriage of underwood.²³ Two years later no tiles were made,²⁴ and in 1461 the kiln (*thorale*) brought in no profits, as all the tiles made had been used on the estate.²⁵ In 1465 as many as 17,000 tiles were made at a cost of 44s. 4d., the charge for the actual making being at the rate of 2s. the thousand, in addition to which there were payments for fuel, for digging clay and sand, and for filling the seven kilns (*putei*); of these tiles 13,000 were sold for 52s.²⁶ The tiles were apparently of two kinds, flat and 'concave,' the latter being made in comparatively small

numbers, 16,500 of the flat tiles being used in one instance against only 50 of the concave.²⁷ Another seat of the industry was at Battle, where the abbot in 1521 granted John Trewe a ten years' lease of a tile kiln, with licence to dig clay and gravel.²⁸ This kiln was evidently still working in 1535, as the *Valor* mentions '26s. 8d. for rent of a building in Batell called a Tyle-house.'²⁹ The more recent history of tile making in Sussex is so closely connected with the brick industry that the two may best be treated together.

A remarkable instance of the use of terra-cotta mouldings of great artistic merit at Laughton Place in 1534³⁰ must not be left unnoticed, though for some reason this admirable example was not followed elsewhere in the county, and terra-cotta did not become an article of industrial importance until the nineteenth century.

The history of the potter's art in this county takes a fresh start in the eighteenth century with the appearance of a definite type of Sussex ware. This, which much resembles that made at Wrotham in Kent,

is of two main descriptions; a dark rich brown coloured pottery, mottled and streaked with a darker tint, called 'tortoiseshell' ware; and a highly glazed rich burnt-sienna coloured ware, with decorations in yellow clay artistically impressed into the body in patterns of great delicacy.³¹

The dark speckling of the first-mentioned kind is due to the presence of iron-oxide, and is particularly characteristic of the pottery from the east of the county at Iden and Rye. The white or yellowish ornamentation was of soft pipe-clay, which was at first applied with a quill, but in the later and more finished examples the design was stamped or incised upon the body of the ware and the incisions filled with the pipe-clay. A third method, employed as being more durable and less liable to chip, was to use the pipe-clay in a more liquid form, painting it on with a brush.³² The earliest known example of this ware is said to be a small two-handled mug from Wadhurst with raised slip-decorations and the date 1721,³³ but no other dated piece is known earlier than 1774, to which year belongs an elaborately ornamented vase believed to have come from the Dicker potteries.³⁴ The most important of the Sussex potteries were those at Chailey. Here was made a punch bowl by Robert Bustow in 1791, and it is probably to the same hand that we owe the similar but finer example now in

²⁷ Ibid. 695.

²⁸ Thorpe, *Cal. Battle Abbey Chart*. 136.

²⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii, 346.

³⁰ *Suss. Arch.* vii, 69-72.

³¹ *Reliquary*, Jan. 1903.

³² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 28-9. ³³ Ibid. 30.

³⁴ Ibid. 30, 59. A 'crock kiln' and a brick kiln at the Dicker, belonging to William Cuckney, were sold in July, 1779 (*Suss. Weekly Advertiser*).

¹⁸ *Inq. Nonarum* (Rec. Com.), 361.

¹⁹ Lay Subs. $\frac{1}{4} \frac{8}{1}$.

²⁰ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 126, No. 1870.

²¹ Ibid. bdle. 206, No. 59.

²² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xi, 230.

²³ Lambeth Ct. R. 1302.

²⁴ Ibid. 1303.

²⁵ Ibid. 1305.

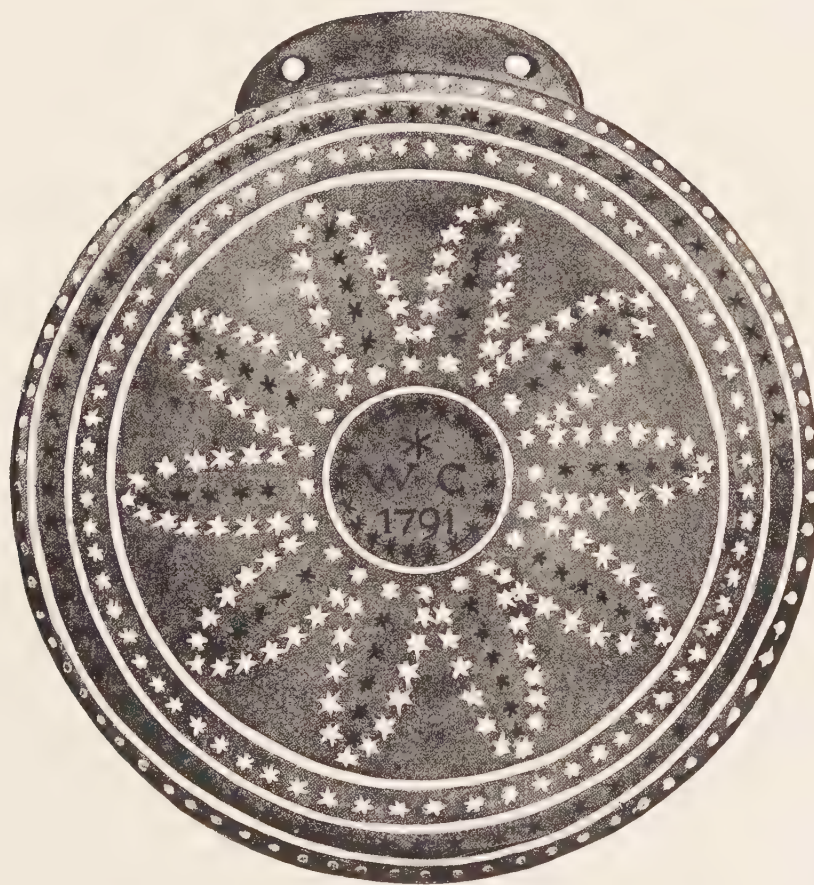
²⁶ Ibid. 1306.



TWO-HANDLED CUP, FROM WADHURST



TEA-POT OF SUSSEX WARE, 1806



SPIRIT FLASK, MADE AT EASTBOURNE, 1791



BOWL MADE AT CHAILEY, 1792. (In the possession of Sir William Grantham)

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Sir William Grantham's possession; this bears the date 1792, and the name of Thomas Alcorn of Chailey, for (or possibly by) whom it was made, and well executed festoons and a rhyming inscription.³⁵ From about 1827 to about 1848 a number of articles occur bearing the names of members of the family of Norman, who still hold the Chailey potteries.

Of the articles turned out by the Sussex potteries two are peculiar and typical. The first is the famous 'Sussex pig,' known traditionally throughout the county, but now so rare as to be unobtainable except in modern copies. This was a model of a plump and well-conditioned pig, very different from the ungraceful Sussex swine against which Dr. Burton inveighed in 1751,³⁶ standing sturdily upon its four legs, but capable of sitting up when required to serve as a vessel for liquor, its head removing and serving as a cup so that, as the oft-repeated joke went, the guest might drink a hogshead of liquor without harmful effects. The other article was a flattish round flask, one side of which was ornamented with a dial-clock face, while the other side had some conventional decoration, and the edge usually bore an inscription testifying to the merits of the flask's contents.

About 1850 a new variety of Sussex pottery sprang up, Mr. W. Mitchell of the old Cadborough works and his son Mr. F. Mitchell, who built the Bellevue Potteries at Rye, introducing the so called 'rustic ware' which has had and still has a considerable vogue. It is of a peculiar shade of brown, obtained by blending Dorset clay with the native material,³⁷ and is remarkable for being ornamented with green sprays and clusters of hops, acorns, leaves, or flowers carefully modelled from nature.

The clay is mixed, well beaten, sifted with great care, once, twice, three times, and washed in the clay pan. This is filled every spring. When washed the clay looks like cream. It lies in the pan for months, dries, and then is stored for use—sufficient to last a year. When used it is weighed, so much to each article, and spun in the old fashioned way upon the wheel . . . The moulded pieces are left to dry until they can bear the weight of ornaments. These are then added, the ware is biscuited, glazed, kiln-dried—in seggars—and turned out for sale.³⁸

Besides these ornately decorated objects, the Rye potteries now turn out large quantities of simpler fancy articles, the demand for which extends beyond the boundaries of the county.

BRICKMAKING

When the use and manufacture of bricks first began in Sussex, after they had fallen into disuse with the ending of the Roman period, is not known, but the county possesses probably the finest early brick edifice in England in Herstmonceux castle. Documentary evidence relative to bricks is scanty for the early period; the churchwardens' accounts at Rye for 1517 record the payment of 8s. 9d. for 6,000 bricks for a chimney,¹ which is rather under 1s. 6d. the 1,000, but other entries to compare with this are lacking, so that we cannot say whether this was a normal price. In 1584 Roger Gratwick is recorded to have burnt 'one clamp of brickes' in St. Leonard's Forest for use in Gosden furnace and in his house at Cowfold.^{1a} Brickmakers occur at Hollington in 1580 and 1590,² at Ringmer in 1588 and 1594,³ and again in 1640, at Hailsham in 1603 and 1640, and at Barcombe in 1619.⁴ During the eighteenth century references to bricks and their makers become more numerous, and at the end of that century there would seem to have

been a local boom in the trade, as the *Lewes Journal* in 1792 recorded that

so great is the rage for building in this town and neighbourhood that among all the brick kilns within two miles round there cannot be got a quantity of bricks sufficient for finishing our bell tower within the limited time.⁵

About the same time Young recorded⁶ that:—

Near Petworth a kiln has been lately constructed for supplying the West Indies; an open-kiln, and a dome-kiln, each holding 28,000; they take thirty hours burning with 2,500 bavins, at 9s. per 100: three men fill in three days and draw in three more. If the demand was brisk the kiln would burn all the year. In 1796 only 300,000 (bricks) and 100,000 tiles were made; sold at 29s. per thousand on the spot, at Arundel 34s. To burn 400,000 requires nine men; wages 4s. 6d. per thousand. Size 9 inches, 4, 2½.

With the prices here given may be compared some of earlier date. In 1704, T. Gibson and W. Danne supplied 4,500 bricks for rebuilding Waldron furnace at 20s. the 1,000,⁷ and in 1692 the accounts for Brightling forge record the payment of 13s. 6d. to T. Pankhurst for 1,000 tiles 'at his kelle,' that is to say exclusive of

³⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvii, 55.

³⁶ *Ibid.* viii, 259.

³⁷ *Suss. Industries*, 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 4.

¹ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 480.

^{1a} *Exch. Dep. by Com.* 27 Eliz. Hil. No. 1.

² *Cal. of Wills at Lewes*.

³ *Reliquary*, Jan. 1903.

⁴ *Cal. of Wills at Lewes*.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xl, 257.

⁶ *Agriculture of Suss.* 436.

⁷ *Add. MS.* 33154, fol. 36.

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carriage.⁸ In 1648 there were bought for the same forge of William Roberts 11,000 tiles at 17s. 4d. the 1,000, 100 gutter and 100 corner tiles at 12s. 6d. the 100, and sixty 'redging' or ridge tiles at 2d. the tile; but these prices included carriage to the forge.⁹

The clay at Littlehampton¹⁰ and Worthing¹¹ yields a good quality of white brick, but it is especially for a warm red colour that Sussex bricks have obtained a good name, the best examples coming from the Ditchling, Keymer, and Burgess Hill district, where there are several large works turning out bricks, tiles, and pots, and a certain amount of more ornamental ware. The Hove Town Hall is a good example of brickwork from these yards, and Ditchling terra-cotta has been used not only at the Children's Hospital in

Brighton, but in the Central Station at Manchester, for the Martyrs' Memorial at Stratford, and the City Market at Dublin.¹² A good quality of brick much used for paving is turned out by the Dicker potteries and brickyards, and the industry flourishes over a wide area of the county, more especially in the east, 156 firms of brick and tile makers being recorded in the *Directory* for 1905, of whom most were in the neighbourhood of Hastings, Polegate, Worthing, Horsham, Ditchling, and Uckfield. The number of persons employed in brickmaking in the county rose from 633 in 1851 to 1,486 in 1901, but is possibly slightly lower at present, as the great demand for bricks which was so noticeable about 1900 has very much slackened since that time.

GLASS

One of the chief centres of the manufacture of glass during the mediaeval period¹ was at Chiddingfold in Surrey, from which place the industry spread over the border into Sussex, glass-houses existing during the fourteenth century at Kirdford,² Wisborough Green, and Loxwood. None of these, probably, were of as great importance as the Chiddingfold works, and it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that Sussex became prominently associated with the industry. In 1567 Jean Carré, a glass merchant, settled in England with the encouragement of the queen. The place selected by Carré for his works was Farnfold Wood in Wisborough, where he erected 'two houses to make glass and one fair dwelling-house covered with shingles, and the windows thereof well glazed.'³ For fuel he hired 'the spoil of the wood growing there' at a rent of £35.⁴ In August, 1567, Carré appears to have taken into partnership Anthony Becku *alias* Dolyn, but the partnership does not seem to have been a success, possibly owing to jealousy between the workers. Carré himself came from Antwerp, but his associates were from Lorraine, while Becku appears to have introduced workers from Normandy.⁵ At a later date the two

classes appear to have worked together, as the parish registers of Wisborough between 1581 and 1600 contain the names (in corrupted shapes) of Hennezel, Thiétry, Thisac, Bongar, and Cacqueray, all members of the 'gentilshommes verriers,' the first three being from Lorraine and the last two from Normandy.⁶ At first, however, there was considerable friction, Becku complaining that although Carré had entered into partnership with him he had subsequently made agreements with John Chevalier and Thomas and Belthazar de Hennezel of Lorraine to his exclusion. By this last agreement, made in April, 1568, Chevalier and the Hennezels were to erect two ovens in England, to bring over four 'gentlemen glasiérs,' and to make every day 'in eche of the said ovens the quantitie of thirtie bundells of glas whyte or coullers good lawfull and merchaunt-able of good height and largnes well proportioned.' The costs were to be shared, and the Hennezels, who were to be in control of the ovens, were to receive annually 200 crowns as their third of the glass produced, the further profits being divided, half to the Hennezels and half to the other partners.⁷ It is difficult to make out exactly what happened, but apparently Jean Carré had only entered into partnership with Becku in order to prevent his starting for himself, and then managed, through Becku's foreman, Pierre Briet, to prevent his workmen from carrying out their engagements, so that none of the 200 cases of Normandy glass which should have been made between 23 October and the following Easter had then been turned out. As a result Becku lost about £280, the wages paid being very high, 'for the principall workeman hathe daylie xviiiis., and for that he is bounde to

⁸ Add. MS. 33156, fol. 16.

⁹ Add. MS. 33155, fol. 43.

¹⁰ Young, *op. cit.* 436.

¹¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxv, 97. ¹² *Suss. Indus.* 82.

¹ The discovery in 1848 of certain lumps of coloured glass has suggested the possibility of a Romano-British glass manufactory having existed between Brighton and Rottingdean, but the evidence is incomplete. Hartshorne, *Old English Glasses*, 108-9.

² On 3 April, 1380, John Glasewryth, of Staffordshire, had a grant of house and land in Shuerwode, Kirdford, and there made 'brodeglass' and 'vessel' (i.e. window glass and drinking vessels); *ibid.* 132.

³ Add. MS. 5701, fol. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Antiquary*, xxx, 211.

⁶ *Scottish Antiquary*, vii, 150.

⁷ *Antiquary*, xxx, 213.

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make iii caces of glass.' Moreover, the rival parties came to blows, Becku's son-in-law, who was in charge of his glass-house, being severely mishandled ;⁸ accordingly, in August, 1569, Richard Onslow and William More were appointed to examine and inquire into the quarrel between Anthony Breku (*sic*), John Carré, Peter and John Bougan (? Bongar) and others, glassmakers in Sussex.⁹ The end of the dispute is uncertain, but the West Sussex glass-houses continued working for many years longer ; as only foreigners were employed, the workers keeping their secret jealously, they appear to have been unpopular in the neighbourhood, and in April, 1574, the bishop of Chichester recorded the arrest of certain persons near Petworth who had planned to rob the French glassmakers and burn their houses.¹⁰

Besides the works near Wisborough there were also glass-houses in the eastern portion of the county, but whereas the former were mainly for the manufacture of window glass and were controlled by Frenchmen, the latter were for drinking-glasses and ornamental glassware, and were managed by a Venetian. In March, 1579, Sebastian Orlanden, of Venice, was involved in a dispute with John Smith, citizen and glazier of London, concerning the glass-house at Beckley. Stephen Duvall, of London, a Frenchman, deposed that the said Sebastian ought to have a third share with Godfrey Delahay for the making of 'bugles' at Beckley, and that the said Godfrey had sold to John Smith all the wares, stuff, and instruments which were at Beckley. Two glassworkers belonging to the works also gave evidence ; John Okes, of Beckley, said that, being a workman in the glass-house at Beckley, he knew what was made there, and that there were two great baskets of glass, two 'paniers of canvas amell,' and ten cases of 'ameld' canvas. Sondaye Exanta, of Loraine, glassworker, said that the above-named Godfrey

on 18 January last past sold to John Smith all his goods in the glass-house at Beckley, with all the stuff for making 'amells (? enamels) and glasse in collers,' and tools, &c.¹¹ Smith's right to a share in the works appears to have been proved, as in 1581 we find a dispute in progress between Jacomo Virzilini, glassmaker, and John Smith and Sebastian Orlandini concerning a certain furnace that had been pulled down.¹² This was evidently the Beckley furnace, as in January, 1581, the authorities at Rye made a note that a glass-house which had been of late in Beckley had destroyed much wood, and now another had been set up in the adjoining parish of Northiam.¹³ Their further declaration of the harmfulness of glass-houses owing to the ease with which they could be moved as the neighbouring woods were exhausted seems to have borne fruit, as in December of the same year the Privy Council took action against one of the Sussex glass works. It appears that one Gerard Ansyé, with certain other Frenchmen, had set up a glass-house within a mile of Hastings, to the annoyance and injury of the town ; Lord Montague was therefore requested to inquire into the matter and to forbid the felling of any wood for use in the glass-house until the Council had considered further.¹⁴ Probably these works were discontinued, but nothing more is to be found about them, and, indeed, the history of the glass industry in Sussex comes to an end at this time, though apparently glass continued to be made in the county as late as 1610,¹⁵ but the final prohibition of the use of wood fuel for glassmaking in 1615¹⁶ must have put a definite end to the industry. The only connexion of the county with the manufacture of glass at a later date appears to have been about the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was found that 'the white sand of Hastings is very good for glass ; a Mr. Sharpe took a contract for from three to 4,000 tons annually.'¹⁷

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Sussex with its turf-clad downs and well-watered levels must always have been adapted for sheep-farming, but it would seem that whatever the quantity of wool produced in early times the quality was poor. In 1337, when the king required 30,000 sacks of wool, the price to be given for a sack of Sussex wool was fixed at 6 marks, the lowest price being 5 marks for

that from the barren district of the four northernmost counties of the realm, while Herefordshire wool scaled as high as 12 marks.¹ According, however, to the valuation of 1343 the best Sussex wool was worth £6, just the average price for the whole kingdom, that from the marshes being put at £5.² The religious houses in the county at this time trading in wool with the Italian and Flemish merchants were the Cistercian abbey of Robertsbridge and the Pre-

⁸ *Antiquary*, xxx, 212.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii, 621.

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 95, No. 82.

¹¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 62.

¹² *Acts of P. C.* (New Ser.), xiii, 4.

¹³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 76.

¹⁴ *Acts of P. C.* (New Ser.), xiii, 281.

¹⁵ Speed. ¹⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1611-18, p. 287.

¹⁷ *Hastings Past and Present* (1855), 72.

¹ Close, 11 Edw. III, m. 32.

² Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, 628.

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monstratensian abbeys of Bayham and Dureford.³ A century later, in 1454, the price of Sussex wool was fixed at 50s. the sack, while that of Kent stood at £3, and of Hampshire at 7 marks.⁴ Great improvements, however, were wrought during the eighteenth century, at the end of which South Down fleeces were 'second only to those of Hereford and neighbourhood.'⁵ It is further remarked that :—

Sussex wool is soft and fine, and will make a good cloth in light and full blues and whites, and some other very sound colours ; but in olives, snuffs, &c., will not mill to a firm substance of cloth. A Yorkshire woollen manufacturer writes, 'We never were in the county of Sussex, but are told the wool of that county varies very much according to the kind of soil the sheep graze on. Sussex wool being the freest from black hairs of any English wool we are acquainted with must, on that account, be properest for light-coloured kerseymers ; and for dark-coloured kerseymers the same wool is suitable for them as for other plain-wove cloths of the same dark colours.'⁶

When, where, and how the Sussex woollen cloth industry originated cannot be said. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it can be said to have had an origin ; probably spinning and weaving were carried on in every village, and it was only gradually that special districts began to supply special kinds of cloth to the local and, after a time, to the foreign markets. The particular types of cloth which were manufactured in Sussex were kerseys and broadcloths. Winchelsea appears to have done a small trade in the export of woollen cloth about 1270, and as the same place also imported a good deal of woad it is probable that dyeing was also carried on there. One of the earliest references to a dyer appears to be a mention of one of that trade at Uckfield in 1300,^{6a} and another was resident in Rye in 1313,⁷ while in 1341 Stephen le Oghir had a dyer's establishment in Midhurst.⁸ Lewes, having been appointed in 1363 a port for the shipping of wool, subject to the staple established at Chichester in 1353,⁹ was naturally a centre of the wool and cloth trades ; in 1380 the poll-tax¹⁰ shows five wool buyers and six cloth merchants in the borough, as well as a wool merchant, a wool packer, and a weaver in Southover. In the immediate neighbourhood of Lewes, at Piddinghoe, were three weavers of woollen cloth and three shearmen¹¹ ; at South-ease one cloth weaver, a woman ; at Rodmell two. Further afield we find weavers of woollen cloth at Crawley, Preston, Perching, and Hurstpierpoint, at which place was also a cloth

merchant. About this time Lewes was celebrated for the manufacture of wimples,¹² the wimple being the lower part of the female head-dress covering the neck and chin ; one Robert 'le Wymppler' occurs as witness to a number of Lewes deeds of about 1275,¹³ and when William Wynter was accused, in 1374, of stealing from Margery Chelsham at Ashburnham, a 'keuerchef Lewense' worth 40d.,¹⁴ the reference is probably to a wimple. For the most part, however, the cloth made in the county was of a somewhat coarse nature, similar to that made in Surrey and Hampshire, and known as 'Guildford cloths' or 'Hampshire kerseys,' the fullers and other clothworkers of the three counties being classed together in 1391 as deceitfully stretching their cloth.¹⁵ The cloth exported from the Sussex ports about 1490¹⁶ was mainly broadcloth and kerseys ; the value of a complete piece of the former, or 'an hole brode clothe,' 24 yards, was 40s., but the kerseys were of various measurements, three kerseys, as a rule, containing one whole cloth. 'Fryse,' or frieze, 'cotton russetts,' which were made of wool and not of cotton in the modern sense, and 'course medley' are also found amongst the woollens exported, while imports of woad and madder and of 'tesyls,' or teazle heads, are also significant of the existence of the cloth industry.

Regulations were constantly made with the object of maintaining uniformity of measurement, the length of the piece of cloth being fixed at 24 yards, while in 1536 an Act was passed directing that all kerseys should be 1 yard in breadth within the border, orders being issued to the authorities at Chichester to postpone its operation to give the clothworkers time to obtain proper instruments.¹⁷ Against this Act the kersey makers of Sussex and five other counties protested, as owing to most of their trade being with foreign countries such restrictions could not well be borne.¹⁸ To secure that the assize of cloth was duly kept ulnagers were deputed to seal all cloths before their sale, and in 1463 Thomas Holme of Petworth was accused of having sold in London six pieces of kersey, each worth 6s. 8d., not sealed with the ulnager seal.¹⁹ In 1564 John Cooke of Petworth, a town noticed by Leland in his *Itinerary* as producing good cloth, was fined for selling in London two 'watchett kerseys lacking breadthe' ; Henry Chaundler, clothier of Sussex, was at the same time fined for a similar offence ; John Parker of

³ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, 628.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* x, 77.

⁵ Young, *Agriculture of Suss.* 359.

⁶ *Ibid.*

^{6a} Assize R. 934, m. 18 d.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 506a.

⁸ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xx, 10.

⁹ *Ibid.* x, 70-1.

¹⁰ Lay Subs. $\frac{189}{41}$.

¹¹ *Cissores panni lanuci.*

¹² *Engl. Hist. Rev.* vi, 501.

¹³ Anct. D. A 4223, A 4226, and others.

¹⁴ Gaol Delivery R. iii, m. 2 d.

¹⁵ *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 342.

¹⁶ Customs Accts. $\frac{35}{7}$, $\frac{35}{8}$.

¹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 543.

¹⁸ Star Chamber Proc. Hen. VIII, bdl. 23, No. 115.

¹⁹ Mem. R., K.R. 3 Edw. IV, East. m. 29.

East Grinstead, for 'a russett colour clothe being a deceiptfull colour and dyed in the woole'; and George Partrych of the same, for 'a sheppes colour clothe lacking 1 lb. waizte.'²⁰ An offence which occurs with some frequency was the use of a tenter to stretch cloth to the defrauding of the buyer. In 1561 Richard Goble of Petworth, clothier, was accused of using a 'tayntor' with 'Wrenche Rope and Ryng' in order to 'streyne and stretch' certain woollen cloths.²¹ The same accusation was brought in 1564 against Henry Greet, William Cocke, Charles Smyth, William and Richard Cowlden, clothiers of Midhurst, John Andrew of Bepton, and Robert Chapper and Thomas Leggatt of Lodsworth.²² By an Act passed in 1557 no cloth might be made for sale in any place not being a corporate town or borough, or a market town in which the trade had been carried on for the past ten years; accordingly in 1609 we find Tobias Askell of 'Abberton in Sussex,' probably Yapton, and Henry Hore of Ifield, charged under this Act with making broadcloths and kerseys.²³ It was also prohibited for anyone who had not been apprenticed to the trade, or used it for the past seven years, to make cloth, and proceedings were taken in several cases, as in 1564 against Thomas Page of Alfriston (Alfryssen *alias* Awston), for making fifty-two woollen cloths,²⁴ and in 1573 against Gilbert Dyblocke of Fletching for forty kerseys.²⁵

Chichester is believed to have been an early seat of the cloth industry, and was clearly engaged in it during the sixteenth century, as is shown by the postponement of the Act of 1536 for the convenience of its clothworkers, fullers, and tuckers, as already mentioned; its manufacture of kerseys and broadcloths is also mentioned in the charter given to the city by James I.²⁶ One of the few early references to the trade at Chichester is the occurrence of a fuller in the poll-tax list of 1380,²⁷ and indeed it is upon such casual notices of fullers and dyers that we are largely dependent for knowledge of the places in the county where the industry flourished. These two trades naturally, in days when transport and centralization of labour were undeveloped, were carried on in the neighbourhood of the chief manufacturers and markets of cloth. Thus in 1586 a dyer, William Belme, was established at Petworth working, amongst others, for Thomas Liberde of the same place, clothier, dyeing wool for him at prices ranging from 6s. 8d. the tod up to 20s. 'according to

the richnesse or the coloures and his worke and charges bestowed therein.'²⁸ Amongst those concerned in Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450 were a fuller from Herstmonceux and a dyer from Hastings.²⁹ Fulling mills occur at Framfield in 1549;³⁰ at Burton, where two belonged to Sir Henry Goring in 1564;³¹ at Plumpton, in 1620,³² and at Chesworth, near Horsham, in 1650;³³ while fullers occur³⁴ at Maresfield (1558), Withyham (1568), Hurstpierpoint (1616), and Albourne (1623), and a tucker at Worth in 1600. The list might be much expanded, but this is sufficient to show how widespread the industry was, and further evidence can be obtained for the eastern part of the county from the marriage licences,³⁵ as well as from the wills at Lewes. These documents contain numbers of references to shearmen, 'kemmers,' clothiers, clothworkers, and warp spinners, and mention a kersey maker at Waldron in 1637, a broad-weaver at Salehurst (1594), and a narrow-weaver at Frant (1613), and fustian-weavers at Lewes in 1600 and 1612. The 'weavers' who occur in almost every parish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were probably for the most part engaged in weaving flax and hemp, mention of hemp dressers being also common; this was a widely distributed, and indeed almost universal, village industry, and does not seem to have been of any commercial significance in Sussex.

Midhurst had at one period a manufacture of coverlets and coarse cloth, which was probably at its height about 1672, in which year Gilbert Hannam, coverlet maker, established a school in the town.³⁶ A manufacture of bays, blankets, and coarse cloths was established in Chichester shortly before 1794 by Mr. J. Newland, mercer,³⁷ and in 1793

Mr. Edward Eagles, with a laudable spirit of enterprise, established a cotton manufactory in South Street (Lewes), which is the first of the kind ever attempted to any extent in this part of the kingdom.³⁸

Neither of these enterprises appears to have attained any great importance. There was a woollen-cloth manufacture at Hastings, and also three dyers in 1851,³⁹ in which year the census returns for the county show six persons employed in the woollen manufacture, which number rose to sixteen in 1871, but in 1901 none were returned. Flax and linen manufacture employed

²⁰ Mem. R., K.R. 7 Eliz. Hil. m. 329.

²¹ Ibid. 4 Eliz. Mich. m. 225.

²² Ibid. 7 Eliz. East. m. 113-16.

²³ Ibid. 7 Jas. I, East. mm. 184-5.

²⁴ Ibid. 7 Eliz. Hil. m. 172.

²⁵ Ibid. 16 Eliz. East. m. 384.

²⁶ Dallaway, *Hist. of Rape of Chich.* i, 203.

²⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiv, 67.

²⁸ Court of Requests, bdle. 26, No. 15.

²⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 25.

³⁰ Feet of F. 1 Edw. VI, Hil.

³¹ Inq. p.m. Eliz. file 244, No. 101.

³² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxvii, 47.

³³ Ibid. xxiii, 281.

³⁴ *Cal. of Wills at Lewes* (Index Soc.).

³⁵ *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i.

³⁶ Dallaway, *Hist. of Rape of Chich.* ii, 294.

³⁷ *Chich. Guide* (ed. 1794), 35.

³⁸ Dunvan, *Hist. of Lewes*, 322.

³⁹ *Hastings, Past and Present.*

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seventeen persons in 1851, but only eight in 1871 and six in 1901, while the figures for the same years for the manufacture of cotton were four, fifteen, and none.

Silk weavers occur at Lewes in 1601 and 1625,⁴⁰ and a dornick-weaver in the same town in 1616,⁴¹ while another silk weaver is mentioned at Litlington in 1634.⁴⁰ Hastings possessed a small manufactory of thin silks at the end of the eighteenth century,⁴² and in 1851 there were eight persons employed in this industry in Sussex, ten in 1871, and only two in 1901.

In many ways the most interesting branch of the textile industry in Sussex was the manufacture of cambric, carried on for a short time at Winchelsea. The French obtained a well-deserved reputation for fine linens at an early date, and during the religious persecution many of the Huguenot settlers continued to practise their art in England. In 1574 the mayor of Rye certified that certain fine yarn had been spun by Vincent Gloria and Jane his wife and their servants, French people who had lived at Rye for a year or more.⁴³ It was not, however, until 1761 that the manufacture of the fine linen known as cambric, from its being made near Cambrai, was introduced into England at Winchelsea by a M. Mariteau. Shortly after its introduction a letter from Winchelsea⁴⁴ states—

The cambrick manufactory here established is like to be attended with great success; we have now already eight looms at work, and shall soon have two more. Two pieces have been finished and sent to town; one of which, I am told, was presented to the king. Should this manufactory of French cambricks succeed it would save the nation £300,000 per annum; and there is more probability of its succeeding here than in any part of England where attempts of this sort have been made; the situation of the place; the vast numbers of fine vaults under ground, where only the works of the manufactory can be carried on; the peculiar quality of the waters for bleaching, and the richness of its neighbouring soil to raise the flax, all forebode a happy issue.

Some details of the processes employed are given in an account⁴⁵ drawn up in 1763, in which year the business was incorporated⁴⁶ as

‘The English Linen Company,’ under the management of MM. Mariteau and Corbeaux.

The workmen that are now employed are chiefly French; but English children are daily bound apprentices to them, that the secrets and mysteries of the several branches may soon become our own. . . . It was a very difficult matter to procure workmen skilful enough to manufacture this fine cloth; and it was still more difficult to get flax proper for making yarn fine enough; yet both these difficulties are surmounted; the first by securing proper hands from France and from among the French prisoners who were maintained here for so many years during the late war; and the latter by improving the culture of the flax they sowed in the neighbourhood, in the following particulars. It was necessary for them that fibres should be fine, slender, and long, and that in a much greater degree than in the linen made in Ireland for shirting, sheeting, &c.; for this reason they proceeded in the culture of their flax in a manner very different from the practice of the Irish farmers. [The land has to be very fresh but not rank, well picked of stones and kept clear of weeds; and the best seed only is used.] In order to promote their growth the planters stick the crop very full of long sticks, and on these they lay bushes, which, shading the plants from the intense heat of the sunbeams, make them run up very slender; and yet they enjoy air and warmth enough to prevent their stems or stalks from rotting by too much moisture. . . . The manufacturing the yarn by weaving it into linen is very delicate work; and this is chiefly done in the fine stone vaults with which this town abounds; for the skilful workman says that the thread is so fine and delicate that it will not before weaving bear the influence of the upper and freely circulating air . . . as it would be brittle, and in working break into short lengths as if it was rotten.

This account ends with an appeal to all people to support this English industry and reject the ‘foreign fripperies’ on which so much money was spent. Two years later, 17 January, 1765,

at a sale at Garraway’s coffee-house of about 300 pieces of English cambrics, which upon an average sold for 13s. 6d. per yard, it was allowed that they were exceeding good of the sort, and that if this manufactory should be properly encouraged there will shortly be no occasion to send any money out of the kingdom, to purchase that commodity.⁴⁷

The later history of the business is obscure, but it appears to have either died out or else been removed from Winchelsea not many years later, its place being temporarily taken by a manufactory of ‘Italian crape,’ established by P. Novaille, which was in turn removed to Norwich in 1810.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i, 37, 149.

⁴¹ *Cal. of Wills at Lewes*. Dornick appears to have been a species of silk tapestry.

⁴² Pennant, *Tour* (1801), ii, 35. The exchange of the silk merchants is said to have stood at the end of All Saints’ Street; *Suss. Arch. Col.* xii, 198.

⁴³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 39.

⁴⁴ *Ann. Reg.* 1761, p. 178.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1763, pp. 100–2.

⁴⁶ 4 Geo. III, cap. 37.

⁴⁷ *Ann. Reg.* 1765, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 121.

TANNING

Leather is a material of such great and varied utility that 'there is nothing like leather' has passed into a proverb; it follows that from early times leather must have been prepared and worked in all parts of the country, but Sussex was a district particularly suited for the development of the industry because of its great stores of oak trees, of which the bark was, and still is, the best material for the process of tanning. The earliest period from which we can begin to trace the history of tanning in Sussex is the end of the thirteenth century. In 1275 John de la Rede was accused of taking money from the tanners of the hundred of Henhurst for leave to ply their trade.¹ After the old town of Winchelsea had been destroyed by the great storm of 1287 New Winchelsea was laid out on a symmetrical plan, and in 1292 a survey of the town was made, from which we learn that in the thirty-first 'quarter' there were seven houses, of which four were occupied by skinners;^{1a} moreover, this quarter adjoined the piece of marsh land known as the 'Pewes,' which appears to be a variant of the 'Pells' found at Lewes and elsewhere, and to imply land where skins were prepared. A subsidy roll of 1297 for the rape of Lewes mentions two skinners at Newtimber, a tanner at Barcombe, and one John le Wytthauwere at Cuckfield, the latter being evidently a white-tawer or dresser of sheep and deer skins.² Another 'whittawere,' Robert de Toures of Uckfield, was hanged as a thief in 1300.^{2a} The Nonae returns of 1341 mention tanners at Lewes³ and Southover,⁴ while at Midhurst Richard de Haylyng had in the tannery tanned hides worth 36s., and William Westdene had in his tannery three hides worth 4s. 6d.⁵ In the poll-tax returns of 1380⁶ two tanners are mentioned at Cuckfield, one at Crawley, one at Westmeston, three at Ditchling, one at Charlton, and at Southover one who had had the misfortune to be captured by the French, evidently during their raid in 1377. Harting would seem to have been another seat of the industry, as in 1403 Henry Glover, white-tawer, was presented for charging excessively,⁷ as was William Kays, tanner, in 1425. In the latter year William Kays was also presented for selling ill-tanned leather, and Richard White, white-tawer, for similar bad workmanship.⁸ Amongst the Sussex men concerned in Cade's rebellion in 1450 were a tanner from Wadhurst and three from Hailsham,

from which place were also two corverses, or leather-workers.⁹ Mention has already been made of tanning at Southover, and in 1461 William Frankewelle, when making a grant of the meadow called 'Dokwysse' on the stream from the Watergate mill, especially reserved the right to use the ditch on the south side of the meadow for his hides.¹⁰

In 1547 there were two tanners and a white tawer at Mayfield and three tanners at Wadhurst, all of whom were presented by the jury of the manorial courts, though without the mention of any offence.¹¹ Whether a licence was required for them to follow their trade, or whether tanning was, like brewing, so hedged round with regulations that anyone engaged upon it might be assumed to have broken the assize, is not clear, but the latter suggestion is partly supported by the great frequency of offences against the regulations of the trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The number of ways in which the tanning laws could be broken is remarkable. First the hides must be bought in the open market; Thomas Goff, a tanner of Steyning, was presented in 1562 for buying privately from butchers 300 raw hides called 'Oxe Stere and Cowe hydes' at 6s. 8d. each and twenty dozen calf-skins at 6s. 8d. the dozen,¹² and in 1607 William Lulham of Hamsey, two tanners at Salehurst, and others of Newick, Buxted, and Uckfield were accused of buying 'roughe hides' outside the market.¹³ Nor might the tanner make a previous agreement to buy the hides when they came into the market.¹⁴ The tanner, moreover, must be duly qualified, John Burgess being charged in 1563 with practising tanning, not having been brought up and apprenticed to the same art;¹⁵ and he must use only bark as a medium; for using certain unlawful mixtures seven Sussex tanners were brought before the court in 1569.¹⁶ Moreover, while he must not hasten the process of tanning by adding lime or other substances, neither might he do so by taking the hides out of the liquor before sufficient time had elapsed. In 1568 Simon and John Undersheld, of Chichester, were charged with having tanned hides for 'Uttersole and Clowt lether,' not leaving them to lie twelve months in the liquor called 'the Woses,' or 'Wooses,' and other hides for 'Uppersoles,' not leaving them for nine months in the liquor; two

¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 218.

^{1a} Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 51.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 292-302.

^{2a} Assize R. 934, m. 3.

³ Lay Subs. $\frac{189}{19}$.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xx, 10.

⁶ Lay Subs. $\frac{189}{41}$.

⁷ Ct. R. bdle. 126, No. 1870.

⁸ Ibid. No. 1871.

⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii, 26.

¹⁰ Add. Chart. 30687.

¹¹ Ct. R. bdle. 205, No. 13.

¹² Mem. R., K.R. 4 Eliz. Mich. m. 191.

¹³ Ibid. 5 Jas. I, Mich. m. 190-2.

¹⁴ Ibid. 4 Eliz. East. m. 180.

¹⁵ Ibid. 5 Eliz. East. m. 60.

¹⁶ Ibid. 11 Eliz. East. m. 101-4.

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tanners of Heathfield, one of Uckfield, and one of Newtimber were charged with similar offences.¹⁷ Not only was the tanner liable to prosecution if his hides were badly tanned, as happened to Richard Mascall, a prominent tanner of Wivelsfield, in 1528,¹⁸ but he must only sell his wares in the open market, John Robinson of Northiam, Thomas Brokers of Chichester, and John Monk of Ashington, all being charged in 1562 with the offence of selling tanned hides in their own houses.¹⁹ Further, the hides so exposed for sale must be stamped by the proper officer, so that Thomas Cheryman of Pulborough, in 1568, had to answer for selling to a cordwainer of Chichester eight dakers (the daker being ten hides) of 'upper-lether' worth £4 the daker, and eight dakers of 'Backs and Solelether,' worth £6 the daker, before they had been sealed and registered.²⁰ All these regulations having been duly observed, the remaining possibilities of infringing the laws rested with the purchaser, who must not buy tanned hides with the object of re-selling them, as Alan Rowlands did in 1560;²¹ nor might he if a shoemaker prepare and curry the leather for his own use himself, but he must take it to a currier, several Sussex shoemakers being accused of currying tanned leather in their own houses in 1566.²²

Another offence of common occurrence was the endeavour to evade payment of the export duty on hides. Tanned hides appear in the customs accounts of the Sussex ports in 1466,²³ and formed one of the chief articles of export about 1490,²⁴ the value of a daker of hides at this time being about £1. The trade continued to flourish down to the end of the eighteenth century, the chief centres in East Sussex during

the period 1540–1640 being, on the evidence of the wills at Lewes and other documents, Henfield, Hurstpierpoint, Cuckfield, Lewes, in which town there were a large number of saddlers at this time, Barcombe, Mayfield, Heathfield, Hellingly, Herstmonceux, Ninfield, Iden, and Winchelsea. At the last-named town the tanyard lay below the cliff at the south-east angle, near the Strand well, and was in use down to about 1820.²⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century the smaller tanyards were dying out, and the industry was concentrating in the larger towns, while shortly after this date the tremendous development of the Bermondsey yards began to make itself felt. The establishment of this industry at Bermondsey is said to have been due to Huguenot exiles, who had first settled at Rye,²⁶ but the statement that they left the latter town because of the constant raids made upon it by their compatriot persecutors is so unfounded as to throw doubt upon the whole story. The first effects of the growth of the Bermondsey trade may have been partly beneficial to Sussex, as some of the big firms appear to have given out work to the small tanners in this county,²⁷ but as methods and accommodation in the Bermondsey yards improved, and greater facilities of transport grew up, the Sussex trade rapidly dwindled. From 1851 to 1871 the number of tanners in this county stood constant at 135, but by 1901 it had fallen to 85, and since then there has been further decrease, the Lewes tannery being amongst those recently closed down, so that the only firms now remaining are those of Messrs. Gibbings, Harrison & Co. at Chichester and Horsham, G. A. Bacon at Battle, and T. J. Kingsbury at Groombridge, on the borders of Kent and Sussex.

BREWING

The drink of the English has always been a malt liquor, but the mediæval ale was very different from even the unadulterated varieties of the beverage which now goes by that name; it was, in fact, a kind of thick sweet wort. Enormous quantities of this ale must have been consumed in early times, for an examination of monastic corrodies and similar documents shows that a gallon of good ale, with very often a second gallon of weaker quality, was a normal daily allowance for one person. Not only did every religious house, every gentleman's seat and many farms have brew-houses, but in every village were com-

mon brewers and ale-wives, who supplied the liquor to their neighbours, either in their own houses and taverns or for outside consumption. The universality of the industry might exclude it from treatment here were it not that the trade is one of the very few that still flourish in the county, and that there are several features of interest in the earlier history of brewing in Sussex.

From at least as early as the reign of Henry III, and probably from a much earlier date, brewing was controlled by legislative regulations, the assize of beer being almost always in the hands of the manorial lord. From the extreme regularity with which all the brewers appear to have been presented at the courts for breaking the assize it is clear that the legal restrictions of the

¹⁷ Mem. R. K.R. 10 Eliz. Hil. m. 116–19.

¹⁸ Ibid. 19 Hen. VIII, Hil. m. 35.

¹⁹ Ibid. 4 Eliz. Mich. mm. 164, 179, 180.

²⁰ Ibid. 10 Eliz. Hil. m. 119.

²¹ Ibid. 2 Eliz. Mich. m. 179.

²² Ibid. 8 Eliz. East. mm. 86, 113.

²³ Customs Accts. $\frac{3}{4}$. ²⁴ Ibid. $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{5}$.

²⁵ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 121.

²⁶ *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 330 n.

²⁷ Ibid. 337.

trade either could not be, or at least were not, observed, it being more profitable alike to the brewer and his lord for the former to pay a small fine than to endeavour to satisfy the strict requirements of the law. Still considerable control was exercised by the manorial authorities, an ale-taster, or ale-conner, being appointed to test the quality of the brew, and an omission to call in his services entailing a fine.¹ Fines were also inflicted for refusing to sell ale for consumption off the premises, for which offence three measures (*idrie*) of ale, containing 12 gallons, were taken from the wife of John Dorkynge at Harting in 1402,² and for selling ale by the bowl, or 'dish' (dish being used in the sense of a cup, as in the old-fashioned expression 'a dish of tea'), instead of in officially stamped measures. At Appledram, between 1422 and 1432, Henry Cobehay, one of several 'hukkesters,' or ale-sellers (as opposed to brewers), who kept 'cappelbootthes,' was presented for breaking the assize, selling by false measure, and commonly selling food and drink by retail.³ Examples of similar infringements of the regulations might be multiplied almost without end, but would serve no useful purpose.

Although the output of most of these village brew-houses must have been limited alike by the smallness of their plant and the demands of the locality, there were no doubt in most of the bigger towns establishments of some size for the supply of travellers. Thus when King Edward I was passing through Sussex in 1299 with his suite, 82 gallons of ale were bought at Uckfield from Arnold de Uckfeld for 6s. 8d., and 100 gallons at Chichester from Marietta de Kychenere for 8s. 4d., or 1d. the gallon.⁴ In the previous year the brewers of Chichester were paying 55s. 4d. for 'Burgable,' or burgage rents, while the tolls of ale paid by certain retailers amounted to 5s.⁵ At New Shoreham, owing to the large number of foreign merchants who called there, the brewers from the time of the foundation of the town had compounded with their feudal lords of the Braose family, paying them yearly 2½ marks in lieu of the inconvenient system of amercements which were practically equivalent to licences for brewing.⁶ In the same way the hundred of Shoyswell made a payment of 2s., subsequently raised to 10s., that the ale-wives might be excused attendance at the 'lawday.'^{6a}

With the fourteenth century we begin to find mentions of a beverage that was soon to rival and eventually displace ale in the affections of the Englishman, that is to say, beer, or malt

liquor prepared with hops. This variety of ale was introduced from the Low Countries, being either imported thence or brewed by Flemish or Dutch settlers in England. A remarkably early instance of its import occurs in the accounts of the bailiff of Winchelsea for 1400, which contains the entry, 'For eight barrels of beer 21s. 8d.,' and a note of the purchase by the mayor of 4 measures of beer (*lestas de beer*) at 31s. the measure.⁷ That beer was consumed at Rye though not brewed in the town about 1456, is clear from the regulations passed in that year,

that every ale brewer of the town of Rye shall answer gader and pay the maltode (i.e. tax) off all such ale as thei shall brewe and delyver to the hukkester to the s^d maltoters during the s^d yere upon the payne and lesynge of the s^d brethyrne he that doth the contrarye. Also . . . the beer brewer which bryngyn bere to the s^d town of Rye shall pay for maltode off every hole bune bere 2d.⁸

It is possible that some of the beer here mentioned may have come from the neighbouring village of Playden, in the church of which is a sepulchral slab of about this date ornamented with two beer barrels and a crossed mash stick and fork, with the inscription—'Hier is begravē Cornelis Zoetmanns bidt voer de ziele.'⁹ Another Flemish brewer, 'Dirik Berebrewer,' occurs in a list of aliens resident in Sussex in 1465.¹⁰ Beer-brewing was now attaining considerable proportions in the county, as large quantities of hops were brought into the Sussex ports in 1466,¹¹ and still more were imported, principally to Rye and Winchelsea, about 1488, when the prices varied from 6s. to 13s. 4d. the hundredweight.¹² At this latter date also a number of instances occur of the export of beer from Winchelsea, the value of a cask of 'byere' being 13s. 4d., a pipe 6s. 8d.—a pipe of 'syngle bere' sent out from Shoreham was priced at 6s.—and a barrel 2s.; by a regulation made at Rye in 1425, the brewer's barrel was to hold 26 gallons,¹³ so that the value of beer at this time was apparently 1d. the gallon. The price of ale was regulated at Seaford about 1500, when orders were given to take notice

yff there be any brewers that brewe to sale but they brewe good ale and holsum for mannys body, and they selle awter the kynges statewys that ys to saye a galon under the seve for 1½d., and wen it is stale for 1½d., and in the hofte for 2d. galun.¹⁴

The terms here used are explained by Mr. Lower, 'under the sieve' meaning as wort, 'stale,' after fermentation, and 'huff,' at full strength.

¹ Ct. R. bdle. 205, No. 46.

² Ibid. bdle. 126, No. 1871.

³ Ibid. bdle. 205, No. 46.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 145, 152.

⁵ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1022, No. 2.

⁶ Assize R. 912, m. 44.

^{6a} *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 216.

⁷ Cooper, *Hist. of Winchelsea*, 205.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 492a.

⁹ 'Here is buried Cornelius Zoetmann, pray for the soul'; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 377.

¹⁰ Lay Subs. $\frac{2}{9}\frac{8}{4}$.

¹¹ Customs Accts. $\frac{8}{2}\frac{4}{5}$.

¹² Ibid. $\frac{8}{7}\frac{5}{8}$.

¹³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 489b.

¹⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 96.

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Beer-brewing was still partly in the hands of aliens, a prominent Flemish brewer at Brighton being Derrick Carver, the first Sussex man to give his life for the Protestant faith during the Marian persecutions; his descendants continued the business at Brighton for two or three generations. A beer-brewer, Thomas Nokes, occurs at Hastings in 1553, others at Rye in 1568, 1583, 1589, and 1611,¹⁵ at Southover in 1593, and Ditchling in 1610.¹⁶ By this time it is probable that, in spite of the poor opinion of beer expressed by that worthy Sussex dietist Andrew Borde, this form of malt liquor had largely supplanted the older ale, and that many of the 'brewers' who occur in ever-increasing numbers throughout the county were as much 'beer brewers' as those persons who retained that distinctive title.

Rye has already been mentioned as well supplied with brewers,¹⁷ and it would seem that they were not always content with the lawful profits of their trade, for in 1575 the mayor wrote to Lord Cobham, warden of the Cinque Ports, that the bakers were complaining of the ruin of their trade,

by reason of the brewers (who oughte by the lawes of this realme not to be bakers also) have by our sufferance (but the rather for that Robert Jacson is towards your Lordship) used both to bake and brewe of long time, whereby Robert Jacson (God be thankid) is growen to good welthe and the whole company of the bakers utterly impoverished.¹⁸

Hastings was another place where the industry took an early hold; a brew-house called 'the Rosares' was held by John Brabon in 1589,¹⁹ and the beer made in the town was so excellent that when the Hastings representatives went to Yarmouth as bailiffs of the Cinque Ports, they took care to have a good supply sent to them, and on 12 October, 1608, they recorded, 'especially at this and all other meetings, our beere which we had sent to us gave great content to the Yermouth men.'²⁰ Had they inquired into the process of manufacture the content of the drinkers might have been lessened, for next year it was recorded that not only were the new brew-house and malt-house lately erected by John Brett very dangerous for fire, but that

the Licquor out of the Bourne below the Courthouse, wher^{with} he breweth and yeateth his malt in them, is very corrupt and unwholesome for man's body. It is ordered therfore that hensforth he shall not sett up

any put gally to take up water there but the same shalbe taken downe. And he is further injoynd not to use in brewing or yeating any of the Bowrne water betwene the south corner of the George and the sea, upon paine of 100s.²¹

Chichester had not only several breweries, but early obtained more than a local celebrity for its malt, much of which was exported to Ireland from the time of James I onwards.²² In 1684 the parish accounts of St. Peter's, Chichester, show three persons rated for malt-houses, and in 1709 there were eight malt-houses in this parish alone. At this latter date the town council passed an order 'that no person do dry malt with burning straw, for the better preserving this city from the dangers of fire.'²³ At the beginning of the eighteenth century another Chichester parish, the Palant, 'had a few houses of the better sort, but in general were very old and consisted much of malt-houses';²⁴ in 1760 'prodigious quantities of malt' were still made in Chichester,²⁵ but shortly after this the industry much decreased, and Spershott, writing about 1780, says that in 1725 'there were 32 malt-houses in working, but now not half that number,'²⁶ while Hay in 1804 speaks of the manufacture as being on the decline;²⁷ there is, however, still a certain amount of trade in malt from this town, though it is now of little importance. A mention occurs in 1732 of a malt-house on the Goffs at Eastbourne, in which town a brewery, which still exists as the well-known Star Brewery, was started in the seventeenth century by William Hurst, whose descendants also held for some time a brewery in South Street, which was removed to new buildings in 1870, but subsequently abandoned.²⁸ Lewes was naturally of some importance in the brewing industry from an early date, and the poll book of 1812 gives the names of six brewers in that town. In 1849²⁹ there were 'several large breweries' at Lewes, two at Steyning, three at Rye, 'a large brewery' at Hailsham (probably dating from about 1803, when barracks were erected there), 'two breweries on a large scale' at Arundel, and several breweries at Hastings. The numbers of persons in the county engaged in the malting and brewing industries in 1891 were, respectively, 132 and 495, in 1851 they were 132 and 608, and in 1901 only 100 in the former, but 619 in the latter. At the present time there are, apart from branches of firms belonging to other

¹⁵ *Cal. of Wills at Lewes.*

¹⁶ *Suss. Rec. Soc. i.*

¹⁷ In 1649 six brewers and a maltster were amongst the inhabitants of Rye who signed the 'Engagement'; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxix, 19-26.

¹⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 48.

¹⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 111.

²⁰ *Ibid.* xix, 200.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Dallaway, *Hist. of Rape of Chich.* i, 203.

²³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 173.

²⁴ *Ibid.* xxix, 225.

²⁵ *Ibid.* xlv, 169 n.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xxx, 150.

²⁷ *Hist. of Chich.* 330.

²⁸ Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 70-1.

²⁹ Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Engl.*

counties, some sixty firms of brewers, amongst which some of the best known are Messrs. Abbey & Sons, Ashby & Co., Dudney & Co., Robins, Tamplin & Sons, all of Brighton; Fremlin Bros. at Brighton, Eastbourne, and Hastings (a George

Fremlyn occurs as a beer-brewer at Cliffe as early as 1635³⁰); Beard & Co. at Lewes; Breeds & Co. at Hastings; Constable & Sons at Arundel; King & Sons at Horsham; and the Southdown and East Grinstead Breweries, Ltd.

CIDER

Harrison in his 'Description of England,' says:—¹

In some places of England there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of pearres is named pirrie, and both are ground and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Sussex, Kent, Worcester and other steeds where these sorts of fruits do abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred unto the delicate sorts of drinke.

That Sussex should thus be put in the forefront of the cider-producing counties may seem astonishing when one considers the very insignificant amount now made there, but upon examination the claim proves to be historically well founded. As early as the end of the reign of Henry III, cider was evidently largely consumed in Sussex, but probably not much was manufactured, at least in the east of the county, as the customs rolls of Winchelsea² show that large quantities were imported from Dieppe and other ports of Normandy. Some cider, however, was evidently made in West Sussex at this time, as in 1275 Richard de Clifford was accused of taking an apple-mill and press from the widow of Geoffrey de Bosco in Pagham.^{2a} In 1302 the farmer of the prebend of Sutton at Selsey expended 26s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. on 'beer and cider bought during the harvest season,'³ and in 1308 the stores of the Templars at Saddlescombe included two casks and a pipe of cider, valued at 9s. the cask,⁴ while at Goring in 1320 certain gardens were yielding yearly a cask of cider valued at 10s.⁵

The principal evidence, however, for the extent of the cider industry in Sussex is to be found in the Nonae Rolls of 1341,⁶ in which a mention of cider occurs in no fewer than eighty parishes, only six of which are in East Sussex, while in twenty-eight other cases, nine of these being in the eastern division, the tithes of apples are referred to, the rector of Walberton being noted as receiving 2 marks from apples and pears, which latter fruit occurs only in this entry. Nor were the tithes of cider insignifi-

cant; in twelve cases there are entries of 'the tithes of cider and hay and other small tithes,' and when the items are given separately the value of the cider is still more noticeable; thus at Yapton the tithe of cider was worth 2 marks, that of hay 10s., and the other small tithes 1 mark; at Easebourne the tithe of cider was estimated at 100s., and that of hay at only 60s.; at Lurgashall the rector received 19s. from the tithe of cider, but the other small tithes were worth only 5s. 8d. At Bignor the vicar in ordinary years received cider to the value of 26s. 5d., the small tithes and offerings together being only 22s. 3d.; at Lynch the cider, valued at 20s., was the largest item; and at Wisborough the tithe of cider reached the imposing amount of 10 marks, which would imply an annual output worth in modern money something like £1,500 for this parish alone. It is in connexion with this parish of Wisborough that we have an early notice of cider making.⁷ William Thrale in 1385 had the right to fruit-growing in 'the gardens called Lokeswodeshagh, le Chastell, Donettehagh, and le Worthagh,' and in that year granted to John Pakenham and Justina his wife his lands in 'Lokeswode,' reserving to himself half the trees bearing fruit either for eating or for cider (*mangable et ciserable*), rendering in return a pipe of cider and a quarter of 'hordapplen,' that is to say store apples; he further retained a room at the east end of the hall with entry at all times convenient through the door (*beous*) opening upon the 'Wringehowse'—presumably the building containing the ciderpress; he had also the right to gather the same fruit and convert it into cider in their 'apelmelle.'

Although, as we have seen, the cider industry was mainly confined to the west of the county, occasional instances occur in eastern Sussex. In 1403 the rector of Warbleton spent 3s. 4d. on the manufacture of eight pipes of cider,⁸ and an apple-mill in Burwash was the subject of a fine between Henry Waterer and Thomas Browning in 1562.⁹ An earlier conveyance of an apple-mill or cider-press occurred in 1540, when Edward Myllett leased to Philip Myllett the house of the Black Friars at Chichester, with kitchen, the frame of the apple-mill, and other appurtenances, a complaint being subsequently

³⁰ *Suss. Rec. Soc.* i.

¹ Holinshed, *Chron.* (ed. 1586), 170.

² Mins. Accts. bdle. 1031, Nos. 19-21.

^{2a} *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 211.

³ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1028, No. 16.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 240.

⁵ Add. MS. 5700, fol. 48.

⁶ *Inq. Nonarum* (Rec. Com.), 550 et seq.

⁷ Mem. R., K.R. Hil. 17 Ric. II.

⁸ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1031, No. 5.

⁹ Feet of F. 4 Eliz. Trin.

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made of the unlawful removal of certain goods, including 'syder frute' and 'horde frute.'¹⁰

Definite evidence touching the Sussex cider industry during the seventeenth century is hard to obtain, but occasional references point to its being still important, as the insertion in a lease of lands at Horsham in 1628 of a clause by which the tenant should plant six crab-stocks or perry-stocks.¹¹ That it was still the common drink of the country may be seen from an entry made in Timothy Burrell's journal¹² in 1699: 'Paid to John Coachman in part of his wages, to be fooled away in syder or lottery, 5s.' Much more important, however, than these chance notices is the fact that in February, 1684, Richard Haines, of Sullington, took out a patent for

an art or method of preparing, improving, and meliorating cyder, perry, and the juice or liquors of wildings, crabbs, cherrys, gooseberrys, currants and mulberrys so as to put the strength or goodness of two or three hogsheds of any of the said liquors into one, and render the same much more wholesome and delightful.

The method is further described as follows:—

Put one hogshhead of cyder and some part of the other into a copper still, and then put the same into your other hogshhead and fill it up, stirr it about well and keep it close stopt, except one day in ten or twenty let it lie open five or six hours. Within three months this will be as strong as the best French wines and as pleasing though different in taste. Additional spirit and more sugar according to pleasure

will make this cyder like canary, and one pint of good spirit added to a gallon of the cyder will make it equal to Spanish wines. So the juice of pears, cherries, mulberries, currants, and especially gooseberries, by the addition of their own spirits may be made equal to canary.¹³

Cider continued to be made during the eighteenth century, Alexander Freeman, 'cider merchant,' occurring at Chichester in 1747,¹⁴ and John Wilbar, 'cyder maker,' at Lewes in 1774¹⁵; while about 1803 some poetic admirer of the beverage wrote on the fly-leaf of a copy of Phillip's poem on 'Cyder'—

Some people give perry and call it champagne,
Not so gives of Petworth the rector;
'Tis cyder he tells us his vessels contain,
But on tasting it proves to be nectar.¹⁶

Marshall, also, writing as late as 1798,¹⁷ says:—

The township of Bury abounds with orchard grounds. In a bearing year, several hundred, even a thousand, hogshheads of cider are said to have been made in this parish only.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, cider appears to have lost its popularity in Sussex. In the census returns of 1841 no mention is made of any cider maker, and although a number of farms continued for some time to press a certain quantity, mostly coarse and rough, for local consumption, and a few may possibly do so still, cider-making as an industry has become extinct.

FISHERIES

Sussex, with its extensive coast-line and numerous small harbours, has always been a centre of the fishing industry, the waters that wash its coast being prolific alike of free-swimming and shell fish. Of the popularity of shell-fish as articles of diet amongst the early inhabitants of this district abundant circumstantial evidence is to be found in such kitchen middens as have been examined, and especially during the recent excavations on the site of the Roman settlement at Pevensey, in which place have been found regular beds, many feet in area and several inches in depth, of oyster, cockle, and mussel shells. The first documentary reference to the Sussex fisheries is contained in the story told by Bede that St. Wilfrid upon his arrival in the South Saxon kingdom in 681 found the natives ignorant of the art of fishing, and taught them the use of nets. That these natives of a sea-board district, descendants of a bold and hardy sea-going race whose forefathers had

crossed from the Continent scarcely a hundred and fifty years before, should have been ignorant of seamanship and fishing is incredible, but it is not unlikely that Wilfrid was able to show them certain improved methods which he had seen in more advanced communities. From this time for four hundred years no record of the industry is found, but at the time of the Domesday Survey, in 1086, the herring fishery was evidently well established round Brighton and the estuary of the Ouse, renders of 4,000 herrings occurring at Brighton and Rodmell, of 16,000 at Iford, and 38,500 at Southease.¹ About the same time Robert son of Ralf gave to the abbey of St. Amand of Rouen a yearly render of 2,000 herrings at Hastings,² and the count of Eu

¹⁰ Court of Requests, bdle. 18, No. 126.

¹¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 285.

¹² *Ibid.* iii, 135.

¹³ C. R. Haines, *Mem. of Richard Haines*, 78.

¹⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxix, 187.

¹⁵ *Poll Book, Lewes.*

¹⁶ C. W. Radcliffe Cooke, *A Book about Cider and Perry*, 8.

¹⁷ *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, ii, 192.

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 366.

² *Cal. Doc. France*, 26.

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bestowed upon his collegiate church in the castle of Hastings 2,000 herrings yearly and other customary renders of fish.³

The customs of the Sussex fishermen are of great interest and antiquity. By an agreement made in the twelfth century between the abbot of Fécamp and the men of Rye, the latter

swear that they will cause the abbot to have his shares and all other his rights . . . and will suffer no one dwelling in the town to fish unless he shall give shares as follows. From all fishing, whoever is engaged in it, these shares shall be rendered: from all ships of 26 oars they shall give two and a half shares; from ships of 22 or 20, two; from ships of 18 and 16, one and a half; from ships of 14 or 12 or 10, one; and from all with fewer oars a whole share, however few may row in them—except those called *heccheres*,⁴ which shall pay as follows: if 8 men row in them or 9, or 10, or 11, or 12, one share. If there be fewer than 8 they shall give half a share, however few they be.⁵

Mr. Round has pointed out that this is the first recorded occurrence of the 'shares (*sarae*),' which occur again in the 'Book of all the Ancient Customs' of the Brighton fishermen drawn up in 1580.⁶

In it we find the catch of fish divided into 'shares,' which went respectively to the men engaged, to the boat, to the owners of the nets, and to the parish church. Thus the mackerel boats, according to their tonnage, were divided into three classes, which respectively gave the owner of the boat 2, 2½, and 3 'shares'; the herring boats being larger, gave him 3, 3½, and 4 'shares,' according to their class; while the little 'cock' boats only gave 1 or 1½ share, according as they had or had not a mast and sail.

In the accounts of the bailiff of Rye for 1343⁷ are several entries of payments of 15s. and 18s. made in April and December 'for a custom of the ships and boats fishing at sea called "scharz."'" In 1284 the bailiff accounted for sums received from the boats engaged on different classes of fishery, 50s. being received from the shares of herrings, 18s. 9½d. from the shares of plaice, 10s. from those of mackerel, and 2s. 8½d. from the shares of smelts (*sperlingorum*).⁸ As the smelt is at the present time not caught off the Sussex coast it is probable that the last reference is to fishing in the Yarmouth waters, where this fish is found. A reference to the Yarmouth fisheries occurs in 1266, when the bailiff of Winchelsea

entered the names of fourteen persons paying sums ranging from 3s. 3d. up to 21s. 6d. for the shares of Yarmouth (*de scar' Gernemute*). At the same time he accounted for £15 11s. 6¾d., 'for the shares of the town collected weekly from small boats.'⁹ Further details of the method in which shares were allotted may be obtained from the 'auncient customs' of Brighton:

Every man hath used to take for his bodye in this voyage a share; the boate and netts and necessities thereto belonging four shares; and besyde one other share hathe been used to be made, whereof halfe is due to the viccar, a quarter to the master, and the other quarter to the churchwardens to the use of the towne . . . whiche quarter share the churchwardens have used to employe especiallye uppon buildinge of fortes and walls towards the sea, for the defence of the saide towne . . . and maynteinance of the parishe church.¹⁰

This latter share appears to correspond to the 'Christ share' which is found in one or two places. In 1353 the vicar of Eastbourne received from the fishermen 'a certain custom called Crystshare, which is worth 20 marks yearly,' in return for which he had to find a chaplain to celebrate three days in the week in the chapel of St. Gregory.¹¹ The accounts of the bailiff of Rye for 1363¹² include the collection of the 'Cristshare,' 30s. being received at St. Andrew's tide (30 November) from various 'flewes,' i.e. boats using 'flue' nets, and 'tramelers' or trawlers, 4s. at Christmas from four 'tachoūs,' and 40s. 4d. at Easter from 'tramelers,' 'herbews,' and 'tachoūs.' Besides the share thus set aside for the church we find mention of fish as being tithable. In 1341¹³ at Climping the value of the tithes of sea and freshwater fish were worth 20s., and the same at Hove; at New Shoreham the rector had 2 marks from the fishery and the vicar 1 mark; at Seaford the tithes of the fishermen were estimated at 13s. 4d., at Felpham 2s., and at Islesham 40s.

The division of the fishing year into 'fares' or voyages is given by the Brighton 'Customs' and was probably of early origin.¹⁴ 'Tucknett fare' lasted from February to April, small boats called 'tuckners' of about 3 tons plying during that season for plaice. For 'Shotnett fare,' from April to June, 'shotters' of from 6 to 26 tons were employed fishing the deep seas for mackerel, while for 'Drawnett fare' small boats of about 3 tons were employed in May and June 'to draw mackell by the shoare.' 'Harbour fare' was also during the summer, boats of about 8 tons 'goeing to the sea in somer with harbour

³ Anct. D., D. 1073.

⁴ Boats using the *beak* or *beck* net (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlii, 79). Holloway (*Hist. of Rye*, 360) mentions payments made by fishing boats in 1448 for 'hooking' and 'hooking with nose nets'; this should probably read 'hecking.' William Tuppin of Rottingdean in 1576 left 'to Annis Tuppin my daughter a heake net' (Lewes Wills, A 7).

⁵ *Cal. Doc. France*, 43.

⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlii, 79.

⁷ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1028, No. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.* bdle. 1031, No. 19.

¹⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 45.

¹¹ Assize R. 941, m. 11.

¹² Mins. Accts. bdle. 1028, No. 15.

¹³ *Inq. Nonarum* (Rec. Com.).

¹⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 43-4.

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hookes for conger,' a fish evidently more highly esteemed in former times than at present, for in 1455 the Rye corporation paid 3*s.* 4*d.* for '2 congris and 2 turbuttes for to send to my Master Liefenant,'¹⁵ and in 1598 the earl of Nottingham wrote to the mayor of Rye to send him 'twoe dorsers of your beste fishe and especiallie of some good conger.'¹⁶ The largest boats, ranging from 18 to 40 tons, were employed in the cod fishery of the 'Scarborough fare,' and from 15 to 40 tons in the herring fishery of the 'Yarmouth fare,' which lasted from September to November; at the other end of the scale were the cock boats, from 2 to 6 tons, with or without a mast, employed in the 'Cok fare' from October to December, while the local herring fishery was carried on by 'flewes' of from 8 to 20 tons using 'flue' nets from November to the end of December.

How early the Sussex fisheries assumed a more than local importance it would be difficult to say, but Winchelsea was supplying the king's table with fish at the beginning of the thirteenth century; in 1237 2,000 whiting and other fish were sent thence, 1,000 plaice to Winchester in 1248, and more of the same fish to Westminster in 1251, in October of which year were sent to Westminster for the feast of St. Edward's Day 4,000 whiting, 3,000 plaice, 6,000 fresh herrings, large congers, &c. For Easter 1252 Winchelsea supplied 2,000 plaice, 4,000 whiting, 24 dories, 100 soles, and 40 congers.¹⁷ Of the various fish here mentioned two kinds bore an especially high reputation, and in the fourteenth century Winchelsea plaice and Rye whiting had attained a fame which entitled them to be classed with the Yarmouth herrings.¹⁸ This reputation had the disadvantage of occasionally attracting undesirable attention, and in 1340 Richard le Rouse was imprisoned for stealing from Geoffrey called Jeppe of Hastings a horse-load of plaice and whiting worth 5*s.*¹⁹ As the theft took place at Pashley in Ticehurst it is probable that 'Jeppe' was a 'riper' carrying fish to London. The first mention of these fish carriers by the name of 'riper' appears to be in the poll-tax list of 1380, where one is entered under Findon and another under Wiston.²⁰ The trade flourished during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mentions of rippers being of common occurrence, especially in the neighbourhood of Rye; and when the Tunbridge Wells and London road was converted into a turnpike by Act of 1709 it was specially laid down that

Neither this Act nor anything herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to the receiv-

¹⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 491*b.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xiii App. pt. iv, 116.

¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxiii, 27.

¹⁸ *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xvi, 501.

¹⁹ *Gaol Delivery R.* 129.

²⁰ *Lay Subs.* $\frac{189}{41}$.

ing or taking any toll or any sum or sums of money for any horses laden with fish, or for the horses on which the rippers or drivers of such said horses shall ride going on or towards London, or for such said horses returning, but that such said horses shall at all times pass toll-free.²¹

Besides the ripier, or carrier, there was the 'oast,' or middleman, practically equivalent to the modern fishmonger, as he bought from the fisherman to supply private individuals or the trade. Sometimes the 'oast' seems to have been the owner, or at least employer, of particular fishing boats. By an agreement of 1477 between Rye, Hastings, and Winchelsea it was enacted that if any stranger were in debt to a combaron of those towns for fish bought, no new 'oost' should 'make fissue' for him until the debt be paid.²² One of these 'oasts' was the royal purveyor, and it was enacted in 1479 that he should not 'make fissue' for any person other than the king.²³ The royal purveyor was naturally supposed to have the pick of the market, but in 1594 complaint was made that the queen was badly supplied with fish and at high prices, as the fishermen bargained secretly with private buyers and did not bring their fish into the market; to remedy this all boats were ordered to bring their catches to market within an hour of their arrival, while no one was to buy until the queen's purveyor had obtained what he required.²⁴ But in 1604 it was again reported that the fishermen of Rye were selling secretly to agents of the Fishmongers of London, 'whereby His Majesty's oaste is enforced many times to send to the court unserviceable fish.' Accordingly the Fishmongers agreed to appoint certain honest men to be 'oastes' to buy fish for them after the king's requirements had been satisfied.²⁵ In 1608 William Angell, the king's purveyor, suggested to the authorities at Rye that the fishermen should be placed nearer the fishmarket and the 'ostes' farther off; this was agreed to, but with certain reservations:

In regarde that in the winter season every particular fyssherman hath his shoppe unto hymselfe, and in the somer tyme when they goe with tramells the whole company of one boat use but one shoppe; for then we thinke it most fitt that they should change shoppes with the hostes between this (August) and All Saints' about which tyme the boats come from Yermouth.²⁶

To obtain anything like definite statistics of the numbers of ships and men engaged in the fisheries or of the value of their trade in early days would seem to be hopeless. It has already been noticed that in 1266 Winchelsea contributed some fourteen ships to the Yarmouth

²¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 145.

²² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 489*b.* ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 109.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 130.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 140.

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herring fleet, but there is nothing to give any idea of the size of the contingents from Rye and Hastings. In 1302, however, the Sussex Cinque Ports claimed to have spent £11,300 during the last five years on the preparation of their Yarmouth fleets,²⁷ and if it was worth their while to spend about £2,200 yearly on fitting these fleets out, it is clear that the value of the fish taken at this period alone must have been very great, even allowing a considerable margin for exaggeration in the figures given. So great was the number of men engaged upon the herring fishery during its season that in 1476 the bishop of Chichester changed the dedication feast of Rye church from the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September) to the Assumption (15 August) in order that the fishermen might be present and make their due oblations.²⁸ In 1528 Hastings sent thirty crayers and Rye and Winchelsea together fifty to the North Sea fishery,²⁹ but in 1536 it would seem that only sixteen boats went from Rye to Yarmouth.³⁰ It must be remembered that only the larger boats went to Yarmouth, so that the total number of ships and men cannot be deduced from these figures; in 1580 there were at Brighton eighty fishing boats, with 10,000 nets,³¹ but probably most of these belonged to the smaller classes, and in the same year there were at Rye thirty-one fishing boats between 10 and 22 tons, employing 200 men besides boys.³² Of the thirty ships belonging to Hastings in 1586,³³ of which fifteen were above 20 tons, probably all (with the possible exception of one of 50 tons) were employed in fishing. The fishermen of Rye in 1572 stated that within the last fifteen years Rye had had as many as thirty-four boats at Scarborough fishing for cod and ling, 'and now the last yere ther was not above thre'; the reason being that foreigners from Scotland, Flanders, and France brought so much fish into England that they swamped the home trade, so that

the fishermen of England are fayne to lay up their boats and seke other trades, whereas if this strange fyshe were abolished they shuld be able in small tyme to trade the seas as in tymes past they have donne, and as well to furnish the quenish subjects as the stranger, and as good peneworthes, besides the brynninge up a greate number of mariners which now are utterly decayed.

They further complained that

divers of our Englishe men with their crouez and ketches . . . do trade the coast of Flanders and Callice, where with their redy mony they not only buy of the ketches of that partes strangers playce, coddess and all such kinde of fresh fysh as thoes strange

ketches take, and so bringe it into the Realme to the utter decaye of our fyshermen, which bringe up youghth to plye the takinge of fishe themselves, being fourteene, fiftene, or sixteene men and a boye or two in a boate, being no small nomber in our lyttle towne as Ry is, when they had utterance for their fishe, but also they the said Englishe ketches convey awaye a number of redy monye with the buyinge of fishe of those strangers' ketches.³⁴

To revive the waning prosperity of their trade the fishermen and mariners of Rye petitioned in 1582 for a charter of incorporation, but this was strongly, and apparently successfully, opposed;³⁵ it was evidently feared that incorporation would give the fishermen an exclusive control of the trade, which they would use to force up the prices. Some such exclusive control was claimed by the Fishmongers' Company of London, who complained in 1592 of persons buying fish without their leave; the mayor and jurats, however, declined to acknowledge this claim, and asserted that, after the queen had been fully served, it was lawful for any person to buy fish in the market at Rye.³⁶

During the early part of the seventeenth century the fishing industry in Sussex was passing through a period of depression, due mainly to unfair competition, the honest fishermen suffering alike from the illegal practices of their compatriots and from the intrusion of foreigners into the home waters. In 1602 a number of the Rye and Hastings boats were convicted of using nets of unlawful scale, that is to say with too small meshes, fines of 10s. being inflicted,³⁷ and in 1605 the Lord Warden's 'droit-gatherer' was instructed to seize all such illegal trawl nets and burn them.³⁸ In 1655 also certain 'trowlers and drawers by the water side' were denounced for using nets with too small 'moakes,'³⁹ the size of the 'mokes' or meshes of the nets used for flat fish being put at 5 in. in 1699,⁴⁰ at which time prohibition was issued of drawing for plaice and soles between sunset and sunrise. A rather curious reason is given for this latter regulation in 1602, when complaint was made of certain persons fishing

in the night season, whereby the fysh disquieted and wanting naturall rest doe become both leane unserviceable and not so well bayted as in former tymes.⁴¹

The intrusion of French fishing boats was felt at least as early as 1548, when Henry VIII refused leave for a large fishing fleet prepared by the French to fish the English preserves, and even fitted out twelve ships to prevent their doing

²⁷ Assize R. 945. ²⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* v, 495.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 5101.

³⁰ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 530.

³¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 41.

³² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 71.

³³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 86.

³⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 18.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 81.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 102.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 124.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 133.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 224.

⁴⁰ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 347.

⁴¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 124.

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so.⁴² In 1606 the men of Rye complained of the French boats for fishing at unlawful seasons and with illegal nets, and in December, 1607, Sir Thomas Waller wrote to the mayor and jurats to warn them that fishermen of Tréport and Dieppe intended to fish again in spite of prohibition.⁴³ He added that if the men of Rye would protect their own fishery they might take half the boats, nets, and fines of those captured, but they replied that they were not strong enough, there only being sixteen boats which would go out that winter; they therefore desired that a pinnace might be sent to assist them, which was the more necessary as the French were already taking twenty horse-loads of soles and plaice daily into Dieppe.⁴⁴ Whatever right the French boats may or may not have had, they clearly had might on their side, for they fished

in great barks, and our men fysshynge by them in small boats, they may (as heretofore they have done) spoyle their nettes by ronninge over them, and so utterlye overthrow their fysshinge for that Yermouth season and leikwise for the Scarborow voyage.⁴⁵

One of the chief points of dispute was the use of the fishing ground called the Sowe; this was admitted to be English, but the French evaded the point by calling it by other names, so that in 1609 the Rye fishermen were ordered to take careful soundings and obtain the exact bearings of the Sowe,⁴⁶ while next year an armed ship was fitted out to prevent the French fishing this ground.⁴⁷ A certain number of licences were at this time granted every year to French boats working for persons of political importance; thus in 1616 nine licences were granted for servants of the French king, three for the Duchess of Guise, and one for the late French ambassador.⁴⁸ These licences, however, were often abused, as when a boat had been filled with fish it would sell its licence to another.⁴⁹ Moreover the foreigners used nets of unlawful scale, and in 1622 a number of vessels were seized and their crews fined for unlicensed and illegal fishing.⁵⁰

Besides this unfair competition the Sussex fishermen had from time to time to reckon with the actual enmity of armed privateers. In 1626 the fishermen of Brighton petitioned for assistance, stating that they used to have from twenty-eight to thirty barks every year going to the North Seas, but owing to danger from the Dunkirkers they had now only eight.⁵¹ Another undated petition, probably some years earlier, put the number of fishing boats formerly employed at fifty-five, but

this had fallen for the same reason to thirty-five boats with 400 men.⁵² A third petition of the Brighton men put the yearly profits of their fishing at from £7,000 to £8,000, but stated that for the last three or four years they had been kept from their trade by the French and Dunkirkers to their loss of £30,000, fourteen of their ships having been captured, so that they begged for ships of war to defend them;⁵³ this may have been either about 1665 or twenty years earlier. The latter date was certainly a period of peril, as in August, 1644, the mayor and jurats of Rye petitioned Parliament for convoys to protect their fishing fleet to Yarmouth, as they had already lost one profitable voyage to the North Seas for fear of the king's men-of-war,⁵⁴ while in October of the following year they begged Colonel Morley to procure a frigate, as two men-of-war were lying in the bay, and had already taken several boats, so that the whole Yarmouth fleet was in danger.⁵⁵

All these causes combined to depress the industry, and in 1619 the mayor of Rye mentioned that the fishing boats of the town had fallen from forty to sixteen or eighteen,⁵⁶ while about the same time it was stated, with some exaggeration, that 'thousands' of the Rye fishermen had been reduced to beggary and starvation.⁵⁷ The Yarmouth fleet of Rye in 1630 consisted of ten boats with ten men and two boys in each, but in 1641 Hastings sent to Yarmouth as many as thirty-three boats, ranging from twenty-two to thirty tons, with 363 men and 76 boys.

During the eighteenth century the Sussex fisheries, so far as one can judge, were moderately flourishing, but the fishermen were probably more prosperous than they deserved to be, for a very large proportion of them combined smuggling with their legitimate trade. The centre of the latter at this time appears to have been Brighton, where the mackerel fishery in particular brought in large sums of money. During an especially good season in the spring of 1791 one boat alone in four successive nights took mackerel to the value of £115⁵⁸ and, though this was an exceptional catch, the total yield for the season was calculated to be about £10,000.⁵⁹ The quality of the fish was as remarkable as its quantity:—

The peculiar delicacy of mackerel caught on the Sussex coast is such as to command in London from 18*d.* to 2*s.* each, when those brought by water from the westward are hawked about the streets at 3*d.* and 4*d.*⁶⁰

Coming down to modern times one may notice

⁴² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xviii (2), 259.

⁴³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 136.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 137.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 139.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 143.

⁴⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1603–10, p. 620.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1611–18, p. 409.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 1619–33, p. 352.

⁵¹ *S.P. Dom. Chas. I.* vol. 32, No. 90.

⁵² Horsfield, *Hist. of. Suss.* i, 126.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. pt. iv, 215.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 156.

⁵⁷ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye*, 338.

⁵⁸ *Suss. Weekly Advertiser*, 2 May, 1791.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 30 May, 1791.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 21 April, 1794.

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that under the 'Sea Fisheries Regulation Act' of 1888⁶¹ a Sea Fisheries District was created for Sussex in 1892, the boundaries being on the east a line drawn south-east from Dungeness light-house, and on the west a line from the southern end of the road bridge from Langstone to Hayling Island to the flagstaff of Hayling Island coast-

guard station and thence due south. The board was constituted of nineteen members, including three each from Hastings and Brighton and one from Eastbourne.⁶²

The nature of the fisheries at present carried on upon the coast is given in the latest returns⁶³ as follows :—

Place	Method	Chief kinds of Fish	Season	Place	Method	Chief kinds of fish	Season	
Rye	Trawling	Soles, plaice, skate, rays, gurnards, whiting, cod, pollack, dogfish	All the year	New-haven	Lines	Plaice, dabs, soles, whiting	Oct. to Jan.	
					Dredging	Escallops	Oct. to Apr.	
	Drift nets	Herring	20 Sept. to 18 Nov.		Pots	Lobsters	May to Sept.	
Win-chelsea	"	Mackerel	11 May to 10 Oct.	Brighton	Trawling (Inshore)	Plaice, soles, turbot, skate, ray	Aug. to May	
	Stake, or Kettle, and floating nets	Mackerel	1 May to 30 Sept.		Drift nets	Herrings	Nov. to Jan.	
		Herrings	1 Sept. to 30 Nov.		"	Mackerel	May to Aug.	
Hastings	Nets	Shrimps	All the year		"	Sprats	Nov. to Jan.	
	Trawling (Deep Sea)	Plaice, whiting, gurnards, dabs, flounders, skate, rays, cod, conger, dogfish, soles	" "		Lines	Plaice, dabs, whiting	No regular season	
					Seines	Plaice, soles, whiting	" "	
	Drift nets	Mackerel	1 May to 30 Sept.	Kingston	Trawling	Crabs, lobsters, brill, soles, plaice, skate, turbot, cod, dabs, whiting, hake, dogfish, bream, gurnards	Sept. to Mar.	
	"	Herrings	1 Oct. to 20 Dec.					
	"	Sprats	1 Nov. to end of Feb.			Drift nets	Mackerel	Apr. to Aug.
East-bourne	Lines	Cod, whiting, conger, gurnards	1 Oct. to end of Dec.		"	Herrings	Oct. to Jan.	
	Drift nets	Mackerel	Apr. to Oct.	Shoreham	Seine nets	Mackerel	May to July	
	"	Herrings, sprats	Sept. to Feb.		Trawling (Deep Sea)	Whiting, plaice, soles, skate, gurnard, brill, cod, dog-fish	Aug. to Mar.	
"	All kinds	Summer			Drift nets	Herrings	Oct. to Dec.	
	Tuck seines	All kinds	"		"	Mackerel	Jan. to Aug.	
	Trawling	Plaice, soles	When suitable		Lines	Whiting, dab	All the year	
	Hand lines	Whiting, &c.	All the year		Dredging	Oysters	Sept. to Jan.	
	Long lines	Plaice, skates	" "		"	Escallops	Nov. to Feb.	
	Shove nets and trawling	Shrimps	All the year	Worthing	Trawling	Prawns	Apr. and Nov.	
	Pots	Crabs, lobsters, Whelks	Feb. to Oct. Feb. to June		Drift nets	Mackerel	May to July	
					"	Herrings	Oct. to Dec.	
New-haven	Trawling (Deep Sea)	Brill, soles, turbot, dabs, gurnet, plaice, whiting	All the year		Lines	Soles, whiting, cod, plaice	All the year	
	(Inshore)	Dabs, whiting, codling, eels	" "	Bognor	Drift nets	Herrings	Oct. to Nov.	
					Pots	Lobsters, crabs, prawns	Mar. to Nov.	

⁶¹ 51 and 52 Vict. cap. 54.

⁶² District Orders, 1893-4, lxxxiii (1), 393.

⁶³ Parl. Return, Fisheries, 1905-6.

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Place	Method	Chief kinds of Fish	Season
Bognor	Lines and tram-mels	Mixed fish	All the year
Selsey	Drift nets	Herrings	Oct. to Dec.
	Lines	Pollack, skate, cod, ray	All the year
	Seines	Mackerel	June to Sept.
	Pots	Whelks, lobsters, crabs, prawns	All the year
	Hand fishing	Periwinkles	Oct. to May
	Dredging	Deep sea oysters	4 Aug. to 14 May
Emsworth ⁶⁴	Dredging	Oysters, escallops	1 Sept. to 15 June
	Spearing	Eels	All the year
	Trawling	Shrimps	" "
	Gathering	Cockles	1 May to 31 Aug.
	"	Periwinkles	1 Sept. to 30 Apr.

A return of the numbers and classes of boats in use in the Sussex fishing ports in 1903 gave the following results :—⁶⁵

	Steam	1st. Class		2nd. Class		3rd. Class
		Above 45 ft. keel	Below 45 ft.	Above 26 ft. keel	Below 26 ft.	
Rye	1	15	15	6	8	2
Winchelsea	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hastings	—	—	—	4	34	65
Eastbourne	—	—	—	—	22	24
Newhaven	—	3	1	—	2	8
Brighton	—	2	2	30	9	44
Shoreham	—	2	—	—	1	7
Worthing	—	—	—	4	10	46
Bognor	—	—	—	—	—	30
Selsey	—	—	—	—	17	23

It will be noticed that in these returns Winchelsea has no boats, as its fishery is conducted with kettle or stake nets. These consist of fences formed either of hurdles, nets or stakes, which are completely covered at high tide, so that mackerel and other fish can swim over and round the fence, but with the fall of the tide the fish are cut off and captured. This method of fishing is of great antiquity,⁶⁶ and references to it are frequent in

⁶⁴ Although Emsworth is just over the Hampshire border its fisheries are mainly within Sussex.

⁶⁵ *Parl. Return, Fisheries*, 1903-4.

⁶⁶ See *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 124.

mediaeval documents, especially in manorial court rolls, as the rents of these weirs or kettles were amongst the issues of the coast manors. Thus in 1450, at Appledram, Reynold Manfeld obtained a lease for thirty years at a rent of 12*d.* of a lagoon (*lacum*) in the sea called Cotemanware, in which to make a kettle (*kedellum*).⁶⁷ These weirs have been often denounced for the havoc they work among the fry and undersized fish, and in 1607, to take but one instance, proceedings were instituted against eleven persons in different parts of the Selsey peninsula for destroying 'spawn and frye and the broode of sea fishe,' by means of 'weares' and other devices.⁶⁸

Some idea of the amount and value of the fish taken in the course of the year may be obtained from the returns for 1905 :⁶⁹

	Mackerel, Her-ring, and Sprats		Other Fish		Total value in-cluding shell-fish
	cwt.	£	cwt.	£	£
Rye	291	106	1,736	1,235	1,341
Winchelsea	1,381	466	14	9	500
Hastings	13,357	6,688	16,266	12,445	19,133
Eastbourne	1,920	806	1,265	1,298	2,256
Newhaven	69	52	1,064	1,570	3,124
Brighton	3,812	1,689	8,185	14,441	16,130
Shoreham	938	406	422	823	1,580
Worthing	1,746	1,064	521	771	2,225
Bognor	60	22	123	282	1,229
Selsey	46	23	407	570	7,712

These returns show that no inconsiderable part of the value is derived from shell-fish, especially in West Sussex; the lobsters, prawns, and cockles of Selsey have long been celebrated, and the same district has long supplied 'abundance of exceeding good oysters.'⁷⁰ Early references to oysters on the Sussex coast are very few, but a case occurs in 1303 when Isabel de Stopham successfully claimed from John de Bumenore a rent of 2*ls.* and 3,000 oysters for a tenement in North Mundham.⁷¹ The account of the duties of the water-bailiff of Arundel about 1630 mentions his right to take half a hundred of oysters from every oyster boat entering the harbour.⁷² The distribution of the oyster along the Sussex coast was formerly much wider than at present; about 1870 there were beds at Eastbourne.⁷³ There were also extensive beds at Pevensey, the beach being strewn with oysters

⁶⁷ Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 205, No. 46.

⁶⁸ Memo. R., K.R. Mich. 5 Jas. I, m. 197-204.

⁶⁹ *Parl. Return, Fisheries*, 1905-6.

⁷⁰ *The Church Guide* (ed. 1794), 36.

⁷¹ Assize R. 1330, m. 17.

⁷² MS. in library of Suss. Arch. Soc.

⁷³ J. C. Wright, *Bygone Eastbourne*, 68.

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after every storm ; but about thirty-five years ago, as the writer was informed by an old inhabitant in 1906, a Brighton boat lay off Beachy Head and watched where the Pevensey men were dredging, and then the whole Brighton fleet came down and worked the beds, as many as seventy boats lying off Pevensey at a time, so that within three years the beds had been torn to pieces and destroyed. At the present time oysters are dredged off Selsey, and are cultivated at Bosham and Emsworth. During 1901⁷⁴ as many as 576,976 'natives and solents' were taken from Bosham, their value being £1,875 3s. 10d., and their loss was made good by laying down 500,000 brood from Burnham, and 415,200 oysters from the Solent. The industry, however, suffered very severely during 1902 through the oysters becoming polluted by sewage, so that during 1903 only 13,975 oysters, worth £39 4s. 11d., were taken from Bosham, while at Emsworth, from which place the oysters had obtained an evil notoriety as the cause of several deaths, no trade at all was done.⁷⁵ The causes of pollution having since been removed and public confidence restored, the oysters and the industry have alike become more healthy.

A fish which must not be ignored, and which occupies a place intermediate between the sea and freshwater fishes, is the Arundel mullet of well-earned celebrity. The mullet has always been recognized as a dainty, and when King Edward I was at Chichester in 1299 we find that 30s. was paid 'to one going by the sea coast to make provision of grey mullet.'⁷⁶ No doubt this mullet was obtained from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Arun, in which river, as high as Arundel—and no higher—the best grey mullet in the kingdom are to be caught.

⁷⁴ *Parl. Return, Fisheries*, 1901-2, p. 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 1903-4.

⁷⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 151.

The Arundel Castle accounts⁷⁷ for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contain many entries relating to these fish ; in 1653 mullet were sent on several occasions to London for the countess, and to Albury for Sir Richard Onslow ; four persons were paid £5 18s. 5d. for catching mullet for the earl in 1654, while on the other hand the earl took proceedings in 1656 against certain men for poaching mullet, bream, carp, pike, dace, and eels, and in 1707 Richard Beach of Littlehampton gave a bond of £100 not to use any net or other engine for taking mullet between Arundel bridge and Littlehampton, and not to do anything to frighten or disturb the fish.

Freshwater fish were formerly of far greater importance, both commercially and for local consumption, than at the present time. The Domesday Survey mentions fisheries as appurtenant to many Sussex manors, and records large yearly renders of eels from them, and from the mill-ponds, while disputes over the right of fishing in streams and ponds were of frequent occurrence in the mediaeval period. Coming down to recent times Young, writing about 1798, says :⁷⁸

A Mr. Fenn of London has long rented and is the sole monopolizer of all the fish that are sold in Sussex. Carp is the chief stock ; but tench and perch, eels and pike are raised. . . . Mr. Milward has drawn carp from his marlpits 25 lb. a brace and with two inches of fat on them, but these he feeds with pease. . . . At 12 inches carp are worth 50s. and £3 the hundred ; at 15 inches £6, at 18 inches £8 and £9.

Now, however, freshwater fish are neglected commercially, and their culture and capture have passed from the sphere of industry to that of sport.

⁷⁷ MS. in library of Suss. Arch. Soc.

⁷⁸ *Suss. Agriculture*, 393-401.

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AGRICULTURE in Sussex has probably made as great strides in the last century as it has done in most of the English counties, and though the bad times since 1878 have doubtless had their effect and thrown things back, yet when we come to consider her sheep, her cattle, her poultry, and fruit industries, it must be confessed that as a county Sussex holds her own with most of her neighbours.

Roughly speaking the county is divided into two sections, the South Downs, forming a barrier against the sea on the south, and the Weald, lying to the north of the downs ;—the first, a range of chalk hills with only a sparse covering of soil, the second, chiefly clay or a sandstone formation.

The major part of the county, the Weald, must have been formerly practically one great forest. Gervase Markham writing in 1660 does not give a very happy picture of the Weald of Sussex from a farming point of view. He writes :—

The Weald was for many yeares held to be a wild desart, or most unfruitful wilderness, and indeed such is the nature and disposition of the soyl thereof to this very day ; for it will grow to frith or wood if it be not continually manured and laboured with the plough and kept under tillage. It is throughout (except in very few places adjoining to brooks or rivers) of a very barren nature and unapt either for pasture or tillage, untill that it be holpen by some manner of comfort, as dung, marle, fresh earth, fodder, ashes, or such other refreshments ; and that seemeth to have been the cause for which in old time it was used as a wilderness, and kept for the most part with herds of deer and droves of hogs as specified in divers historical relations.

He goes on to say,

there be yet remaining in Sussex divers great forest and sundry commons or wastes, having five or six miles in length, which for the most part are not fit to be manured for corn, and yeeldeth but little profit in pasture.

Markham seems to have been a great believer in marling land in the Weald, and gives minute directions as to the different kinds of marl to be found, the quantity to be applied, as well as the rotation of crops, quantity of seed to be sown, and cultivation for the crops. Marling, according to Markham, with a rotation of arable and pasture, seems to have been the only way in which it was possible to farm the Weald.

Arthur Young, writing in the early part of the last century, says :

So predominant is the timber and wood of one sort or another in the Weald, that when viewed from the Sussex Downs, or any eminence in the neighbourhood, it presents to the eye hardly any other prospect but a mass of wood.

This is to be ascribed to the great extent and quantity of wood, preserved by a custom so extraordinary that it is not a little surprising no steps have been taken to put an end to it.

When this country was first improved by clearing, it was a common practice to leave a *shaw* of wood several yards in width, to encompass each distinct enclosure as a nursery for the timber, &c.

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And he further adds :

A system, however, of greater barbarity can hardly be imagined ; the country being generally so wet, the means to air and dry it here used are, to exclude the sun and wind by tall screens of underwood and forest around each field, and these being so small, a great number are so wood locked that it is a little surprising how the corn can ever be ripened.

And adds :

In whatever light this subject is considered, whether in respect of the landlord or his tenant, to individuals or the public, the woods are inferior to corn, and the first step to an amelioration of the Weald would be the diminution of them. By properly lessening them, the improvement of such heavy soils would already be more than half carried through, and the consequent success great, rapid, and effective. Corn and cattle, mutton and wool, would mark the progressive improvement of the county, and the Weald, in lieu of being covered with woods, would smile with plenty and prosperity.

Arthur Young, writing further of the Weald, states : ‘ In the northern part of the Weald the soil is generally bad, a considerable part incorrigible at any expense that will repay the cultivator, and would be most profitable for the growth of birch.’ But the country between the forest range and the South Downs he says ‘ contains much good land, rich, sandy, warm, and fertile clay, generally mixed with some sand, capable of producing every kind of crop.’

The Sussex Weald in the days of Markham was evidently not a place where one would wish to settle as a farmer. And in the days of Arthur Young, although he admits it contains ‘ much good land,’ yet from him and contemporary writers we learn that its agriculture was carried out under very great difficulties. The badness of its roads was notorious, the fields were generally small, undrained, and surrounded either by woods or plantations, growing underwood and oak trees, locally known as ‘ shaws.’

Since then, however, a great change has taken place : hundreds of acres of these shaws have been grubbed, land has been drained and limed, fences planted and straightened, roads improved, and with the railways and towns springing up on the coast and their demand for produce of all kinds, agriculture has taken a decided turn for the better. In the twenty odd years from 1855 to 1877, probably farming in Sussex, as in other counties, had its best times. The farmer in the Weald grew wheat, oats, beans, peas, clover, roots, did some butter-making, or bred Sussex cattle, which he either fattened himself or passed on to his more fortunate neighbour with better land, or to one who held, with his farm, land in Pevensey Marsh. He kept a small flock of wether lambs, which he bought from the breeder on the South Downs, and which he sold out as tegs, again to be fattened off on the better land, or took in Southdown or Kent sheep to keep during the winter. He probably kept one or two sows of the old Sussex breed.

The four-course system still obtains to a very large extent, and although the system of clear fallows, a few years back universal in the Weald, is not followed to the same extent as formerly, yet the best farmers now have clear fallows at least once in eight years, and more often if through wet seasons any portion of the farm gets very foul. One thing specially noticeable is the absence of lime as applied to the land. Twenty-five or thirty years back

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any one driving from the Weald to the Downs would have constantly met the Sussex wagon with its four horses drawing lime from the kilns in the chalk pits, the lime being ploughed in on the fallows as a preparation for the wheat crop ; now one may go from year's end to year's end without seeing lime carting, except for building purposes, and the familiar sight of the heaps of lime on the land is absent. Though possibly liming was over done, yet it is certain that the abandonment of the practice has been a change for the worse and the land has suffered in consequence.

The growing of hops, once a considerable industry in East Sussex, has gradually declined. Probably this is due in great measure to the fall in price, but it is also due to the fact that practically all the most suitable land has been planted, and much of the old plantation is worn out. Like other crops, hops want a change of soil. Again, few landlords encourage their cultivation, except in specially favoured places, as they think farmers are apt to neglect the rest of the farm for the sake of the hop garden. The cultivation of hops is a very expensive business, running up as high as £50 an acre. Washing is now an essential part of the cultivation, and any one who does not understand this should not go in for hop-farming. This process is also expensive, the cost being from 30s. up to perhaps £5 an acre, which naturally adds largely to the cost of production. Picking and drying costs 20s. to 25s. per pocket of 1½ cwt., and it will therefore be seen that unless a good yield be secured hops mean a loss to the farm. The average in Sussex is said to be 10 cwt. per acre. Sussex is handicapped in hop growing by the fact that its hops fetch in the market less than Kentish hops, though probably the buyers would find it difficult to distinguish the difference if it were not for the marking of the pockets.

The acreage of hops in Sussex has decreased from 9,989 acres in 1867 to 4,647 acres in 1905, and many parishes in which once practically every farm had a hop garden, have now not an acre of land planted with hops in the whole parish, although the oast houses remain to give evidence of a former industry, and give a quaint beauty and character to Sussex rural scenery.

A great change, however, has come over agriculture in the Weald : bad prices for corn have led to land being laid down ; low prices for store stock in many years, and the enormous increase of population in the towns, such as Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings, with better railway facilities, have encouraged the production of milk at the expense of butter-making and the rearing of young stock, and whilst in the year 1867 the figures (for the whole of Sussex) for arable were 388,304 acres, and pasture 239,611 acres, in 1905 they were 249,944 acres arable and 416,753 acres pasture.

Arthur Young foreshadowed this when he wrote :

The want of a proper mode of managing pasture is the more reprehensible because it is obvious that the Weald in general, from its natural quality for grass, as well as from the uncertainty of ensuring the production of full crops of grain, is far better adapted to the raising of Cattle than Corn.

This change, we fear, is not altogether for the better ; much of the so-called pasture really gives but little return, many of the fields have either been badly laid down or else allowed to 'tumble down' owing to want of capital, nor have the live stock, as a whole, increased to the extent that they should

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have done were the pastures capable of carrying the stock. This is shown by the following figures from the returns :—

	1867		1905
Cattle - - -	86,705	Cattle - - -	127,041
Sheep - - -	557,390	Sheep - - -	400,715
Pigs - - -	54,140	Pigs - - -	41,102

It is true that cattle show a very large increase, but on the other hand it must be borne in mind that, in addition to the large increase in pasture as against arable, the increase in cultivated land as shown by the returns of the two years quoted has been nearly 39,000 acres, and further that there has been a very heavy fall in the return for sheep. From the returns of 1906, just to hand, it appears that cattle have increased since last year to the extent of nearly 1,700, whilst sheep are 1,700 less.

The cattle kept in the county are not confined to any particular breed. Sussex, the breed of the county, are kept in comparatively few hands. They were originally kept for the fattening qualities of the stock bred from them and for working oxen. At the time when Arthur Young writes apparently only oxen were used for farm work. A Sussex herd is kept by very few actual tenant farmers, although there is a great demand amongst farmers for Sussex bulls for use with the Shorthorn herds kept for milking purposes.

It is claimed for the Sussex breed that 'they are unequalled for beef-production, hardiness, early maturity, and thriving disposition,' and that 'the improvement that has been effected in respect to symmetrical appearance, depth of flesh, and early maturity, has been obtained without any loss of these important qualities to the export buyer, i.e. soundness of constitution and hardiness.' In a pamphlet issued by the Sussex Herd Book, from which the above is quoted, it is shown that in the Smithfield Shows in the eight years 1898 to 1905, the average daily gain in live weight of the steers under two years was 2 lb. 1·55 oz., and in the case of heifers of the same age 1 lb. 10·72 oz. These weights are for the whole of the animals shown in these classes during the period stated ; the figures speak for themselves.

Excellent herds are kept in the county by the Right Hon. the Earl of Winterton, Shillinglee Park, Petworth ; the Messrs. Ernest E. Braby and James Braby, Rudgwick ; Thomas Bannister, Haywards Heath ; J. E. A. Gwynne, Folkington Manor, Polegate ; James W. Lord, Northiam ; Charles J. Lucas, Warnham Court, Horsham.

The presence of so many large towns in the county, with London within easy distance by rail, has led to a very large milk industry being carried on. The dairy cows in the herds where milk is produced are almost entirely Shorthorns purchased from Buckinghamshire and the western counties. With these cows a Sussex bull is now generally used and the calves sold shortly after they are dropped ; these calves sell at good prices to farmers, who rear them for store stock. The cross with the Sussex turns out some excellent beasts, and has given an impetus also to the rearing of that breed. Where butter is produced Jersey cows are kept, and are found to answer extremely well, but are not popular with the tenant farmer, the cows and their produce being of little value to the butcher. Good herds are kept by Colonel Walter A. Hankey, Beaulieu, St. Leonards-on-Sea ; R. J. Streatfeild,

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The Rocks, Uckfield ; David Mutton, Triangle Farm, Plumpton ; Captain A. B. S. Fraser, Withdean Farm, Brighton ; F. Freeman-Thomas, Ratton, Willingdon ; Admiral the Hon. Thomas S. Brand, Glynde Place ; Viscount Gage, Firle Place ; H. H. Pownall, Ades, Chailey ; S. Austen Leigh, Alfriston. The Duchess of Devonshire keeps a select herd of Dexter Kerrys at Compton Place, Eastbourne.

For grazing Welsh Runts used to be bought in considerable quantities, both for use as working oxen and to be fattened off on the marsh or brook land. Fewer runts, however, appear every year at the fairs, and those sent do not seem to be so well bred as formerly, many being manifestly crossbred and now having a second or third cross. Irish cattle are forwarded from Bristol, and find a sale since the stock rearing has been so largely dropped, but grazing has largely given way to the dairy, and now even on much of the brook land one sees nothing but cows, where a few years back the land was all farmed for grazing and fattening.

A few polled Angus herds are kept, notably by his Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Goodwood ; and by Sir James Duke, bart., Laughton.

The milk industry, which is, as we have said, a very large one, is now carried on all over the county, particularly on farms near a town, a railway station, or a dairy factory, but in some cases even at a considerable distance—we know of cases as far as seven miles—from a town or railway station. The milk after being cooled over a separator is sent by road to the station or factory ; some of the smaller farmers combine for this purpose, one of their number carrying his neighbours' milk with his own, and making a charge per gallon for the accommodation. There are several dairy factories in the county, two of the largest being at Glynde and Sheffield Park. The first of these was started by the late Lord Hampden as a private venture in 1887, and has, since his death, been turned into a limited liability company, and does a large business. Milk is received from the neighbouring farmers, and also by rail from producers at a distance ; it is separated by machinery, and the cream is either sold or made into butter. The cream and butter are sold wholesale with other dairy produce at the shops held by the company in London and elsewhere. The whole of the work is carried out under the best system, every operation is done by machinery worked by steam. Payment to the farmers is made monthly, and contracts are entered into half-yearly.

When butter is made the cream separator is largely in use, hand separators being used on many of the smaller farms, although a good deal of butter is made from skimming off the cream in the old-fashioned way. Butter-making, throughout East Sussex particularly, has been greatly improved during the last few years by the action of the County Council, who sent round to the country districts an instructress with a van, fully equipped with dairy utensils, to give practical lectures. These lectures were largely attended by farmers' wives and daughters, and were of great benefit ; practically the whole of the Weald of East Sussex was visited, but the lectures have now been dropped. The lectures and teaching were of undoubted benefit, butter-making in East Sussex, at all events, is better understood, and the butter a more saleable article in consequence.

The Sussex pig is now nearly extinct as a breed ; formerly it existed as a large black pig with very little hair and very large ears hanging down over

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its eyes, and it was of great length. The sows were good mothers, and had good litters, possibly some twelve or thirteen pigs. The pigs, however, were slow in coming to maturity, and Berkshires have largely been introduced. The pigs from a Sussex sow, mated with a Berkshire, were most profitable, but now, owing to crossing, a pure Sussex is practically a thing of the past. Berkshire pigs are largely kept, some so-called Sussex, and the large black breed. Black seems to be the prevailing colour ; white and Tamworth are but seldom met with.

Sussex as a county cannot pride herself on the excellence of her horses, though a very marked improvement has taken place in the last thirty years. During this time several excellent Shire stallions have been brought into the county, and have been allowed to serve at comparatively low fees, with the result that a better-class horse is to be found on most of the farms than formerly.

Clydesdales and Suffolks have been used but very little, and the best of the cart horses generally are of the Shire type. The breeding of light horses is not often done on the farm. There are, however, a certain number of hunters bred, notably by Sir Merrik R. Burrell, bart., who has established a very fine stud at Knepp Castle. The hackney has not found any favour with the farmer.

Underwood used formerly to form a considerable item on the Weald farm. In addition to the shaws before referred to, many of the farmers had a certain amount of woodland attached to their farms, and the cutting of wood not only provided work for the labourers in winter but also the material was used on the farm in many ways.

The grubbing of a very large acreage of hops, and the use of creosote for preserving poles, together with the use of wire, has led to hop-poles being now a drug in the market. Cooper's work has declined, as has also the sale of toy wood, i.e. backs of brushes, &c., as these are now largely imported from Germany. The disuse of the farmhouse and cottage ovens, the use of coal in the cottages, the use of foreign firewood for fire lighting, has made the faggots almost unsaleable, with the result that underwood and its products have fallen in price ; this has made what was once a source of profit to be almost a source of annoyance on the farm. The result has further been that labourers of the present day have largely lost the art of wood-cutting, and on large woodland estates it is difficult not only to sell the underwood but even to get the wood cut at all. Formerly cut at from ten to fifteen years, one may see in the woods underwood of twenty or more years' growth running to waste.

Coming from the Weald to the sea, we find large tracts of very fertile pasture land, notably the well-known Pevensey Marsh, lying between Eastbourne and Bexhill. This is almost entirely grazed by cattle or sheep, many of the agreements having restrictive covenants as to mowing. Land in the marsh is held, as a rule, together with farms on the Downs or in the Weald. Cattle are sent down from these farms as soon as the season will permit, in April or May, fattened off, and sold in Pevensey or Hailsham markets. The better farmers generally send down bullocks forward in flesh, which are sold off when fat, and are followed by a second lot, the best of which go off before the bad weather sets in at the end of October ; those that are not

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sufficiently forward are taken back to be finished on the farm. The cattle in the marsh are placed under the care of 'lookers,' who take charge of them and the land at so much per acre. The 'lookers' and the men under them live on the spot, look after the cattle, cut thistles, see to small repairs, bring the cattle to market, &c.; and, in fact, in many cases the farmer leaves his cattle to the looker and hardly sees them from the time they leave the farm until they are for sale in the market. Similar land is to be found near Lewes and between this and Newhaven, known as the Lewes and Laughton Levels, and again near the other Sussex rivers, such as the Arun and Adur.

Such marshes and levels are under the management of Commissioners of the Levels, owners of land in the level and their agents, who carry out all the work necessary to maintain the main watercourses, generally known as main sewers, the expenditure being charged to owners and occupiers in proportion, the charge being known as 'water scot.'

In the extreme east of the county, near Rye and Winchelsea, are again marsh lands. On these marsh lands, and, in fact, generally on the farms east of Battle, large numbers of Romney Marsh or Kent sheep are reared. The lambs of this breed are, as a rule, sent up into the Weald, and are kept during the winter by the small farmers in the Weald; these lambs, known as 'keepers,' are driven up through the country at Michaelmas and remain in the Weald till the following Lady Day, the Weald farmers receiving about 8s. per head for the keep.

Another change in the Weald of Sussex may be noted in recent years in the increase of small holdings. Large farms are split up into smaller holdings, and probably revert to what they were some hundred years ago. This division is on the increase, though it must be a matter of time, as few landlords can afford, in these bad times, the outlay of providing additional houses and buildings. The number of farmers in East Sussex by the returns was: In 1867—7,903; and in 1905—8,951.

On these smaller holdings are now reared a large number of chickens, an industry which is spreading every year all over the county, particularly in East Sussex. Heathfield is in the centre of the district, which has long been famous for its poultry fattening. In the Heathfield district a very large number of birds are reared, whilst many are purchased from Ireland, Wales, and many English counties. The businesses of breeding and fattening are, as a rule, kept distinct, although combined on some farms, generally on the larger ones. The fatterer buys from the breeder, or from a local collector known as a 'higgler,' and keeping the birds shut up in a barn or outhouse, feeds them by machinery, a man and a boy working the 'crammer.' The food, grit, &c., is taken round by a merchant in a traction engine. The birds when ready for the market are dispatched by train to London to a salesman, or in some cases direct to a shop. At Heathfield station a special truck is provided for the purpose, and in a busy week no less than 80 tons are sent off from this station alone. From Uckfield and other stations heavy consignments are sent, and it may be easily understood that this industry is a valuable one from the following figures:—

In Mr. Rew's report to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1894, the annual output of fattened fowls from Heathfield and Uckfield stations was stated to be 840 tons (estimated to represent 1,030,400 chickens);

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according to information supplied to Mr. J. W. Hurst of Uckfield, and issued by the Board of Agriculture in the present year (1906), 'the output has now increased by some 360 tons per annum, and the fatteners of East Sussex are fattening over 200,000 chickens more per annum than twelve years ago.' The same writer mentions that 'as an indication of the increased imports from Ireland of lean chickens, it may be mentioned that during 1893 there arrived at Heathfield station 1,014 'tops' or crates full; but that in the one month of March, 1904, no less than 863 'tops' were received.

The Heathfield chicken trade has been in existence many years. Before the days of railways the Messrs. Bean, whose family still carry on the business of higglers, made the journey to London of some fifty miles by wagon.

These fowls have been known in London for many years as Surrey fowls, and as such have made good prices. In the last few years, however, the Sussex poultry breeders have brought them out as a breed of their own, 'the Sussex Fowl,' and these can be seen at the Royal and other shows, divided into three classes—red, white, and speckled. Mr. E. J. Wadman, now of Upper Beeding, has kept the red variety for many years, Mr. G. J. Lenny, of Buxted, the speckled, and the Messrs. E. and H. Russell, of Chiddingly, the white, and these have been amongst the successful breeders.

Leaving the Weald and its marshes and coming to the South Downs, known locally as 'the Hill,' a range of hills running from the borders of Hampshire to Beachy Head, we find probably some of the best farming in the county. The farms run generally to a considerable area, from perhaps 300 to 1,200 acres in extent, with good farmhouses, substantial buildings, and good cottages, built in the main of flint picked or dug from the adjoining land. The houses are occupied by some of the most able practical farmers of the county. Sheep-farming is, as a rule, carried on on these holdings, although near the large towns dairying has here, as elsewhere, made itself felt, to the exclusion to a certain extent of sheep; still, in the main, farming for sheep is the principal industry. These farms have a proportion of down land, the short turf of which with its fine grass and herbs gives to Southdown mutton its excellent flavour. The proportion of down land varies in the case of different farms, probably from the fact that in the days of high prices for corn, any land that was at all worth the cultivating was broken up; still, every hill farm has a sheep run of this kind. The remainder is under the plough, with the exception of a few fields near the homestead inclosed with flint walls; in the case of West Sussex probably some brook land is attached to the holding, and in the case of East Sussex a certain acreage in Pevensey Marsh, or brook land where the farm runs off the hill on to the adjacent lowlands.

The arable land is farmed for wheat and oats, and of the latter heavy crops are grown, but very little barley is sown; apart from these cereals a large provision is made for the mainstay of the farm, the Southdown sheep; crops for these important animals follow one another in succession, the aim being to ensure a plentiful supply of food in addition to that which the sheep pick up on the down. Thus, as soon as the harvest is carried trifolium is sown, rye, winter barley, and tares are put in for feed for the ewes and their lambs. During the year a large acreage is sown with rape or cole-seed (and

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perhaps mustard), for feed in the later summer and through the winter. Every farm has its acreage of mangolds and swedes, and a large number of cabbages are grown of the round and thousand head varieties. The extent of meadow-land on the hill farm being as a rule very small, a considerable acreage of broad clover is sown for hay, both for feeding the ewes during lambing and also for horses, whilst a good portion of the ploughed land is given up to what is locally known as gratton, i.e. rye-grass and trefoil, with perhaps some white clover and alsike. On these grattons the ewes and lambs are run when brought forward from the meadows, and in a favourable year for growth, any part of the gratton which cannot be fed is mown for hay.

The pasture-fields being of small extent, and being generally used for the ewes and lambs when first drawn from the lambing yard, it will be seen that there is but little chance for the horses on the farm to have a grass run in the summer. The horses, therefore, are mainly dependent on the arable land, and are fed on clover, hay, and oats, and in the early summer on trifolium and tares.

Formerly oxen were used for working purposes and were kept in large open yards, and fed on oat-straw and hay, with the addition in winter of oats or cake ; but now working oxen are practically things of the past and the farms using them are very few, probably not more than half-a-dozen in the whole range of the South Downs, if so many. The yards now, where dairy cows are not kept, are filled with store stock, fed with oat-straw, hay, and mangold, and are brought into better condition with oil-cake in the last few weeks, so as to go down to the marsh or brook land at the end of April or the beginning of May.

The once familiar sight of a team of six bullocks drawing the old wheel plough on the Downs, the subject of many an artist's sketch, has gone, and no longer is there to be seen the eight oxen yoked together in pairs slowly drawing the Sussex wagon into the market town laden with wheat or other farm produce.

On the purely flock farms a flock of from 300 to 1,000 ewes will be kept. The ewes lamb down in February or March, in East Sussex generally not until the middle of March, yards being formed for them with gorse cut from the Downs, of which there is a plentiful supply, or in the open yards attached to the buildings on the farm ; where these are available, barns and sheds are brought into use, and where these are not sufficient thatched shelters are made. The lambs are tailed, &c., in about three weeks, and a few days later the ewes and lambs are drawn into a meadow to ensure, if possible, a plentiful supply of milk for the lambs. From here they are drawn on the grattons, and then ewes and lambs go into a fold, and begin also to feed off the first of the spring crops provided for them. From this time on till near lambing again, the ewes 'go to fold.' In June the lambs are taken away from the ewes and go to fold on their own account. In June also comes the washing of the ewes and ewe tegs, followed by shearing. The first fairs, St. John's in the east and Findon in West Sussex, take place early in July, and here are sent chiefly the cull lambs of both sexes ; these fairs are followed by Bat and Ball Fair at Chiddingfold at the end of July, chiefly a lamb fair, but now, owing to its position some four miles from a station, presenting very modest proportions. Lindfield Fair early in August, near Hayward's Heath, takes many of

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the better lambs, and here a good many draught ewes as well as wether tegs make their appearance. Findon second fair, early in September, has a good show of lambs and draft ewes, sent almost entirely from West Sussex, followed by Lewes on 21 September, the great fair of the year, where the best lambs and draft ewes from nearly all the East Sussex flocks are sold, together with a number of rams from both East and West Sussex breeders. A week later is another fair at Lewes, at which are penned small lambs, over-year ewes, &c. These fairs were formerly the only means, excepting private sales, by which the breeder sold his produce. At all of them except Findon the fair is an open one, and the buyer treats with the seller.

Of late, however, a large number of sheep have been disposed of by auction, and large sales are held, notably at Chichester in the month of August, where Messrs. Stride and Messrs. Hobgen hold large sales of Southdown sheep, patronized chiefly by West Sussex, the East Sussex breeders preferring to deal with their customers direct.

In August or September the flock is made up of three ages, 2-tooth, 4-tooth, and 6-tooth, in equal numbers, the 2-tooth being the lambs of the previous year; and in addition to the ewe flock the best of the ewe lambs are kept, and some ten or twenty more than the probable number required for flock purposes, to allow for contingencies.

These lambs are the future mothers, and are then dignified by the title of 'stock ewe lambs.' Possibly also some ram lambs are saved for sale, or for use in that part of the flock where they are not related.

The ewes, as has been before stated, are folded either on a piece of tares, rape, or cabbage, and in wet weather are folded in what is termed a dry fold, on the graton, stubble, or possibly fallow ground, it being realized that it is the best and easiest way of manuring the land. The stock lambs are similarly folded, but have in winter a specially made fold, probably against a straw stack, with wattles bound with straw; this yard is littered down with straw, and the sheep are thus protected against the bitter winds sweeping across the Downs.

Both ewes and lambs receive hay during the winter, and also cake or oats, the latter feed depending on how they hold their own, and on the particular management carried out on the particular farm.

In writing of the agriculture of Sussex, however, one cannot pass by Southdown sheep with merely a brief account such as has been given in our notes of their life history on the farm. The best breed of sheep in the world, as Sussex men believe, and, at all events, well known for the excellence of their mutton, their hardiness, good wool, and disposition to fatten, the Southdown is worthy of at all events a short description.

When one talks of Southdowns, one naturally goes back to John Ellman of Glynde, who did so much for the breed, and whose name is a household word to anyone interested in Southdown sheep. If one turns to Arthur Young's *History of Sussex Agriculture*, before referred to, one finds that most of his notes on the breed were received, and his conclusions drawn, from information given him by John Ellman.

Arthur Young, writing about 1800, tells us that up to 1773 no polled breed existed west of the Shoreham River (West Sussex), but that the flocks were Dorsetshire or Hampshire; that about 1779 Southdown rams were used,

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and that in 1791 some horned flocks were left in West Sussex ; but he leads us to believe that in about twenty years the Southdown sheep had spread generally over West Sussex, whilst in East Sussex Southdown sheep were the breed *par excellence* of the country. He specially mentions Mr. Pinnix's flock at Up Marden in West Sussex as being a good one, and as having been started in 1788, and notes that it was reared in the centre of the Dorsetshire breed.

Reading the account of John Ellman's flock, and the way he farmed it, one will see but very little difference in the custom followed at the present time. He had the same flock, of the same ages, and the same relative number of stock ewe lambs ; the cultivation pursued was very much the same, although perhaps more wheat was grown then than now, prices being better. There were, however, some important differences. A certain number of wether lambs were kept, and these and the ewe lambs were put out to keep in the winter, two or three shillings a head being paid for their keep. These wether lambs became in turn 'stock wethers,' and were kept on the farm until two years old, and then fattened ; indeed some seem to have been kept till three years old. The general rule on the hill farm now is to keep the stock ewe lambs on the farm all the year round, and to sell all the wether lambs ; thus two- or three- year-old mutton is a thing of the past, unless under exceptional circumstances. Another practice of John Ellman's, now very rarely followed, was the shearing of the lambs. As the wool shorn was only $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. or under per lamb, and only realized about 6*d.* per lb., one cannot think the game was worth the candle. Ellman's idea, however, was that it improved the clip of wool in succeeding years. Ellman, whose name was, of course, well known, had a ready sale for his draft ewes to other breeders, and also bred a considerable number of rams. It may be noted that he did not believe in using ram lambs with the flocks, and would not do so with his own flock.

The engravings of Ellman's ewe and ram in Arthur Young's book show rather a different character from those of the present day. The ewe has a very small and short head, the body short in front as compared with the hind quarters ; and the ram particularly has, as we should say now, not masculine enough head, with too much daylight under the body, whilst both have very small ears, and an absence of wool on the poll cheeks and lower part of the legs.

The fleeces from Ellman's flock averaged about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., whilst Pinnix's flock averaged 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. : this is considerably less than the weight of the present day, although something like the relative proportions of East and West Sussex, the weight for ewe and ewe teg fleeces being now, perhaps, 4 lb. in East Sussex and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. or 5 lb. in West Sussex.

The writer of this article has in his possession the flock-book kept by his great-grandfather, who farmed a very large acreage between Brighton and Lewes at the same time that John Ellman held the Glynde Farm. The flock-book runs from 1772 to 1805. This flock would probably be typical of the general Down flock. This breeder kept a large flock, the management of which was practically identical with Ellman's as regards the keeping of a flock of ewes, ewe and wether lambs, and stock wethers. From this book one finds that the clip of wool was about the same, running from an average of

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2½ lb. up as high as 2 lb. 7½ oz., which must have been thought extraordinary in those days for an ordinary flock, as in 1793, when there was an average clip per sheep of 2 lb. 5 oz., there is a remark, 'a wonderful average.'

This flock-book gives details of the sheep kept, of the ewe flock, of the dry flock (wethers and wether lambs), prices for shearing, added to which was always a bottle of Geneva, lambs sent out to keep, &c., clip of wool, average, and prices. The flock at shearing time often ran up to over 2,500, including the lambs which were shorn, as in Ellman's case. The wool fetched from 10*d.* per lb. in 1774, the lowest price, to 2*s.* per lb. in 1792, noted as a wonderful rise, and in 1796 to 2*s.* 2*d.* The lambs clipped about ½ lb. of wool, which was sold at 6*d.* The lambs put out to keep in this case cost 2*s.* 9*d.* to 5*s.* per head. It is interesting to note that John Dudeney, known as 'the Sussex poet,' was shepherd to the owner of this flock.

In the case of this farm, part of the land farmed was Tenantry Down. Apparently several other owners with rights over the Down had small lots of ewes in the flock, the flock, however, being managed by the largest owner.

During the last hundred years a great improvement has taken place in the Southdown sheep; better farming has increased the size of the sheep without affecting the quality of the wool, an increased demand for Southdown sheep all over England, and also for export, has put the breeders on their mettle, and much greater care is taken not only to produce lambs that will meet the views of buyers to turn into mutton, but to supply with the raw material, in the shape of ewes and rams, the large numbers of flockmasters, at the head of which is His Majesty the King, with his well-known flock at Sandringham.

There is, we think, no doubt that when the breed is taken off their native hills they do to a certain extent lose some of their character, and it is to Sussex that the breeder must return for purity of type. It is from the South Downs that the best specimens are to be obtained. To give the names of the Southdown breeders in Sussex would require more space than we have at our command. They are to be found in the *Southdown Flock Book*, which has been established some years. Amongst the oldest flocks in the county we may mention that of Admiral the Hon. T. S. Brand, whose flock at Glynde goes back to John Ellman's blood. A flock has been kept at Stanmer on the Earl of Chichester's home farm for many years, and we may mention the old flocks of Mr. R. R. Verrall at Falmer, and Mr. Allan Cooper at Norton. In West Sussex, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon has at Goodwood a very old flock, known wherever Southdowns are known. This flock, we believe, goes back to the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. E. Hobgen of Shripney, Bognor, with Mr. F. N. Hobgen of Appledram, and many other names both in East and West Sussex, will occur to those who know the county, and amongst those breeding rams should not be forgotten the name of the Pagham Harbour Company.

We may add that wool, like many other farm products, has found its way to the auction sale room, and is now sold by auction at Chichester and Lewes, the former open wool fairs at these towns having fallen through.

The number of sheep kept on the Downs has of late years largely diminished, as previously mentioned; there has been a falling-off in Sussex from forty years back of some 150,000 sheep, and this has largely taken place on the Hill. The large towns on the sea-coast have extended, whilst

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before them are driven the allotment holders, building and allotments in certain cases taking what were formerly flock farms; then the dairy industry again comes in, and where there are many cows sheep are either kept in very small numbers or disappear entirely. Yet prices for Southdowns have risen considerably. In Ellman's day lambs sold at (an average for seven years) about 15s. each, now they would probably fetch 28s.; draft ewes, 18s. 6d., now 38s. to 45s. Wool certainly has not improved in price; Ellman's sold from 9d. up to 2s. 8d. per lb. (in 1805, and in this year his fleeces averaged 3 lb.), whilst the prices ruling of late have been from 11d. to 1s. 3d., but then it must be remembered that the fleece is heavier.

Another part of the county deserves special mention, viz. that lying between Shoreham and Chichester, east and west, and between the Downs and the sea, north and south. Here is a stretch of very fertile land growing splendid crops of wheat, oats, and clover. Here the sheep-farming is principally the fattening of the ewe and lamb together, and the production of early lamb. Full-mouth Southdown ewes are bought and put to a Hampshire ram, these are fattened off on the arable land on a ley chiefly composed of white clover; the ewes lamb down soon after Christmas, and both ewes and lambs are caked so as to bring the lambs into market as soon as possible, and also to finish off the ewe. This is a very forward district, lying as it does on the south side of the Downs, thus getting all the sun, and with a soil practically alluvial deposit crops or stock can be forced in a way not dreamt of either on the Hill or on the side north of the range of Downs.

In the centre of this district comes Worthing, with its fruit-farming, another most important industry in the county.

One of the large fruit-growers in Worthing has kindly given us some information on the fruit-industry.

He writes:—

Worthing is fortunate both in its soil and sunshine, and also from being sheltered by the Southdowns.

We are able to get our produce into market from a fortnight to three weeks earlier than the grower north of London.

The abundance of sunshine, however, prevents our keeping grapes on the vines as long as our London friends, who are enabled through their murky atmosphere to keep their old grapes till April. We, perhaps, by shading our houses might do the same, but most of us make a point of getting the bulk of grapes marketed soon after Christmas, commencing again in May. Cucumbers are sent all the year round. This peculiarity of sunshine and want of sunshine works fairly well, as the London growers cannot compete with us for early stuff, and we cannot compete with them for late.

I think Mr. George Beer may be considered the pioneer of the industry in Worthing about twenty-eight or thirty years ago.

At the present time the greenhouses at Worthing, if placed end on end, will reach about forty miles. The length of hot-water pipes about two hundred miles. The superficial area of glass would be over four million feet.

I think that the wages paid by the fruit-growers in Worthing would amount to over £50,000 a year; this could be doubled if we had an outlet for our produce abroad, but the import duties are prohibitive (I don't want to go into politics), but if the foreigner treated us as we treated the foreigner we could afford to double the number of greenhouses, double our wages bill, and to a great extent solve the unemployed question in these parts.

The principal stuff grown are grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, and strawberries. From October to Christmas such of the greenhouses as are empty are utilized for chrysanthemums.

The bulk of the produce goes to the London markets, but some goes to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and so far north as Glasgow. The produce is sent on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; during part of the year every day.

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The grapes are packed in handle baskets, varying from 5 lbs. to 8 lbs. per basket, or what are called 'shallows' or baby baskets carrying about 12 lbs. The bunches are tied to the basket to prevent damage in transit, and the shallows when filled are placed in hampers. Cucumbers are sent in hampers containing three dozen each.

Stable manure is sent principally from London. A good deal of artificial manure, however, is used.

Farm tenancies in the county run almost entirely from Michaelmas, either old or new, Lady Day takes being comparatively rare; and it is at the end of September that one meets with perhaps a procession of carts and farm implements and live stock of various kinds on which are very conspicuous numbers, showing to anyone who knows anything of farming that the voice of the auctioneer has been heard in the land. It is at this time that the 'Tenant Right Valuations' take place. In East Sussex the outgoing tenant is paid as a rule for hay at feeding price, for the threshing, dressing, and carriage of corn to market (the incoming tenant receives in return the straw, &c., free of charge for the payment for threshing, &c.), for the manure left on the farm, and for the labour and carriage of the manure where carted, for the whole of the work done for the benefit of the incoming tenant in the cultivation of fallows and crops, such as mangolds, swedes, cabbage, or rape, including seed and artificial manure on root crops, and allowance for rent and rates on fallows or root crops. The incoming tenant also pays for clover and other young seeds sown for his benefit; in the Weald for underwood, and on the Downs for the folding of the sheep. In many cases tenants' fixtures are taken, such as blinds and coppers; formerly, in some cases, all the grates in the farmhouse and cottages passed from tenant to tenant, but this is now rarely the case. Where hops are still grown the hop-poles are paid for and add a considerable item to the valuation, and on hop farms the 'hair' in the oast house, hop press, and other things used in hop-growing, pass under the valuation.

In West Sussex the valuation is on pretty much the same lines, except that straw is paid for at feeding value instead of the arrangement as to threshing, &c., and folding is not as a rule charged. Very little advantage is taken of the Agricultural Holdings Acts, 1883 and 1900, and very few claims are made under these Acts. On many farms outgoing tenants are paid for a proportion of the cake and corn consumed, and are content to claim only under their agreement or custom.

Twenty-five or thirty years ago leases were fairly common, but yearly agreements are now almost universal, with a twelve-months' notice expiring at Michaelmas. Of late years a good many farmers have come into the county from Somerset, Devon, and other counties, and these tenants often ask for leases, but the Sussex man prefers the yearly agreement, and in many cases tenants have held farms for generations with only a yearly agreement, or perhaps no written agreement at all. This speaks well for the good feeling between landlord and tenant.

Rents have had a heavy fall since 1878. The largest reductions have taken place on the Hill farms, and probably the rents here are fifty per cent. less. On the larger farms in the Weald there has been a heavy fall in rents, but in the case of the smaller farms the reduction has not been so great owing to the greater demand for these farms; on the other hand, as has been before mentioned, the outlay there is heavier for houses, buildings, &c. The fall of rents has been increased by the passing of the Tithe Act in 1891. Before

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this Act was passed the tenant usually paid the tithe ; but by this Act the payment of tithe was thrown on the landlord, and in many cases, particularly in new lettings, the rent has remained the same, the tenant escaping the payment of tithe.

The burdens on the land in the shape of rates have increased, and notwithstanding the enormous increase in the rateable value of the county caused by building, railways, &c., the rates are about double what they were thirty years ago.

Some relief has been given by the Agricultural Rates Act ; but this is largely discounted by the fact that the buildings on the farm, on which the full rate is paid, are assessed out of proportion to the farm as a whole ; what benefit there is has been in almost every case entirely reaped by the tenant and not by the landlord.

Labourers' wages have increased generally all over the county, particularly where the farm is near a big town or populous centre. The ordinary farm labourer in East Sussex receives from 14s. to 15s. a week, which, with hay and harvest money, &c., brings him in an average wage of £1 a week. A really good man, who can do thatching, &c., probably earns 25s. a week. Carters, 17s. to 18s. a week with cottage ; cowmen, 17s. to 18s. a week ; shepherds, 18s. a week, with cottage and extras. Cottages are rented at 1s. 6d. or 2s. a week and as a rule have a good garden. In West Sussex labourers' wages run about 13s. to 14s. a week, or through the year average 19s. a week ; carters, 15s. to 17s. with cottage ; shepherds, 16s. to 18s. a week with cottage and extras. Where a farm is near a town, however, these wages are exceeded, although probably the cottage rent may be higher.

Allotments can be had in many places and especially on the large estates, but as a farm hand gets better off the desire for an allotment seems to fail, and on some of the large estates allotments cannot be let and have to be added to the adjoining farm or be made use of in some way or other. Near the large seaside towns a considerable acreage is farmed as allotment gardens with apparently considerable success.

Many of the cottagers and small holders keep bees, and in the neighbourhood of the Downs, especially, delicious honey can be obtained, to which the various flowering herbs give a delicate flavour. The old-fashioned and picturesque straw skep is still in favour with many, but knowledge has come, and when it is realized that the old straw skep will yield perhaps 10 lb. of honey while the bar frame will yield its 50 lb. or 60 lb., then the old way naturally gives place to the new idea.

Bee-keeping associations' lectures, &c., have done much to spread knowledge, and bee-keeping, which may be made a profitable business, is on the increase, and should be encouraged in a county so well adapted for bees as Sussex undoubtedly is.

Farm buildings generally throughout the county have improved, and the fact that the sanitary authorities inspect cowsheds, &c., has led to the cattle, especially dairy cows, being better housed. This improvement has certainly been at the expense of beauty, and the old-fashioned thatched roof has largely disappeared.

Where tiles are used instead of thatch they soon 'take the weather' and show many tints of colour ; but, alas ! slate, quite foreign to the county, has

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been largely used, and even worse, corrugated iron has been found a cheap substitute for the products of the county, thatch and tile, and Sussex scenery suffers in consequence.

Of the implements used on the farm, certain of the old-fashioned ones still hold their own. The Sussex wagon, with its 6-in. wheels, is in general use in the Weald, and on the Downs the Sussex wheel-plough still finds favour, and those who use it say that no modern plough turns out such good work. On most of the farms, however, the implements, generally speaking, are up to date. Binders are in general use on farms of any size, with all the various modern implements which the ingenuity of our own makers and our American cousins now supply to the farming world, and even the motor plough can be seen and heard at work in fields which not many years ago were ploughed by the slow and silent oxen. On some of the big farms steam or oil engines have made their appearance and do the work of chaff-cutting, ploughing, &c.

Labourers' cottages are as a general rule improved, and where new ones have been built they are a very great improvement on the old-fashioned ones, as dwellings, although certainly not so picturesque in appearance ; in parts of the county some of the old cottages leave much to be desired, and are hardly fit for occupation. Cottages generally are badly wanted, but it is difficult to see how the landowner can afford to put up new cottages, with a diminished income and heavier expenses, owing to larger outlay on farm buildings to meet modern requirements.

It is also more expensive now to build cottages than formerly, owing to the fact that prices have increased for both labour and materials, and further, that builders now have to comply with the special requirements of the District Council's by-laws. The by-laws, however, as now enforced in most rural districts are not unreasonable, and are generally necessary for the sake of the cottage tenant.

Labourers' cottages at present prices, and let at the ordinary rents, will not pay more than 2 per cent. on the outlay.

Agricultural education is provided for in the eastern part of the county by the County Council, who in 1894 started an Agricultural College at Uckfield. At this college young men are taken as boarders at a very moderate charge, and have the opportunity of attending lectures on all the various matters connected with agriculture. A farm of about 100 acres is attached to the college, and here the pupils can see in practice the actual operations and daily work of the farm. A Shorthorn herd is kept, as well as sheep and pigs, so that the pupils get a knowledge of stock. Poultry are made a special feature, and the various branches of breeding, rearing, fattening, &c., are studied.

A great point in the outdoor work is the orchard, about 5 acres in extent. This, on apparently not very suitable soil, has been wonderfully successful, and is an object lesson, not only to the pupils, but also to the county at large. In addition to the agricultural teaching, which includes chemistry, geology, botany, entomology, horticulture, poultry farming, dairy work, and bee-keeping, special instruction is given in veterinary work, surveying, book-keeping, smith's work, and carpentering.

The regular course of instruction is two years. In addition, a winter course of about twelve weeks is given to farmers' sons, and lectures are also

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given by members of the staff at various centres in the county, farmers' club meetings, &c. These lectures have been followed with great interest by the members of the farmers' clubs, and have undoubtedly been much appreciated. Experiments are carried out on the growth of crops, manuring, &c., and as the results are published the county at large gets the benefit.

The college, which began in a small way, has largely increased its numbers and usefulness, and the county generally should be grateful to the East Sussex County Council for the satisfactory way in which it has carried out its work of agricultural education.

There are several farmers' clubs in the county, most, if not all, of which have been started on the eastern side. The East Sussex Farmers' Club, with its head quarters at Lewes, has a large number of members, representing a very great portion of the acreage of East Sussex. This club, which is probably carried on on the same lines as the other clubs, has been in existence for about twenty-five years. The club holds meetings every two or three weeks during the winter months, which are well attended. Lectures are given on every kind of subject connected with agriculture, discussion takes place, and it is evident that the farmer of to-day is fully alive to the importance of hearing the results of new experiments, &c., and is able to hold his own in technical subjects, such as the constituents of artificial manures, which would probably have been a sealed book to many of his predecessors. The club also takes the lead, and organizes any local movement as desired by the general body of its members; also sends delegates to meetings in London and elsewhere on any important agricultural topic. It holds discussions on all the Bills brought before Parliament, and is in touch with the members for the county, most of whom are members of the club. The club is affiliated to the Central Chamber of Agriculture, to whose meetings it sends a delegate.

Tunbridge Wells has a similar club, a very old-established one, but of course more of a Kent club, and there are also clubs at Wadhurst, Herstmonceux, Mayfield, and Rye.

The Sussex Dairy Farmers' Association, with its head quarters at Lewes, has of late years done much good work.

The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries has of late appointed agricultural correspondents in various parts of the county, who report on the various matters affecting agriculture, so that here again the country districts are brought into immediate communication with a head authority.

The Sussex Agricultural Society holds an annual agricultural and horse show during the month of July. Started in 1887 in Viscount Gage's park at Firle, as an outcome of the East Sussex, then the West Firle Farmers' Club, with very modest proportions, it has grown to be one of the large county shows; from quite a small one-day show it blossomed into a two-day show, visiting the various towns in East Sussex. Later, West Sussex wished to join, and the society became a county show, and now visits the West Sussex towns as well as those in East Sussex.

The show possesses several distinctive features; first, that it has since its start been almost entirely managed by tenant farmers; and, secondly, that as far as is possible rules are made to show sheep and cattle in their natural state. For instance, a special feature is made of the Hill flock, the ewes of which are shown in pens of nine, three ewes from each age, and both these

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and the lambs, which are also shown in pens of nine, are not allowed to be drawn from the flock till a week prior to the show, and are not trimmed for show until drawn. It is also stipulated that the sheep in these classes are not to be fed differently from the rest of the flock from which they are drawn. Somewhat similar rules are in force as to the feeding of cattle, but a difficulty comes in here, as cattle are sent on from the other shows where, unfortunately, no restrictions are in force, and the Sussex Society finds it difficult to fight against the prevailing fashion, which acknowledges 'that fat covers many faults.'

It is maintained by this society that to show breeding animals in their natural state is only common sense, and is far better for the animals themselves and their breeders, and it is only by having rules such as these that the ordinary tenant farmer can afford to compete with the rich owner, who feeds regardless of expense. Southdowns are the only sheep shown, unless the society visits the extreme east of the county, when prizes are also offered for Romney Marsh sheep. Various breeds of cattle are represented, such as Sussex, Jersey, Guernsey, Aberdeen Angus, dairy cattle, and Shorthorn bulls; also agricultural horses, hunters, hackneys, and thoroughbred stallions. There are also classes for poultry, butter, &c., and a working dairy is a feature.

Classes are divided, part of these are open to Sussex exhibitors only, whilst others are thrown open to the United Kingdom.

The great features of the show are naturally Southdown sheep and Sussex cattle. The show of Jerseys is, as a rule, one of the best in the kingdom, whilst hunters usually form very strong classes.

The society has done a very good work in the county. Agricultural horses, cattle, and sheep have certainly improved during the twenty years in which the society has been at work, and that this has been the case is in the opinion of many owing to these shows having been held in different parts of the county. It is an undoubted fact that at the show itself the quality of the animals shown has enormously improved.

An old-established and very successful show is held annually at Tunbridge Wells, but this can hardly be called a Sussex show. Arundel now has an annual agricultural show, and there are several horse shows in various parts of the county; these last, however, are hardly agricultural shows.

Agriculture in Sussex, as in other counties, has seen changes, and farmers have had to adapt themselves to circumstances; but perhaps the greatest change in country life in Sussex has been the growth in building. Not only have the large towns on its coast increased enormously, but its splendid climate, beautiful scenery, and easy access to London, have made it one of the most favourite residential counties. Houses now fringe the road a great part of the way from London to Brighton. On this road are populous places, such as Three Bridges, Hayward's Heath, Wivelsfield, Burgess Hill, and Hassocks. It looks as if London in course of time would reach Brighton. Again, in entirely rural districts, formerly a *terra incognita* to strangers, the bicycle and motor-car have brought visitors in search of beautiful scenery.

In these districts properties are divided, houses spring up, and Sussex, once but little known save in its seaside towns, now boasts a large and increasing population who, perhaps, help agriculture in a way, but certainly do something to oust it from its pride of place.

FORESTRY

SUSSEX is still, as of old, the most thickly wooded of English counties ; so that even to-day, whether we stand upon the summit of some high Southdown and look northward, or from the Forest Ridge gaze southwards, the intervening country seems a sea of verdure. Striking as this view is, what a panorama might we see could we go back to those prehistoric days when gigantic beasts, now long extinct, inhabited this wide tract of country.¹ Even in parts not now associated with woods there is evidence of former forests. For eastwards at Pevensey, in the marshes around it, and at low water in the sea beyond it, are signs of forests, subterranean and submerged. Further west, trees grew where the sea conceals Selsey ; while Bede described Bosham as ‘surrounded by woods and the sea.’ All these woods were fringes of the great forest which filled Sussex with its foliage and overflowed east and west into Kent and Hampshire ; the forest which the Saxons called Andredeswald, or weald ; whence the modern word, the Weald.

This immense tract of forest-land exhibited a variety of surface and of vegetation. On the clays and loam oak-trees flourished strongly, on the sandstone grew firs and birch, while on the marls of the southern slopes of the Downs, and along their northern bases, beeches spread out their smooth grey branches.

To this forest-land the Britons had entry by the rivers and by well-worn tracks. Caesar narrates how the Britons, after defeat, would withdraw to the woods, and, anon, issue therefrom with their chariots ‘by all the well-known roads,’² and describes their strongholds (*oppida*) in the forests, whither they were wont to resort in time of danger.

Evidence that the Britons frequented the great woodland of Sussex is found in the numerous coins of undoubted British origin discovered at various parts of the forest-land throughout the county.³ Other British remains have been found in the woodland parts, the most remarkable of which was the find in 1862 at Mountfield, on the verge of Dallington Forest, of a hoard of ancient British gold.⁴ Still more remarkable evidences of British penetration of the great forest are furnished by the remains of ancient boats formed out of single trees disinterred at North Stoke on the Arun ;⁵ and at Maresfield, in Ashdown Forest.⁶

With the Roman occupation further opening up of the great woodland took place, not only in road-building, but also in developing the iron industry at various centres in the depths of the great woodlands.⁷

Caesar speaks of the Britons as living chiefly on venison ; and Strabo writes of the celebrity of their hunting-dogs. One contemporary illustration may be mentioned as pertaining to Sussex, its deer and its dogs. This is a little vase of earthenware, quite British in style, even if of the Romano-British period, found near West Tarring, which exhibits most graphically in relief the wild deer fleeing before the swift gazehounds.⁸

When Saxon fought with Briton in fierce exterminatory war, the Sussex woodlands played no unimportant part as *points d'appui* for attack, and as refuges from defeat. Thus, in 477,

Ælla and his three sons, Cymen, Cissa, and Wlencing, came to the island of Britain in three ships, at a place which is called Cymenes-ora,⁹ and there slew many Welsh, and some they drove in flight into the wood which is called Andredes-leagh.

Fourteen years later came the siege of ‘Andredesceaster,’ usually identified with Pevensey, during which, we read that the besieging Saxons were much annoyed by attacks made upon their rear by Britons, who issued from the circumjacent woods and retreated to them again when the Saxons turned upon them.

A great penetration and opening-up of the forest then took place, as may be judged from the vast proportion of place-names in Sussex having a derivation from the woodlands, more especially

¹ Dixon, *Geology of Suss.*

² Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, Bk. v.

³ Willett on Ancient British Coins in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxix, xxx.

⁴ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 238.

⁵ *Archæologia*, xxvi, 257.

⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xv, 161.

⁷ See ‘Industries.’

⁸ Dixon, *Geology of Suss.*

⁹ ‘Cymenes-ora,’ variously supposed to be West Wittering, Keymer, Selsey, or Shoreham.

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those compounded with *hurst* or *herst*, meaning *wood*, and *field* or *fold*, indicative of an open space within, or on the fringe of, forest or wood.

It is not so plain why the great majority of *hursts* are in the eastern half of the county, and the *felds* or *fields* chiefly in its western portion. For out of 150 *hursts* which the writer has found in Sussex, by far the greater proportion, ninety at least, occur in the eastern half; while the *felds* and *fields*—whose total number is but a third of the *hursts*—are twice as numerous in the west as compared with those in the east.¹⁰ But Andredeswald still preserved to a large extent its primæval state. Bede indeed described it in his day as almost inaccessible, the haunt of wild swine and deer. Therein, too, outlaws would find asylum, or the fallen tyrant, refugee from a people's wrath; such as Sigebert of Wessex, who, in 755, fearing a well-deserved death for his crimes, fled to 'the great wood called Andredeswald, but was met there and slain by a certain swineherd,' whose master Sigebert had unjustly put to death.¹¹

It is chiefly in deeds of gift and endowment of religious corporations that we find mention of the woods and forests of Sussex during the Saxon period. Canterbury, as the head quarters of English Christianity, was endowed with many manors in Sussex, which possessed much woodland. In addition to Pagham with its three woods, the archbishops were lords of Tarring, near Worthing. But their most wooded possession was the great manor of South Malling, confirmed to the see in 838 by Egbert,¹² a lordship that stretched from Cliffe (now part of Lewes) to Buxted—originally perhaps to Lamberhurst—and included eight or more sub-manors. The greater part of this was virgin woodland, as we may judge from the number of parks, together with one forest, it contained; and also from the fact that the court rolls of its manors, right up to Reformation times, continually contain¹³ entries of 'new rents' arising from 'new assarts,' i.e., from woodland newly cleared of timber, and brought under the plough or the spade.

One parish alone, Ringmer, contained three parks and the aforesaid forest, called the Broyle, which was, however, strictly speaking, a chase, probably retaining the erroneous designation as a memento of the early days in which it was a forest of the Saxon kings. The metropolitan see also possessed, by the gift of a certain thane Wulfric, in 947, Patching,¹⁴ with its beechwoods, celebrated for truffles.

With the Norman invasion abundant material is available for the history of Sussex forests, parks, and chases. This being so it seems desirable that the reader should here be reminded of the definite and strictly technical meanings attached to the words forest, chase, park. It is particularly necessary to disabuse the mind of the idea that a forest is merely a vast assemblage of trees growing densely and darkly together, through whose gloom narrow paths and tracks and here and there a brooklet mysteriously meander, and withal, full of fierce beasts, and replenished with robbers. As a matter of fact a forest is an extensive track of wild, woody, and uncultivated land, comprising every variety of the natural conformation of the surface of the country in which it is situated, contained within certain metes and bounds, albeit uninclosed with any hedge or wall, though here and there maybe defined for some part of its verge by a fence, bank, or pale. Further, a forest must shelter various wild beasts, as boar, roebuck, and the red 'tall deer that King William loved like a father,' while it usually contained a variety of others, as wild cat, badger, fox. Of birds, too, the Sussex forests were the favourite fastnesses; in their tall pines the hawks and falcons nested. The ferns, bracken, and heather harboured pheasants and grouse (including the beautiful black-cock, now extinct in Sussex), and formed a covert for coney innumerable. It is not necessary to enlarge on the value set on the hawk tribe. In the Archbishop's Court Rolls¹⁵ of Mayfield and Framfield during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are records of the receipt each year of 'iiis. iiiid.' from the tenants that they may be exonerated from safeguarding a sparrow-hawk's nest,' entries that imply a customary obligation in earlier times of keeping ward over one sparrow-hawk's nest every year.

Necessary and supplementary to these birds and beasts, of which the deer of different kinds were called 'the venison' of the forest, was 'the vert,' the vegetation in its variety, timber trees, shrubs, and underwoods; herbage to sustain the deer, broom and bracken to shelter them. In addition a legal forest must have its laws and customs and its justices, with their 'eyres'—nominally held every three years, but actually at much wider intervals—while a host of forest officers kept watch and ward over the 'vert and venison,' viz., foresters, rangers, verderers, wood-reeves, regards, agistors, beadles, the chief of whom also held courts, viz., the swain-motes held three times a year, and the wood-motes every forty days; while together with 'good and lawful men' of the forest

¹⁰ Isaac Taylor considers that 'the name of nearly every place in the weald is formed in part by a syllable having reference to the vast forest.'

¹¹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 123; Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 21.

¹² Birch, *Cartul. Sax.* No. 421.

¹³ Court Rolls of South Malling, Ringmer, Uckfield, and Lambeth.

¹⁵ Court Rolls, Lambeth, Nos. 1308, 1307, 1321, and others.

¹⁴ *Cartul. Sax.* 823.

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verge and vicinage they also made their 'perambulations.' At the eyres a great variety of matters came under view, offences against forest laws and customs, encroachments on the king's soil or rights, poaching, felling and selling of timber, and much besides.

So much business accumulated during the lengthy intervals of the 'eyres' that to serve on the juries of the forest eyres and other legal obligations therewith connected, to which all were liable, was a hardship well worth escaping at a price. And so we find, for instance, that in 1207 'the barons, knights, and free-tenants in the Rape of Hastings' combined to purchase with a palfrey and the sum of 60 marks exemption from the summons of the foresters when the justices should come into Sussex to hold their 'Pleas of the Forest.'¹⁶

Strictly speaking, a forest could belong to none but the king, and if he granted one to a subject it devolved into a 'chase.' The difference between forest and chase in addition to that of possession, was that though the latter was an extensive track of woody ground, without fence or pale, very similar in natural features to a forest, pleas of the forest were not as a rule held thereon by the king's justices, though lesser courts, as the swainmote for example, often continued. A park differed from forest and chase in being inclosed with hedge and ditch, fence and pale. Parks were often made for special purposes within the metes of a forest or chase. Such are the main characteristics of the three varieties of what may be called sporting grounds or lands. It must be confessed that much of the legal nomenclature attached to matters of park, chase, and forest was used in a very loose manner, so that, particularly it appears in Sussex, chases are called forests, parks advanced to chases, and forests degraded to them; and even parks are sometimes denominated forests.¹⁷

The same inaccuracies occurred in relation to the courts, leading in time to irregularity of proceedings, so that, for instance, we find such extraneous matters as pleas of debt among the business constantly transacted at such a strictly woodland court as a pannage court.

As regards the forests of Sussex it would not be difficult to enumerate a dozen so-called, and, indeed, it is by no means certain whether the number six, to which a stricter nomenclature reduces them, is not in excess of those technically and legally existing at any time. It is commonly received that the six rapes of Sussex each possessed a castle, a river, a port, and a forest. Spelman in his list of 'English Forests,' also assigns six to Sussex; and Speed inserts the same number in his map of this county, in the early part of the reign of James I, namely, Arundel, Ashdown, Dallington, St. Leonard's, Waterdown, and Worth.

Passing from the west eastwards Chichester rape had the so-called forest of Stanstead and part of Arundel. Arundel's forest bore the name of the rape; Bramber rape had St. Leonard's Forest; the rape of Lewes contained the forest of Worth; Pevensey rape possessed Waterdown as well as Ashdown, largest of Sussex forests; and the rape of Hastings had the forest variously denominated Dallington, Brightling, or Burwash. At the date of Domesday it is possible the bounds of these forests were not everywhere defined; portions as they were of the great Andredeswald, some of them, as Waterdown and Ashdown, St. Leonard's and Worth, were probably contiguous woodlands.

It might have been expected that Domesday would afford much information as to the woods and forests of Sussex. Unfortunately this is not the case, and out of the scores of parks which probably existed in the county, only five are mentioned, and those not by name. Of the woodlands in general throughout Sussex, what pertained to each manor is mentioned in the majority of cases, but its size is nowhere stated, its value in money-rent or in hogs received from the pannage alone being entered. Yet this relates to an aspect of the woodland of no little importance. For in days when neither cabbages nor turnips or similar vegetables were grown to sustain the cattle through the long winter months, and pigs alone could be fed cheaply throughout the year, immense numbers of swine were kept, to supplement the winter food supply largely provided by the flesh of deer and cattle salted down in autumn. Much of the feed of swine was obtained by turning them out into the woodlands to devour the fallen fruit of the beeches and oaks and the coarse herbage of wastes and commons. The word *Pannagium*—'pannage'—(later *avesagium*) was applied not only to this privilege or practice, but also to the payment made for it; the usual method being for the swine-owner to render to the lord of the woodland a certain proportion of the hogs that were turned out to feed on the acorns and mast.

It is too often assumed that the *modus* was one hog out of seven, a proportion explicitly stated in Domesday as applying to the render for *herbage*. For that record says of Pagham that the render *from herbage* was 'one hog from every villein who has seven hogs,' while a marginal note adds, 'Similiter per totum Sudsex.' But there is no justification for extending its application to pannage, and indeed that the *modus* of payment for pannage was different from that for herbage we have the direct evidence of Domesday; as, for one instance, under Ferring, where it says, 'there is woodland yielding 4 swine,' i.e. from pannage, 'and for herbage 1 pig of 7.' Moreover a thirteenth-century

¹⁶ Pipe Roll, 8 John.

¹⁷ Cf. Knapp, or Knepp in particular, which though always of limited extent, and surrounded with a pale, was often denominated a forest.

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customal of Ashdown Forest¹⁸ shows that there the render was one pig in ten, and this was possibly the same throughout the county.

The total number of hogs that Domesday records as received by the lords from the tenants who pannaged their pigs in their woodlands amounted to 3,433, which, if the proportional payment was one hog of ten, gives a total of over 34,000 pigs, procuring the greater part of their provender from the parks, chases, and forests of Sussex.

Turning now to the Sussex parks that are mentioned in Domesday, and the one forest referred to therein, we find the first of the former is at Rotherfield, in the king's hands, its possessor, his half-brother, Bishop Odo, being then in disgrace. Another park was in the west of the county, at Walberton, where the survey mentions land that lay in the park of the lord of the rape, Earl Roger of Montgomery. This was doubtless the park of the same name as the parish, and in after years came into the hands of the St. John family, Robert de St. John obtaining free warren, or hunting rights for the manor in 1253,¹⁹ and his descendant, John de St. John, a confirmation of the same in 1379.²⁰ Another park belonging to the same lord is mentioned under Waltham, where two hides of land had been included in the earl's park. Waltham, now Up Waltham, was on the borders of Arundel Forest. At Tortington is record of 'a hide of land which the earl has in his park'; an inclosure probably within the bounds of Arundel Forest.

At the other end of the county Domesday mentions, under 'Wiltingham,' one rod of land as being in the park of the earl of Eu, the lord of the rape of Hastings. This is all we learn from Domesday of the parks of Sussex. What it tells us of its forests is practically nothing, amounting to a mere mention, under Dallington, that the earl of Eu had half a hide of land there within his forest, doubtless that which was variously called Brightling, Burwash, and properly Dallington.

Every park, at least in the vicinity of a forest, before inclosure and recognition as such had to be licensed by royal grant; while before a man could chase the deer over his own demesne a grant of 'free warren' or right of free chase must be obtained—at a price—from the same source, and if the kings were ready enough to grant rights of free warren they were not the less severe to those who, without licence, presumed to enter the royal woods or forests in pursuit of game. Such were made to suffer severely by imprisonment or fine. Thus in 1186 Seffrid II, bishop of Chichester, was fined 10 marks for hunting in Sussex woodlands which were at that time in King Henry's hands as escheats.²¹ But in spite of fines and imprisonments illegal hunting was extensively indulged in during the Middle Ages, and innumerable instances occur of 'malefactors in parks, warrens, and chaces' who 'arrayed in manner of war killed and took away deer, beat and assaulted the keepers.'

The disafforestation by Henry III and John of great tracts of land hitherto under the forest laws would not, of course, affect the natural features of the land, and a large part of Sussex still retained its wild and forest character, so that fifteen guides through Sussex were employed when Edward I journeyed to Chichester in 1276.²² To the same conclusion points the universality of the grants of privileges in the woodlands, as well as of actual transfer of extensive tracts of wood, to the numerous houses of religion which were established all over the county. Space will only allow reference to a few instances, one of the earliest of which was the endowment of Battle Abbey, which included all the woodland of its well-timbered 'leuga,' extensive enough to allow of the formation of three parks—one of which was called 'the Plesset'—and in addition the woods of all its numerous manors throughout Sussex. Further west at Lewes was the great priory of St. Pancras, founded by William de Warenne and Gundrada his wife, whose endowments included the privilege of taking deer in any of the founder's parks and forests, for the use of sick or infirm monks of the house.

Still further west the religious houses of Sele, Tortington, Dureford, and others were all endowed with grants of woodland or privileges therein, while all had the usual rights of house-bote, hey-bote, hedge-bote, plow-bote, and wain-bote, by which they obtained free timber for repairing their houses and warming them, for making or mending their hedges, fences, ploughs, and wagons. In addition to serving the purposes aforesaid, the timber of Sussex was constantly in demand for the construction and repair of castles and bridges, and the building of ships. Thus in 1206 King John addressed a writ, 'To all Earls, Barons, etc. of the county of Sussex Greeting We pray you for the love of us to assist us now in carrying our timber to Lewes . . . not as a right but as a favour . . . and so act in this matter that we may have cause to thank you.'²³ A more particular instance is afforded by a chamberlain's account of the Domus Dei at Southampton in 1306, which relates to a Sussex park, that of Bosham, to wit—

Expenses of the men cutting down six logs of timber the gift of the Earl Marshal and shipping them for splitting, three weeks, with their expenses going and returning 15*s.* 6*d.* Given to the woodward for the crops of the said trees which belong to him as his fee, 2*s.* Taking the said trees to the water 3*s.* Hiring five boats to carry the said trees to Hampton, 26*s.*²⁴

¹⁸ Rentals and Surveys (P.R.O.), 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

²¹ Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. II.

²³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii, 134.

¹⁹ Rot. Chart. 38 Hen. III.

²⁰ Ibid. 3 Ric. II.

²² Wardrobe Acct. 5 Edw. I.

²⁴ Magdalen College MSS.

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The greater the value set upon timber the more reprehensible would its waste be considered. The unpopularity in his province of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have been largely due to the waste which he committed in the woods of his Sussex manors,²⁶ and the prior of Shulbred in West Sussex was reprimanded by Archbishop Winchelsey for making excessive waste in the woods of his house, and was strictly charged to fell no timber, or even cut firewood or sticks 'except after due deliberation and for the clear need of the church.'²⁶ In the same way the value of timber formed a great temptation to the holders of wardships, from the king downwards.

Thus the bishop of Durham, who held a lease of Midhurst, complained that the king, through his escheator, had, on the death of John de Bohun, lord of that manor, made great waste of its timber in felling eighty-seven oaks, beeches, and young trees, in the park called 'Hyenok,' and other timber in the wood called 'la Codray,' now Cowdray.²⁷ In 1315, when Edmund earl of Arundel held the wardship of John de Bohun, this manor was found to have been further denuded of trees over woodland of 2,000 acres, wherein the earl had caused to be felled 1,600 oaks valued at half a mark each, and ninety beeches worth 30s. each.²⁸ An immense and detailed catalogue of complaints of exactions by officials and encroachments by territorial lords is contained in the Hundred Rolls. The rolls for Sussex²⁹ contain a great deal of interesting matter in connexion with the parks, chases, and forests of the county, too much indeed to be detailed here. For the jurors reported no less than thirty-eight cases of usurpations of exclusive hunting rights, or claims to extensive tracts of land as chases and warrens. From some of them it would appear that there had existed what we may call a 'common of hunting'^{29a} in respect to animals which were not beasts of the forest, just as there was a 'common of pasture.' Thus it was complained against Peter of Savoy that when lord of the rape of Pevensey he had usurped hunting rights over the district between Pevensey and Seaford, where all the free-tenants, *tam milites quam alii*, had been accustomed to hunt with their hounds; while John de Warenne, lord of Lewes, claimed similar exclusive hunting over Portslade, Poynings, and Perching, where Hugh de Bussey and all the free tenants were wont to hunt fox, hare, and pheasant. Several complaints of illegal imparkations are recorded, two parks having been inclosed near Horsham, and one in the hundred of Bosham. Earl Warenne had newly raised claims of right of chase over almost the whole of his barony of Lewes, in places where 'he never had or ought to have any right of hunting,' even into the lands of Sir Robert de Aguillon, sending his armed men to prevent the knight and others from hunting with their hounds where they had been accustomed to hunt by immemorial right. Still more tyrannically he had prevented his tenants from inclosing their lands to save their crops from being entirely eaten up by his beasts of forest, chase, and warren, so full to overflowing were his preserves. With such a master it was small wonder if his servants proved equally lawless and arrogant. So zealous was the watch his foresters kept over the chase of Ditchling that many wayfarers wending along the king's highway that led through the chase suffered assault at their hands. Even when Matthew de Hastings the sheriff came riding through Hayley (an ancient park lying north of Ditchling Beacon) the master-forester of Cleres and various sub-foresters arrested him and his men and took away their arms.

The archiepiscopal manor of Pagham also suffered, the king's escheator having sold 114 oaks from three woods there, and the royal bailiff another thirty oaks from the same manor. From the parks of Slindon and Tangmere (also possessions of the see) the same officials, together with John de St. John and Robert Walerand, took thirty-four deer. At the other end of the county the sheriff Matthew de Hastings felled thirty-four oaks in the woods of the abbey of Fécamp, probably at Brede, for the repairs of the castle of Hastings. In the time of the third Edward we find some particulars relating to the woodlands of Sussex in the 'Inquisitiones Nonarum.' In them the jurors complain of various imparkations by the territorial lords, which, if not illegal, were at least not conducive to agricultural prosperity, since they turned profitable pastures or plough-land into unproductive parks. At Heathfield, on the verge of Dallington Forest, Sir Andrew Peveral had imparked certain lands that were formerly sown. At Burwash another holding had been inclosed in the park there, and two others in Etchingham Park. Similar imparkations of arable and pasture had been made in Ticehurst, in the park called Pashly. At Mayfield arable land had been included in the archbishop's park of Frankham, a park already large enough to contain nine acres of fish-ponds. Even this was not enough, for the archbishop thirteen years later procured the royal licence for a further enlargement of his park.³⁰ At Catsfield they complained that the abbot of Battle had a quarter of the parish in his park of Bromham. In the north-west of the county John de Ifield had

²⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 221.

²⁷ Inq. p.m. 13 Edw. I, No. 139.

²⁹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 201-20.

^{29a} In 1305 Walter de Almodington being accused of breaking a close at Hunston said that the place in question was not a close but 'communis chacea cuilibet transeunti,' Assize R. 934, m. 7d.

³⁰ Pat. 28 Edw. III, m. 10.

²⁶ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Winchelsey, fol. 76b.

²⁸ De Banco R. Easter, 9 Edw. II, m. 133.

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imparked a plough-land in his park of Shelley, which with the contiguous park of Beaubush contained more than 400 acres of land; the earl of Warenne had taken three holdings into a park, the name of which is not given, while at Ovingdean his rabbits abounded to such an extent that they had 'devastated' no less than 100 acres of crops.

King John was frequently in Sussex, and doubtless, upon occasion, he hunted therein. He was particularly brought into relation with Knap (or Knepp) in the rape of Bramber, of which he had dispossessed its owner William de Braose. Frequent were the demands he made upon the contents of its well-stocked park, which was clearly of exceptional extent, since it was often denominated a forest or chase. It must have contained, not only deer, but wild boars, for in 1215 Roland Blouet, the king's custos of Knepp, was ordered 'to suffer Wyot our huntsman to hunt with our boarhounds in the park of Cnap, and to take two or three boars daily';³¹ on another occasion several huntsmen were sent with no less than 200 hounds to hunt in 'the forest of Cnepp.'³²

It is clear that there was a certain amount of genuine forest, subject to the full forest law, in the county at the beginning of the reign of Henry III, as in 1223 the sheriff was ordered to summon the foresters and regards to make a 'regard' or report in preparation for the coming of the justices.^{32a} Again, in 1225 justices were appointed to hold an assize and perambulation between the parts which were to be disafforested and those which were to remain forest.³³ Indeed at the very gates of Chichester lay the Broyle, a woodland tract which was disafforested and granted to William St. John and by him given in 1227 'to God and the Church of Chichester.'^{33a} There is also record of an enlargement of this forest by Henry II, who afforested four crofts which formerly rendered 4s. 10½d. in the farm of the city.³⁴

There is evidence that Edward I hunted when sojourning at Bramber, for in the summer of 1299 there was paid 'to Walter Balle coming to the King with thirteen staghounds by gift of the King 41s.' But of all our mediæval kings Edward II probably had the greatest experience of Sussex woods and forests as hunting grounds. For prior to his accession he had been banished from court for a hunting offence in the woods of a northern prelate. Betaking himself into Sussex he sojourned at Ditchling, in a neighbourhood the great part of which was still forest land, with parks, warrens, and chases abounding around him. Nor was his father forgetful of or indifferent to his pursuits, for a Wardrobe account contains record of the payment of 'Thomas de Erlham going as far as Lewes by command of the King with hounds for the King's son.'

During the succeeding period of the Middle Ages the history of Sussex woodlands is little more than a catalogue of licences for park enlargements, disputes concerning hunting rights, and of poaching and affrays 'in parks, chaces, and coney-borrows,' as the phrase went. The total number of parks in the county we do not know, but that they were extremely numerous is more than probable. Doubtless great changes in the woodlands of Sussex took place in the reign of Henry VIII, when the vast landed estates of the numerous religious corporations were annexed by the crown, or granted to royal favourites, either outright or by means of exchange, as when William Fitzalan exchanged with the crown for the manor of Michelham most of his ten parks—mainly constituents of Arundel Forest³⁵—as Bignor and Woolavington, others lying in the north of the rape, as Shillinglee and Meadhome. This, too, was the period of the great development of the iron-smelting industry, which was wholly carried on in the woodland districts, in which lay beneath the surface a ferruginous ore containing as much as 33 per cent. of iron, while above ground grew fuel in abundance for the furnaces.

Two chief localities of this industry were Ashburnham, in a thickly-wooded district of East Sussex, having the large Darum Wood, or Darvel Forest, as it was sometimes called, contiguous on the north, with Dallington Forest lying to the north-west, and St. Leonard's Forest, occupying the north of Bramber rape. The southern fringe of Ashdown Forest also was the seat of this industry, as at Maresfield. The woodlands of the long lordship of South Malling, stretching from Lamberhurst through Wadhurst, Mayfield, and Buxted to Cliffe-juxta-Lewes, also well knew the noise of hammers and the flare of furnaces. The court rolls of these manors, besides containing an early reference to the 'Iern founders of Buxted,'³⁶ have numerous entries concerning charcoal-making, felling and selling timber, and kindred matters.

So great was the destruction of the woodland of Sussex, that in 1543 an Act of Parliament was passed with the view to limit the process; a wise proviso enjoining that in felling timber and underwood of more than twenty-four years' growth twelve standard oaks, or as many ash, elm or beech, were to be left standing in each acre.³⁷

³¹ Close, 16 John, m. 13.

^{32a} Pat. 7 Hen. III, m. 5d.

^{33a} *Cal. Chart R.* i, 8.

³⁶ Ct. R. Lambeth, Nos. 1352-7, temp. Hen. VII.

³² Close, 15 John, m. 3.

³³ Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 6d.

³⁵ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, p. 1.

³⁷ Act of Parl. 35 Hen. VIII.

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Further action was taken in Queen Elizabeth's reign by 'an Act for the preservation of Tymber in the Wildes of the Counties of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent.'³⁸ To this period we owe perhaps the first map of Sussex, showing its woods, parks, and forests. Its cartographer, Thomas Saxton, inserts within the county boundaries only thirty parks, and three forests as such, Arundel and Ashdown appearing as parks. Exiguity of space probably accounts for the small number of Sussex parks shown, for the number actually existing was probably at least twice as great. Since it is in this period that the parks and forests attained their maximum number, it is at this stage most convenient to glance at their situation and comparative distribution. We find that in the main the parks were inclosures in or on the verge of the seven forests, and that the greater proportion were located in the western division of Sussex. Originally, in all probability, Stanstead and Arundel formed one great forest, containing a group of parks, of which Up Park, Harting, Stoughton, and Stanstead composed the 'forest of Stanstead' of later days, while the parks of East Dean, Gudenwood (Goodwood), Halnaker, Selhurst, and Arundel formed the forest of Arundel. On its southern verge were Aldingbourne, the park of the bishop of Chichester, and Slindon, belonging to the archbishop, while on the northern border was Houghton, another park of the Sussex see, of such size as to be often denominated a forest. Also on the northern border was the group of Bignor, Downton, Woolavington, and Burton parks; and further north were the inclosures of the woodland of the Honor of Petworth, viz. Petworth, Meadhorne, River, Michel, and Shillinglee parks; the park of Farnhurst, with remains of a supposed castellated hunting-seat of Verdly lying to the west, all these being west of the Arun.

On the other side of that river there were in the south the parks of Badworth and Angmering, Findon and Michelgrove, which were united in the fifteenth century under the Shelley family into the great estate of Michelgrove, which 'formed a noble tract of sylvan beauty containing a vast amount of stately trees.' In the centre of the country between the Arun and the Adur were the parks of Warminghurst, Wiston, Ashurst, while in the north of the rape was the extensive forest of St. Leonard, with the park of Knepp on its southern verge. Constituent parts of this forest were the large parks of Sedgewick, Chesworth, Beaubush, and Shelley, which contained among them more than 2,260 acres. Separated from this forest of St. Leonard by the artificial boundary between the rapes of Bramber and Lewes is the forest of Worth. Part of it has the alternative name of Tilgate, a comparatively modern nomenclature of which apparently no instance occurs before the seventeenth century.

Further south in the rape, and lying northwards of the Downs, are the parks of Hurst, Danny, Ditchling, and Keymer. Between this group of parks and the south of Worth Forest was another congeries, viz., the parks of Slaugham, Bentley, and Cuckfield.

East of the Ouse, which divides the rapes of Lewes and Pevensey, lay the parks belonging to the archbishops of Canterbury, viz. Ringmer, Plashet, More, Glynde, and the so-called forest of 'la Broile,' sometimes—presumably from the number of its beech trees, which are said to have attained a great size—denominated in the parkers' rolls, &c., Broyle 'Fania,' a very rare term. Further north they also had the parks of Frankham, Buxted, and Mayfield. These last-named parks are on the southern fringe of Ashdown, largest and most important of Sussex forests. The parks within the bounds of this forest, or upon its verge, were Bolebrook, Buckhurst, Stoneland, Newenden, and Maresfield.

To the east of Ashdown is Waterdown Forest, the parks in relation to it being Eridge and Rotherfield. In the centre of this rape of Pevensey was the wooded district which may be called Waldron Woodland, and was sometimes known as Waldron Forest, extending over the parish of that name, and those of East Hoathly, Chiddingly, Laughton, and Hellingly, and including the Dicker. Under the Downs lies Firle Park, its eastern portion being the ancient park of Collinghame, mentioned in a court roll of the year 1333,³⁹ which affords the earliest reference to the Gage family in connexion with its present-day home. At this court the bailiff reported that William Gage, armiger, had died tenant of the park of Collinghame.

Passing to the rape of Hastings, we find that its chief woodland district was around Burwash, Brightling, and Dallington, and this formed the forest of the rape. On the verge of this forest, if not within it, were the parks of Mountfield and Whatlington, while to the south lay the three parks of the abbot of Battle, and the large park of Ashburnham. Still further south was Buckholt Park, to the west of which was the park of Herstmonceux. Between Buckholt and the sea lay the park of Bexhill. In addition to all these parks and the six forests, the seventeenth-century maps of Speed, John Norden, and Robert Morden also show various uninclosed woods, which, with slight exceptions, have little or no history. They mostly appear of considerable size, or at least larger than the average park, and are described as 'Thonicus' or 'Themeus' in the north of the rape of Arundel, 'Homewood' in the centre of the rape of Lewes, 'Vert Wood' and 'The

³⁸ 27 Eliz. cap. 19.

³⁹ Add. MS. 33182.

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Dicker' in Pevensey rape (both names and places in existence to-day), 'Petley Wood' and 'Darum' or 'Darvel' in the rape of Hastings.

Other parks are found mentioned in various mediæval documents, such as Hayley, in Westmeston; Plottesbridge, between Lewes and Little Horsted, called 'the ancient park' in a document of the reign of Richard II; and Clares or Cleres Chace in the same neighbourhood. Of some we are ignorant even of their approximate locality, as those we read of in the will of William Reade, bishop of Chichester (who died in 1385), who left 500 marks for the works at Amberley on the condition that his executors might have sufficient timber in—inter alia—"Pubhurst" and "Pelock's Wood."⁴⁰ Possibly the latter wood was an acquisition for the see by Seffrid I, bishop of Chichester, who died in 1150, and so-called from his nick-name 'Polokin' or 'Pelockin.'⁴¹ Equally uncertain are the woods of 'Ulvehola' and 'la Hamoda,' which Robert de Dene and Sibella his wife gave to the priory of Lewes. They were, in all probability, portions of the great woodlands of Ashdown Forest, though the latter may have been 'Homewood' already referred to. Such is an approximate enumeration of the parks of Sussex at that period when they were probably most abundant, namely, the reign of Henry VIII; an enumeration which, according to those marked in Saxton's, Speed's, and Morden's maps, amounts to sixty parks, seven forests, and eight uninclosed woods—numbers which may be raised by counting other parks and woods named in various documents, etc., to approximately one hundred parks and at least twenty woods.

As the times became more utilitarian these conditions underwent great change, and in the reign of the last Tudor, though she herself was almost as great a huntress as Diana, many parks were disparked and numbers of landowners made 'their deere leape over the pale to give the bullock place.'⁴²

The period of the war between king and Parliament was one of considerable destruction of the woodlands of Sussex. Thus Sir William Ford, of Up Park, Harting, complained that 2,000 cord of timber had been cut down 'for satisfaction of wrongs done to certain countrey people thereabout by some parties of horse of Colonel Ford,' Sir William's son. This park was, however, replenished with such abundance of trees that, when Sir Matthew Featherstonhaugh in the beginning of the next century bought the estate for £19,000, the wood alone was said to be worth the purchase money.⁴³ Other royalists were obliged to make particular application that their woods might be released from sequestration—not having been included in the 'particulars,' as being held for pleasure and of no profit. Such was Lord Lumley, who petitioned that a value might be set upon the woods growing in Stanstead Forest and warren, so that the sequestration might be discharged, in order that he might have wood 'for fuell and reparacions' for the dwelling house there.⁴⁴ Many parks were entirely disparked at this period, such as the abbot of Battle's, 300 acres being described in 1651 as part only of the great park of Battle Abbey lately disparked.⁴⁵

During the Commonwealth many surveys of Sussex woodlands were made of which the reports are extant.⁴⁶ From these we may gather that 'much spoyle and destrucon' had indeed been made, for that phrase is often repeated, and details are given of many instances of deliberate waste of woods and thieving of timber. The commissioners had various suggestions to make as to the disposal of these Sussex woodlands; some portions, they 'conceived' should be sold, others farmed out; one should be turned into a 'shepewalk,' another ploughed and sown.

In spite of the continual demands made upon the woodlands of Sussex by the iron and ship-building industries they still contained a great amount of timber. A petition⁴⁷ of the ironfounders in favour of the protection by tariff of their industry, in the reign of Charles II, states that there is 'greate plenty of woods and iron mine in ye County of Sussex,' and estimates that these woods 'by computacion amount to 200,000 acres.'

The oaks of this county still served to build great numbers of England's ships. Defoe, speaking of his journey from Tunbridge Wells to Lewes, says—

the timber I saw here was prodigious, as well in quantity as in bigness, and seemed in some places to be suffered to grow only because it was so far from any navigation that it was not worth cutting down and carrying away . . . and sometimes I have seen one tree on a carriage, which they call in Sussex a tug, drawn by twenty-two oxen, and even then it is carried so little a way and thrown down and left for other tugs to take up and carry on, that sometimes it is two or three years before it gets to Chatham.⁴⁸

Under this continuous consumption of timber, Sussex woodlands were now diminished to a degree that called forth the laments of contemporary observers. Nor was the greatly extended cultivation of hops in the eighteenth century without effect, the wide demand for hop-poles leading

⁴⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxviii, 50.

⁴³ Shoberl, *Suss.* 68.

⁴⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvii, 33.

⁴⁷ MS. in *Suss. Arch. Soc.* Library.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 17.

⁴² Carew, *Survey of Cornwall.*

⁴⁴ *Royalist Comp. Papers* (2nd Ser.), vol. 14, 870.

⁴⁶ *Parl. Surv. P.R.O.*

⁴⁸ *Tour.* (ed. 1753), 187.

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to the consumption of a quantity of young timber, particularly chestnut and ash in the coppices, without any commensurate planting to replenish the supply for the future. Fortunately, as time went on compensatory forces came into play to preserve the woodlands of Sussex, the county came into favour for residential purposes, and with increased facilities of access, old residences were re-occupied, new ones built, and the forest-lands of Ashdown and St. Leonard have become the seats of numerous country houses, and the sites of prosperous villages and even embryo towns. Well-wooded parks still abound, and the extensive preservation of game at least necessitates the preservation and planting of the 'vert' requisite for its propagation and protection. Deer, both red and fallow, still live in Sussex woodlands, even to a greater extent than in counties of more ample acreage or wider wilder wastes. The most recent writer on the subject states that Sussex has more inclosed land given up to deer than any other county.⁴⁹ He names Eridge Park as the largest English park; and states that Warnham Park, north-west of St. Leonard's Forest, has produced the largest deer in the country, an animal, namely, of 44 stone—8 lb. to the stone—and with 36 points. This park also furnishes fifteen deer each season for the Warnham Stag-hunt. There are at least twenty deer-parks within the county; the number of parks of the usual description is also very large, but indefinite, the application of the term being somewhat elastic nowadays. They will be dealt with under their respective parishes in the topographical portion of this work.

Arboriculture in Sussex can hardly be said to exist in any degree commensurate with favouring conditions of soil, climate, and demand. Very large tracts of land are practically virgin soil, and its geological nature so varied that almost any kind of tree will flourish, particularly in the western division of the county, where the rainfall is more liberal, to the extent of fifteen or twenty per cent., than in the eastern. Young, indeed, declared that there is 'no region of the earth where trees of all kinds thrive better, particularly oak and ash. . . . Even now if a field is neglected it will become a wood, principally of oak and birch, intermixed with hazel, some kinds of willow, and dogwood.'⁵⁰

The sixteenth century is given as the earliest date when tree-planting was practised in Britain,⁵¹ but so abundant was the timber still growing in Sussex that it is doubtful whether this county was the scene of much of that kind of work, though doubtless preservation as distinct from planting of trees began therein at that period; for the Act of Parliament of 1543,⁵² which provided for the preservation, when felling wood, of twelve standard oaks, elms, ashes, or beeches on every acre, applied, of course, to Sussex as well as the rest of the kingdom.

In the next century the growing need for plantation of trees came to be more generally recognized, and doubtless Evelyn's *Sylva* was not without effect, particularly in its advocacy of the culture of oak for the Navy. Especially may this influence have been operative in Sussex, since the author, if not native to its soil, was connected with it, at Lewes and Malling, by education, family, and residence. Another and earlier Sussex writer, who by his book of *Howe to plant and graffe all sortes of trees* may have stimulated arboriculture in the county, was Leonard Mascall, of Plumpton. He is indeed credited (on doubtful evidence) with the introduction of pippins into English orchards.

As an actual instance of seventeenth-century arboriculture in Sussex may be quoted some items from Lord Dacre's *Household Account-book* at Herstmonceux: as 24s. paid in November, 1644, for 'planting and staking trees'; an equal sum later on paid to four men for '6 daies work for digging up young trees and planting them in the Park'; '14s. paid for digging Ground to set young sycamore trees'; 5s. 6d. to four men setting acorns, and a further payment for gathering and setting sixty 'checker' trees—'wild service tree'—and 500 quicksets.⁵³ Whether Sussex landowners in general were as provident in arboriculture as the lord of Herstmonceux is doubtful, while it is very certain that felling was continuous. In the south of the forest-land of Worth, Anthony Stapley, of Hickstead, in the same year that Lord Dacre was planting timber, cut no less than 249 oaks, 'all of them very fine and they sold well'; while of his underwoods he made 18,800 faggots, of which he sold 13,075, at an average of 5s. per hundred.⁵⁴ Eighty years later 275 oaks were felled on the same estate and sold for £132, in addition to which there were 'sold to John Bridges 562 oaks to be cut this year, for £330,' while ninety other trees were sold for £23 2s.⁵⁵ The acreage of Sussex woodland at this period was 200,000 acres.

As time passed on, and the consumption of timber by the ship-building for the fast-growing mercantile and naval fleets of Great Britain more than neutralized the saving effected by the withdrawal of the iron industry to the north, apprehensions of the exhaustion of the woodlands of Sussex acted as a stimulus to the plantation of hard-wood timber, particularly oak, while the numerous Inclosure Acts, though most of the lands dealt with under them were made arable, afforded a great deal of ground suitable for timber-growing.

The long struggle with Napoleon occasioned a great demand for timber for ship-building, to make good the damage sustained by the naval and mercantile marine. The oaks of Sussex, being

⁴⁹ Whitaker, *Descriptive List of Deer Parks*, 1892.

⁵⁰ Young, *Agric. of Suss.* 469.

⁵³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlviii, 113.

⁵¹ *Encycl. Brit.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* xxiii, 61.

⁵² 35 Hen. VIII.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 63.

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deemed especially suitable for the ships of the royal navy, were in much demand. Landowners consequently were not without inducement to devote some of their land and their energies to the cultivation of trees. One of the most active in this direction was Lord Sheffield, at Fletching; so that early in the nineteenth century the stock of fine young oaks in the plantations of the Sheffield Park estate was the largest in the county.⁵⁶ Yet he was moved to say, in spite of his evident success, that had he attended to the pruning and management of his woods earlier they would have been worth many thousands more,⁵⁷ a remark which, though partaking somewhat of the nature of a platitude, is yet worthy of attention. The writer has seen, only last year, plantations of young trees, chiefly ash and sycamore, where, on the sunny side of a Southdown hill, the growth of tall flowering plants, brambles, and things twining, creeping, innumerable, was so luxuriant that many of the infant trees were dead, and the greater part of the plantation a sight more picturesque than profitable.

The modern modes of making plantations differ somewhat from those in vogue in the days when Lord Dacre set his four men to seek and to sow acorns. For 'labour' in the country is now so scarce and expensive that such a method would prove costly in inception, and tardy in result, at least as regards oak trees, as they are slow of growth, and do not produce acorns until fifteen or seventeen years old. Yet it is a valuable wood and always in demand, and if planted more plentifully and expected with patience, will prove profitable to posterity at least. Its modern price is 2s. or 2s. 6d. per foot. Almost equally disused as a method of tree-plantation is that by the collection of self-sown seedlings, as it is dependent to the same degree as acorn collection upon the labour question. Yet it might be advantageously used in the case of such trees as freely form and successfully sow their fruit, as in particular the sycamore—a tree in considerable demand for hoops and other bent-wood work, as well as for such higher uses as for making violins; and above all other trees perhaps it is a quick grower. But almost all planting of trees is now done by the medium of the nursery gardens.

There is a great local demand for oak in Sussex for making 'shingles' and park-pales; which are made by splitting oak to a thickness of $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch, a breadth of 3 or 4 in., and a length, for pales, of 4 to 6 ft. Shingles are sections of these, 5 or 6 in. long, and are used for covering roofs, and in particular church spires. In the reign of Henry VI their price was 22d. per thousand, at which cost 15,000 were sent from the archbishop's woodlands of Mayfield to cover the roof of his manor house at Lambeth.⁵⁸ To-day their price is 90s. per thousand. Oak pales are in even more general use in Sussex, and are set on rails between posts, with their edges overlapping. In mediæval days their price was 1s. per hundred,⁵⁹ to-day the same number would cost 25s. Next to its oaks the beech trees of Sussex are celebrated for their age and size, particularly in the western division of the county, flourishing on the slopes of the Downs, and climbing to their very crests. The high green hill of Chanctonbury is crowned by a clump of beeches nearly 150 years old, planted when no larger than 'twigs'—so he called them—by the father of the Rev. John Goring, who lived to celebrate in song his setting them sixty-eight years before; a fact that should encourage arboriculturists.⁶⁰ In more universal use perhaps than beech, the ash is a tree that might be more generally cultivated in Sussex, since it is always in demand for the wooden parts of agricultural implements, the felloes, spokes, and other components of carts and wagons, hoops, and last, not least, hop poles. In some parts of the county there are whole plantations of it; in others it is grown intermixed with sycamore, and is always set closely, that the natural rivalry to top its neighbour in seeking sunshine and air may draw it up tall and straight. Sussex woods also contain young chestnut trees, for they are more commonly used for hop-poles than any other young timber. Plantations for such use are generally cut when about eleven years old, and usually, in addition to ash and chestnut, contain a considerable amount of birch. The price of hop poles is commonly 3d. each; in 1781 they were valued at less than a farthing.⁶¹ In the county of the Southdown sheep there has always been a constant demand for hurdles and wattles. To make the former great quantities of hazelwood are used, cut in the coppices and underwoods of the county, wherein perhaps it is the most abundant tree—or shrub—for it is never allowed to attain to the size of a tree, the underwoods being cut at more or less frequent intervals, according to the kind of soil, the climate and the trees, growth of course being more rapid in a rich soil and a warm moist air than in a poor ground or a dry climate, differences which may occur even in the area of one county.

The pine or Scotch fir and the larch are plentiful in Sussex woods, and almost always planted more for ornament than use as timber, though fine straight larches are objects of culture, and for them there is always a local sale to wheelwrights and carpenters, mainly for making ladders. On the duke of Norfolk's estate there are 50 acres of young larch plantations, out of the total 5,000 acres of woodland. Though no new area is afforested there, large quantities of hardwood trees are

⁵⁶ Young, *Agric. of Suss.* 469.

⁵⁸ Ct. R. Lambeth, No. 1303.

⁶⁰ *Highways and Byeways of Suss.* 146-7.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid. No. 1302.

⁶¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlviii, 159.

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planted annually, and when underwood is cut every suitable 'teller' is preserved. At the other end of the county, however, where there are large woods of Scotch firs on the marquis of Abergavenny's estate at Eridge, the practical value of that timber is not overlooked, and periodic fellings are made. There are very fine beeches and oaks in this beautiful district, but the greater part of the Eridge woodland is coppice, with oak standards, the total area being 2,500 acres.

Ordinarily Sussex underwoods and coppices are cut every ten or twelve years, usually after sale by auction, at which £7 or £8 or £10 per acre are realized. Where the timber is mainly oak the intervals of cutting are longer, averaging twenty years, and for such wood a higher price is given. Ash trees have the advantage of being, *caeteris paribus*, of equal value when young as mature. Willow plantations are usually cut annually; but there is little cultivation either of osiers or other kind of willows except in the river valleys, ponds, and marshes. The poplar tribe is plentiful in Sussex, especially the black poplar, but the tall Lombardy variety is rarely seen.

Early in the nineteenth century Lord Gage planted most of the Scotch firs that are now to be seen in Plashet Park. At Glyndebourne a considerable number of beeches were planted in the eighteenth century, probably by William Hay 'the philosopher.' The present lord of the manor has planted a few acres on a hillside, chiefly with sycamore and ash, hardly more than will replace the trees that have been cut down in the parish during the last twenty years.

It is very much to be desired that arboriculture should be more extensively and systematically practised in a county so eminently suitable in soil and climate. It is true that the remuneration might be remote; it is certain that as regards underwood prices have fallen considerably—faggots, for instance, can be bought retail for no more than 26s. per hundred—yet there must always be a demand for such timber as Sussex oak and ash. But the rising price and increasing scarceness of rural labour will continue to present discouragement.

Sussex does not now possess any celebrated trees whose names are known beyond its borders. Gone is 'the hoar apple tree' which marked the spot where Harold and William strove for the mastery of England;⁶² nor can any man now point to the great ash under which the earl of Arundel's bailiffs held their court at Midhurst in the thirteenth century.⁶³ Nevertheless, there are some very fine elms, oaks, and beeches in various parts of the county. The elm in the High Street of Crawley is still a remarkable tree. Sixty-one feet in girth near the ground, its hollow trunk was so capacious that a generation or so ago thirteen people sat down to a banquet within it. Its floor was then paved with brick, its entrance fitted with a door. It is now in a very dilapidated condition, but still bears verdant branches growing to a height of 30 or 40 ft. At Hollington, in east Sussex, is an ancient beech tree, reputed to be more than 400 years old, and to have served, from its size, as a landmark to ships at sea. But it is the oak which is the most celebrated of Sussex trees, and many survive to which more or less veracious histories attach. Such as Pope's Oak at West Grinstead, beneath whose shade that master of the 'most absolutely chiselled' language—as Ruskin says—wrote 'The Rape of the Lock'; and 'Betsy's Oak' at Parham, under which Queen Elizabeth rested on her way to Cowdray.

Burton Park has some fine timber, an oak in particular being 25 ft. in circumference; and at Glyndebourne there is also an ancient oak 21 ft. in girth, hollow, but still verdant, growing in what was probably once More Park. Cowdray and Halnaker possess some splendid Spanish chestnut trees; the avenue composed of them at the former park is hardly second to any in the country. The well-known park of Goodwood contains a variety of fine timber. In addition to oaks and beeches, there are tulip trees, cork trees, and some fine cedars of Lebanon, survivors of 1,000 planted by the duke of Richmond in 1761. The county also possesses some yew trees of great antiquity and size. The most ancient, perhaps, is that at Hardham near Pulborough; the most celebrated that in the churchyard at Crowhurst; and the most beautiful the very ancient tree on the north side of the church of Wilmington. This last is 22 ft. in circumference, and divides at a foot or two above the ground into two massy trunks. At Kingly Vale near Chichester is a remarkable grove of yew trees, some of them of enormous girth. Doubtless Sussex once possessed many ancient and historic trees, but more perhaps than in other counties they have suffered under the axes of the Goths and the Philistines.

When we come to the history and description of the forests of Sussex we are met with the difficulty of deciding which of the six or seven groups of woodland usually so denominated are actually entitled to the name. If ancient but occasional usage were accepted as the criterion such mere parks as Knepp, Houghton, and even such uncertain localities as 'Claverige' would have to be included. But mediaeval nomenclature is too inexact to allow of such procedure, and it is preferable to account forests those which ancient usage generally, though not invariably, designated such. Even this will admit doubtful instances, such as Stanstead. Spelman does not include this in his list of English forests, and if the bounds of Arundel Forest have been correctly handed down there appears hardly a large enough extent of country between the western end of Arundel Forest and the county

⁶² *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 167.

⁶³ Assize R. 914, m. 17 d.

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boundary in which to locate another forest. Moreover as Henry Hussey's action in inclosing a chace upon the Downs (*montes*) of Harting and making a park there, was considered in 1283 to be 'to the injury of the chace of Arundel,'⁶⁴ it is clear that what was afterwards usually called Stanstead Forest was at this time considered part of the chase or forest of Arundel.

However this may be there is no doubt that Stanstead Park and woodland circumjacent was very often denominated a forest. Lying on the extreme western border of the county, to within two miles of which Arundel Forest extended, STANSTEAD FOREST must have had its greatest extent from north to south, including in its bounds Compton, Racton, Harting, Stoughton, and Stanstead. The two former belonged to Saxon kings; Compton to Alfred, coming afterwards to Earl Godwin; Racton to the Confessor; while Harting, Stoughton, and probably Stanstead were possessions of Godwin, and after him doubtless of Harold. A wide and wild woodland district such as this would doubtless be denominated a forest while held by royal families as those of the Saxon line, and the designation would persist under succeeding though different tenures; and the same argument will be seen to apply to most of the other forests of Sussex.

At the Conquest, Harting, Racton, Stanstead, Stoughton, and their woodlands, as parts of the rape of Chichester, came into the possession of Roger earl of Montgomery. Domesday does not mention either the forest or any of its constituent parks, but it is evident that there was considerable woodland in this district, for Stoughton rendered 100 hogs, Harting 100, and Racton 4.

The only house of religion associated with Stanstead was the small abbey of Dureford, founded by Henry Hussey in 1165. The canons of this house had tithes from the wood of 'Herchaia,'⁶⁵ and from all the woodland lying west of the road to London, from Dureford to 'Styngel,' localities unknown to-day. But the abbot's wood of la Wyke, which tenants of lands at Chithurst were bound to fence and to guard, was probably the *locale* lying north of Harting.⁶⁶

In 1114 Henry I was at Westbourne—into which parish the forest extended—waiting for a favouring wind to set sail for France.⁶⁷ Henry II also spent a week at Stanstead in 1177, and it was possibly owing to the exertion of hunting that his leg, which had been injured by a kick from a horse, grew painful and drove him back to rest at Winchester.⁶⁸ His son, King Richard, in April, 1194, went over from Portsmouth to Stanstead for a day's hunting.⁶⁹

In the latter part of the reign of Edward I, during the minority of Edmund, earl of Arundel, a trespass was committed by a certain William de Whiteway in Stanstead Park. For this he was fined and imprisoned in the Tower, but in 1307 was fortunate enough to obtain an order for his deliverance when he should have paid his forfeiture to Edmund of Arundel, now in possession of his estates, to whom it was assigned.⁷⁰ The lords of the forest of Stanstead built themselves a mansion, or at least a hunting-seat, in the forest-land, where they might sojourn when hunting over a woodland so far removed from their central castle of Arundel. Their original seat at Stanstead was apparently but a small abode, and a description⁷¹ of it in the early part of the fourteenth century reads singularly like the 'lodges' in St. Leonard's and Ashdown Forests surveyed by the Commonwealth Commissioners more than 300 years later; for it contained a hall, two chambers, a kitchen, and a chamber over the porch, but with the addition of a chapel. Such an inconsiderable house would scarcely meet the requirements of its lords for an indefinite period, and thus in 1480 it was rebuilt on a far larger scale. Here the earls frequently sojourned, and here they held their forest courts.⁷² One of the foresters and parkers—for he appears to have had the custody of both the forest and the park of Stanstead—appointed by Edmund, earl of Arundel, was Henry le Rede, who had a salary of a penny daily and a coat yearly—or 30s. in its place—together with house-bote, hedge-bote, and fuel, to be delivered by the steward of the manor of Stanstead.⁷³

Ten years later there is record of one of those sporting clerks whose zeal outran their discretion in their pursuit of game; for in 1340 William 'le Chanoyne,' of Shulbred Priory, together with other men of the same kidney, was charged with breaking into Stanstead and other parks of the earl of Arundel *vi et armis* and killing and carrying away deer.⁷⁴

A valuation of the honour of Arundel taken in the reign of Henry VIII does not mention this forest; but the *agistment* or feeding of cattle in the park of Stanstead is included among the items.⁷⁵ 'Common of pasture' is also mentioned in a record of Queen Elizabeth's reign, a certain John Leefe dying seised *inter alia* of *communis pasturæ in Foresta de Stansted*.⁷⁶

In this reign Stanstead, its manor, park, and forest passed on the death of Henry, last of the Fitzalans, to Lord Lumley, who had married Jane Fitzalan. A survey⁷⁷ of Lord Lumley's manors

⁶⁴ Inq. p.m. 12 Edw. I, No. 91.

⁶⁵ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxiii, fol. 95.

⁶⁶ Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta* (Rolls Ser.), i, 182.

⁶⁷ Close, 1 Edw. II, m. 18.

⁶⁸ Cartwright, *Rape of Chic.* 158.

⁶⁹ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 2.

⁷⁰ Bodleian, Rawlinson MS. B. 433.

⁶⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v, 4.

⁶⁷ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* x, No. 39.

⁶⁹ Rog. Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 251.

⁷¹ Escheat R. 20 Edw. II.

⁷³ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 37.

⁷⁵ Close, 16 Hen. VIII.

⁷⁷ Rentals and Surv. portf. $\frac{1}{7}$ 5.

in 1587 gives the extent of the forest of Stanstead as 1,413½ acres 15 poles, and values the timber therein at £5,000; it is not quite clear whether these figures include the 797 acres of the forest lying in Charlton manor, with timber estimated at £2,800, but they were certainly exclusive of the Little Park, round Stanstead House, containing 560 acres and timber worth £595, and Great Park of 836 acres, valued at £1,713 14s. 8d.

This Lord Lumley died seised of the forest of Stanstead and Overholte, and the parks of Stanstead and Downley; Overholte being, possibly, the more ancient name of Ladyholt, a park contiguous to Stanstead on the west.⁷⁸ In the succeeding years of this century the Lumleys increasing in riches and honours and becoming earls of Scarborough, Stanstead was the scene of much development; a mansion, variously described as splendid, magnificent, or elegant, succeeding the older house, while 25 miles of turf rides and coach-drives were laid out in this 'majestic woodland.' Beautiful in situation, commanding wide views of down, forest-land, and sea, abounding with beech trees of great size, in the midst of this woodland of more than 1,600 acres, with its celebrated triple avenue of beeches, the central one, three chains in width, extending 2 miles in length to the border of Hampshire, Stanstead was one of the finest seats in the south of England.

The boundary between the forests of Stanstead and Arundel is doubtful, and so we pass, insensibly as it were, on to the latter, the greater part of which lay in the same rape as Stanstead.

THE FOREST OF ARUNDEL was a wide tract of country extending over the two rapes of Arundel and Chichester, stretching from the west bank of the Arun nearly to the western border of Sussex, in length about 12 miles, and in breadth from 4 to 6 miles.

According to Tierney's painstaking *History of Arundel* its forest bounds were as follows:— Leaving Fishbourne on the west the boundary passed eastwards to Crocker Hill and Avisford, thence south to Cudlowe on the coast, and abruptly changing its course returned along the river Arun in a northerly direction through the marshes of Tortington, ascended the hill behind Arundel and hastened down the opposite slope to Houghton and Pablesbury. From thence westwardly through Swanbridge and Berkdale to Normansland on the Downs. Then turning to the right towards Waltham it crossed the hills of Cocking, North Merdon, and Compton, and suddenly wheeling to the south terminated its course near the present Chichester Harbour. The circumference thus described could scarcely have measured less than 50 miles. Mr. Tierney considers its ancient boundary to have been less extensive, and describes it, but as he gives no authority for the one boundary or the other it would be useless to discuss the question.

Within or on the verge of this forest were the great and little parks of Arundel, and the wood called Ruell, the parks of Selhurst, Halnaker, Goodwood, East Dean, West Dean, Downley, and Walberton. In addition, Earl Roger possessed other parks in various parts of his rapes, no fewer indeed than eighteen in all.

Nevertheless a large amount of the woodland of his vast territory was in the hands of various other lords. The first earl found his forest encroached upon, as it were, by the bishop of Chichester's parks of Houghton on the north-east—a park so large that it was often denominated a forest—and Aldingbourne on the south, possessions of that see from the days of Cædwalla, while in the middle of the forest itself lay the manor of Halnaker with its extensive woodlands successively in the possession of the de Haia and St. John families. In addition, at the south-west corner of his forest was Broyle, north of Chichester, which, as we have seen, was once a forest.

The manor of Slindon with its park had belonged to the see of Canterbury, but had been separated from it at the Conquest. Taking advantage of the forfeiture of the wide lands of Earl Roger's son Robert, Anselm obtained from King Henry I its restoration to his see in 1106.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, the forest, with the rest of the honour, remained in royal hands until, after the death of Henry, the marriage of his widow Adelisa (whose dower it had become) carried all these things into the possession of her second husband, William d'Albini.

During this period and the years succeeding the acquisitions of those religious houses in the close neighbourhood of Arundel afford many items of information concerning the forest and its constituent woodlands, particularly those of Halnaker. Both the families who owned that manor were generous donors to Boxgrove, or to its Norman parent, the abbey of Essay. Thus, Robert de Haia gave the foreign house tithes of the profits of his woods of Halnaker, with house-bote, fire-bote, and pannage for their swine therein. His successor, the first St. John, endowed Boxgrove with the wood of Bessole—the Bexley of to-day—'near to the wood of Halnac,' while in the latter wood his brother granted pasture for their cattle, as well as pannage for their pigs, together with part of the wood itself. The earl himself endowed Boxgrove with another part of the wood of Bessole, called Hazelwood—both name and wood surviving to-day—together with pasture for a certain number of their cattle and horses, and pannage for forty hogs. His successor gave them yet another portion of Bessole, and in addition the wood of Winkinges, a name of Saxon origin surviving to-day.

⁷⁸ Inq. p.m. 7 Jas. I.

⁷⁹ Somner, *Canterbury*.

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To the small priory of Pynham this William d'Albini, the second, gave annually thirteen loads of wood from his forest of Arundel, for the fuel of their house and the repair of the bridge of wood, as well as pannage for their swine 'sine numero,' both in his park and his forest.

All these alienations of the woodland of the forest operated, in a manner, as so many *imperia in imperio*, and could hardly fail to give rise to conflicting claims, with their resultant encounters, legal or personal. And thus, as a matter of fact, such contested rights brought about so many disputes, legal and otherwise, that a great deal of the history of this forest is derived from records of such proceedings.

When after the death of William, the fourth d'Albini, his heir Hugh succeeded, his long minority having come to an end in 1234, he found the lengthy period during which his estates had been in the hands of the weak king, Henry III, had sufficed for various encroachments—as he viewed them—to arise within his forest. Chief of these was the claim of the archbishops to hunt, not only in their manor of Slindon and its park, which lay within the forest bounds, but also over the earl's estate, as part of their right to hunt in all the forests of the realm, the archbishop ignoring its limitation, viz., to the occasions when the primates were journeying on visitations. The dispute was at last settled by compromise, twenty years after, and the king's seal confirmed the same.⁸⁰ By this agreement it was provided that the archbishop, when going to or from his manor of Slindon, might, after due notice to the earl's foresters, hunt once a year with six greyhounds, and no other kind of hound, neither with bows nor arrows, while if the ecclesiastical hunters took more deer than one, the best should be retained by the archbishop, and the remainder delivered to the forest officers for the earl's use. The earl, on his part, agreed to render annually at the manor house of Slindon thirteen bucks or harts of *grece*, and thirteen does or hinds from his forest of Arundel.

Another encroachment suffered by the earls with respect to their forest was at Halnaker, at the hands of John de St. John,⁸¹ its lord, who had enlarged 'Halfnaker parcus' by annexing sixty acres of his overlord's land, 'to the prejudice of Arundel Chace.' But the earl himself was not innocent of offence, for some years earlier the jurors of the Hundred Rolls complained that 'whereas the lord of Arundel was wont to hold the court of Woodplayt once a year, he now holds it every month'—(*per tres septimanas in tribus septimanis*). It is difficult to see which of the forest-courts is intended by the 'Woodplayt,' since if the complainants meant the 'Woodmote,' monthly session was correct. They could not have referred to the 'Eyre,' held by justices of the forest at more or less—generally more—lengthy intervals; nor does it appear likely they intended to say 'Swainmote,' or court of attachment, since that was held three times a year. 'Woodplayt' sometimes appears as 'Wudplat,' and is a corrupt abbreviated compound of 'Wud' (for wood), and 'plat' (for *placitum*, a plea), i.e. pleas in causes relating to the woodlands.

In 1274, the honour of Arundel was again in the king's hands on the death of its lord, and, together with the custody of the forest, was committed to John de Wanton,⁸² 'during the king's pleasure.' This appears to have been short-lived, since two years after it was granted to Ralph de Sandwich, seneschal of the king.⁸³ In this grant the king calls the forest 'Our wood,' as he does two years later in making Emericus de Cancellario its 'custos,'⁸⁴ when reference is also made to yet another keeper of the forest in the clause 'so that he [Emericus] answer for the revenues thence arising, from the time when Henry de Nauberg was its custodian.'

The profits and perquisites of such keepers were evidently considerable, for in some cases they paid for their posts; as, for instance, in 1271, the keeper of part of Arundel Forest, the park and 'walk' of Ruell, made an annual render of a silver cup worth 13s. 4d. (one mark) for his post, 'which the earl granted him by charter,'⁸⁵ while the forester of Charlton paid 12s. yearly in lieu of rendering twelve silver spoons.⁸⁶

Some years later the archbishop obtained a commission to try Robert de Morleye, Thomas de Hevere, and others for breaking into the park of his manor of Slindon, hunting and carrying away deer.⁸⁷

Nearly forty years later the earl of Arundel and the archbishop, Simon Islip, came to an agreement in the matter of the annual render of the twenty-six deer from his forest to the archbishop. By the payment of 240 marks to the primate he was induced to forgo for ever this perennial due of venison.⁸⁸ The sum seems excessive, but even if there were no other considerations the actual expenses of this render of venison were considerable, 59s. 11d. being paid to archers and hunters with their dogs taking deer for the archbishop in Arundel Forest during the week before Lent, 1274, and another 73s. 4d. for eleven days' similar work about the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.⁸⁹ Similar troubles arose with other neighbours from kindred causes, the existence namely of that *imperium in imperio* caused by the possession of sporting lands and rights by one lord

⁸⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* ii, 187.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. I, m. 1.

⁸⁶ *Mins. Accts. bdle.* 1019, No. 22.

⁸⁵ *Lit. Cant. (Rolls Ser.)*, ii, 432.

⁸¹ *Inq. p.m.* 10 Edw. I, No. 38.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 7 Edw. I, m. 4.

⁸² *Orig. R.* 3 Edw. I, m. 35.

⁸⁵ *Escheat Roll*, 56 Hen. III.

⁸⁷ *Pat.* 17 Edw. II, pt. 1, m. 19d.

⁸⁹ *Mins. Accts. bdle.* 1019, No. 22.

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over a territory within or contiguous to like lands which were in the hands of another landowner; in this case between Richard earl of Arundel and the bishop of Chichester in 1292 concerning the episcopal park of Houghton. Situated on the north-east border of his forest, and originally, no doubt, an actual part thereof, the earl perhaps considered himself entitled to hunt over it by ancient right of over-lordship. But the bishop was prompt to protest against this action, at first with anything but success. The earl, 'and his servants at his bidding, hunted twice in the chace of Houghton with greyhounds and archers without any license or leave.' The bishop having sent his clerks to protest, the earl declared 'that he had hunted and would hunt there again, notwithstanding the rights of the bishop.' Thereupon the sentence of excommunication was pronounced upon the earl, but his contumacy continuing the bishop laid an interdict upon his chapel and his lands, within the diocese of Chichester. Eventually, when the earl was spending Christmas at his manor of East Dean, within the forest land, mollified possibly by the amenities of the season, and 'moved by healthier counsel,' he sent to the bishop, who was at Amberley, where he had a castle and a park. A meeting was arranged between earl and bishop, and the former having proceeded to the chapel of Houghton was duly absolved, but subjected to a penance of three days' duration and a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester.⁹⁰ On the death of John, thirteenth earl of Arundel, the honour and forest came into the hands of Henry VI, the heir being a minor. On this occasion Sir Richard Dalyngrigge was appointed 'custos.'⁹¹

At the upheaval of the Reformation such portions of Arundel Forest as had belonged to religious houses were taken into the king's hands, and usually regranted to court favourites. Some passed by exchange, more or less compulsory, such as Slindon, the archbishop's manor and park within the forest, which Cranmer thus disposed of to the king. William earl of Arundel himself made an extensive exchange with the king of parks and forest land,⁹² obtaining in return the greater part of the lands of Michelham Priory. But most of those thus changing owners were outside the bounds of Arundel Forest, such as the parks of Meadhome and Shillinglee, which lay in the north of his rape. The parks of Woolavington and Bignor, however, were, if not actually without its metes, at least contiguous to its northern verge.

Some few years earlier there is record of the same king in connexion with Houghton. For in 1533 Henry VIII sent the following command to his forest-officer at Houghton, which was then in his possession:—

To the Kepar of our chace or Forreste of Houghton in our Countie of Sussex and in his absense to his Depute there. We will and charge you that unto our welbeloved John Heskett or to the bringar hereof in his name ys delivered or do to be delivered too bukkes of season to be taken of our gifte within our chace or forreste of Houghton, now being in our hands and disposicon by reason of the vacancy of the temporalities of the Byshopric of Chichester, any restraunte or commandment to the contrary notwithstanding and this our lettre signed with our hande shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge. Yevyn und' our signet at our Manor of Greenwich vi July, xxii yere of our reign.⁹³

Houghton appears to have been disparked soon afterwards, for the Bishop's Registers under the year 1548 contain record of a lease made of 200 acres of wood there. Its final separation from the see took place in 1810, when the bishop sold his part of the 'Forest of Houghton' to the duke of Norfolk.⁹⁴

When we come to post-Reformation times we find less and less information on the subject of Arundel Park. In 1605 it appears to have been in royal hands, and a commission was issued to inquire into various matters connected with it, as, for instance, whether 'Rewell Walk'—the ancient Ruelle—was part of the forest.⁹⁵

There was the usual destruction of its woods during the Civil War. Some parts of it were in the possession of the Lumley family, and when they 'compounded' for their estates Charlton and Singleton, constituent parts of the forest, were omitted from the calculation as being of no profit, the deer and rabbits almost all destroyed, and the land overgrown with gorse and briars. The commissioners were therefore petitioned to set some value upon them so that their sequestration might be discharged, and the owners be free to use such wood as they required for fuel and repairs.⁹⁶ In the time of the last Stuarts both Arundel and Stanstead forests came into much favour as hunting centres, and Charlton was so much a place of resort for Lord Lumley and the nobility for sporting purposes that its name came to be attached to this forest-land. The unfortunate duke of Monmouth, we read, was particularly pleased with 'Charlton Forest' as a hunting ground, and in after years George I and George II, when Prince of Wales, hunted over this district. Nowadays this forest-land, to a great extent, wears a different aspect; cultivation has largely supervened; but in the demesne of the lord of Arundel both fallow and red deer roam. The beautiful home-park of

⁹⁰ Chich. Epis. Reg. Reade.

⁹¹ Pat. 13 Hen VI.

⁹² Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. 1.

⁹³ Chich. Epis. Reg. 'C,' fol. 107.

⁹⁴ Dallaway, *Rape of Arundel*, 218.

⁹⁵ Dep. by Com. (Exch.) Easter, 3 Jas. I, 28.

⁹⁶ Royalist Comp. (2nd Ser.), vol. 14.

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Arundel is more than a thousand acres in extent, and contains some splendid timber, chiefly beech trees, some of great size and age ; while between four and five hundred fallow deer, and more than two hundred red deer, wander over its hills and dales.

North of the forest-land of Arundel lies the well-wooded park of Petworth, the seat of Lord Leconfield. Nearly seven hundred acres in extent, it shelters a herd of more than five hundred fallow deer, and contains a clump of ancient trees wherein ravens have been wont to breed. North-east of Arundel is Parham Park, more than four hundred acres in extent, containing over two hundred fallow deer, and harbouring a heronry among its trees.

Leaving Arundel we pass on to the contiguous division of Sussex, where, in the north-east of the rape of Bramber, is the FOREST OF ST. LEONARD, one of the most important in the county. It occupied the huge parish of Beeding, and extended southwards far into the centre of the rape. It derived its name in all probability from the fact that within its bounds stood a chapel dedicated to St. Leonard, of remote and unknown origin.

From the immense number of flint flakes and implements of various kinds found in the loose sand of this forest-land, particularly about Horsham, it is evident that the district of St. Leonard's Forest was much frequented by our Celtic forefathers, who must have had to travel many miles to get the materials for their tools, Findon in the south and Reigate in Surrey in the north being the nearest localities for flint. Beeding, Steyning, and other places in the woodland were manors of Godwin, Harold, and Edward the Confessor, and very possibly of Saxon kings before him.⁹⁷

Both Beeding and Steyning are credited in Domesday Survey with a considerable amount of woodland affording food for swine, and the lord of Beeding received two sextaries of honey of the bees that resorted to its woods. Bramber itself must have been densely wooded, 3,000 acres of wood therein being mentioned in a record⁹⁸ several hundred years later than the days of Domesday.

The forest of St. Leonard is not mentioned in Domesday, neither any of the parks its constituents ; probably they were inclosures of the forest-land of a later date, while its claim to the title of a forest in the strict sense of the word has been called in question. It is likely that the designation is a survival from the days of the Saxon kings.

The foundation of the priory of Sele or Beeding affords some items of information concerning this forest. Founded by the lord of Bramber, William de Braose, in 1075, the priory of Sele was endowed by him and his successors with pannage for their swine in this forest, and in all the woods of the barony, with timber from the same for building and reparations ; together with the tithes arising from pannage, from the underwood of the forest, from recent assarts, i.e., land reclaimed from the forest and converted to cultivation, and from colts born in the forest-land. From the last item it would appear probable that, like the neighbouring Hampshire forests, this forest of St. Leonard contained among its '*ferae naturae*' wild forest-ponies, and this is borne out by the fact that in 1305 a canon of Calceto Priory and other persons were convicted of hunting in Sedgewick Park and of wantonly driving a herd of horses (*equitium*) belonging to Mary de Braose into their nets and beating the horses with their bows.^{98a} Like the other forests of Sussex, it gave origin to one of the little rivers of the county. We have noted how these tidal rivers gave access to the densest forest lands ; they were also of the highest importance as carriers of the timber supplies which Sussex woodlands rendered for the building and repair of the castles, houses, bridges, and ships of past ages. In 1207 there is record in the accounts of the bishopric of Winchester of wood from this Sussex forest being conveyed to various episcopal manors. The steward of Southwark manor enters in his account of that year the 'cost of timber coming from the forest of St. Leonard for the mill, and of the carpenter to saw it up . . . timber brought from the forest of St. Leonard to Dorking . . . timber brought from the same forest to Kingston.'⁹⁹

It must have been a matter of some difficulty in those days of deep and miry roads to convey timber such distances as these, the shortest of which was to Dorking, and the easiest. For the Stane Street, a road of Roman formation, passed through the north-western corner of the rape of Bramber adjoining, if not piercing, the verge of St. Leonard's Forest. The timber that was conveyed to Kingston-on-Thames, and to the mill of Southwark, may also have travelled the same route, unless it was floated down the Adur river for transference to London by sea and up the Thames.

About the same period we meet with various parks on the borders of or within this forest-land ; Cnep or Knepp in its southern part, Sedgewick in the west, Chesworth, Shelley, and Beaubush (or Beaubusson) in the north. Knepp was doubtless an inclosure of the forest around the castle of the same name, probably of ancient formation. For it was already in existence in the twelfth century, when the monks of Sele complained that William, the third lord of Bramber, had taken some of their land for the enlargement of his park at Knepp.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxvii, 177 et seq.

⁹⁸ *Inq. a.q.d.* 9 Edw. II, No. 204.

^{98a} *Assize R.* 934, m. 7.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Compoti Petri Epis. Winton.* a^o quarto, m. 9 (1208-9).

¹⁰⁰ *Sele Chartul.* at Magdalen Coll. fol. 14.

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When the Braose estates were seized by King John, Roland Bloet had the particular care of Knepp entrusted to him. While this castle and park were in the royal hands the king paid them more than one visit, and several missives were at other times sent by him to Bloet on the subject of the deer, the boars, and the timber, evidencing a keen intent to make the utmost profit out of this portion of the forest of St. Leonard.¹⁰¹ Thus in 1212 he wrote directing Bloet to 'permit Michael de Punning to take all the fat deer he can in the park of Cnapp, by bow or by hound, and to salt the venison, and preserve the hides.' The next year the king sent various huntsmen, with more than a hundred hounds, to hunt in what he now dignifies with the title of the 'Forest' of Knepp. A still larger pack of hounds was sent in the following year, namely, 240 greyhounds, accompanied by nineteen huntsmen, to hunt the does in the park. About the same period Bloet received an order upon the Exchequer for his expenses incurred in sending timber from St. Leonard's Forest by sea for the construction of 'our hall at Dover.' Two years later the king wrote forbidding the felling of timber 'in our park or forest of Cnapp.' In 1214 'Wyot, our huntsman,' was sent with boarhounds into the park of Knepp, to take two or three boars daily.¹⁰² This same year Knepp was honoured by a visit of Queen Isabella, who stayed there for a period of eleven days, in connexion with which the king ordered the barons of the Exchequer to pay certain expenses incurred for the keep of horses, hounds, and keepers.

South of Knepp was the manor of Ashurst, its name sufficiently indicative of the woodland nature of its neighbourhood. Originally held by Earl Godwin, and subsequently by Harold, it may possibly be identical with that 'Aishurst' which appears more than once as forest-land in the early Pipe Rolls. Thus in 1189 the sheriff of Sussex accounts for money received from the herbage of 'Boscus de Aisherst.'¹⁰³

Some few miles further north within the forest-land was the manor, park, and fortified dwelling of the ancient family of Savage, called Sedgewick. In the near neighbourhood of Sedgewick was Chesworth Park, containing also a hunting-lodge or dwelling-house. This park was the smallest of these inclosures in the forest, and does not appear to have ever contained more than the 233 acres credited to it in a survey of the year 1608.¹⁰⁴ To the north-east of Chesworth lay the park of Shelley, anciently Shullegh, containing more than 600 acres. The adjoining part of the forest, with the park itself, formed a woodland district once called 'Shepherds Field Forest,' and the name appears on some few maps. Adjoining Shelley Park on the north was the park of Beaubush or Beaubusson. It was the largest of the inclosures of St. Leonard's Forest, containing 757 acres.

It may be there were other inclosures of woodland—at a somewhat later period there is mention of a 'Little Park' in this forest—or some of these already named may be referred to in the complaint of two new imparkations which the jurors of Horsham voiced in the Hundred Rolls. A claim of free warren made by the lord of Bramber in 1278, when brought to trial, disclosed a singular sporting custom, in the right of the knights and free tenants of the barony to hunt and carry off any kind of wild beast on Shrove Tuesday.¹⁰⁵ On a subsequent occasion Sir Roger de Covert claimed this ancient privilege with the additional right 'to cut bludgeons in the woods to throw at the hares'—'amputare baculos in boscis ad jactandum propter lepores.'¹⁰⁶

Edward I doubtless enjoyed the pleasures of the chase in the forest of St. Leonard. For he visited both Bramber, Chesworth, and Horsham, and while at Bramber made payment to a certain William Bolle, 'coming to the king with thirteen staghounds.'¹⁰⁷ Edward II also hunted over it while at Chesworth. A record of the reign of this king gives us a rough estimate of the size of St. Leonard's Forest, and also of the park of Knepp. Seven thousand acres is stated to be the area of the forest, while Knepp Park contained 1,000 acres, estimated at the exiguous value of 10s. beyond the cost of the upkeep of the fences and the feeding of the deer.¹⁰⁸

Early in the next reign we find the lord of Ifield (a manor on the verge of Shelley and Beaubush parks), Sir John de Ifield, in possession of certain lands in St. Leonard's Forest or chase, Edward III confirming the same to him in 1329.¹⁰⁹ Possibly this was the same land which some years later the jurors of the Nonae Rolls complain of as imparked by Sir John de Ifield at 'Shullegh.' The grant thus confirmed included pasture for his horses, cattle and sheep, and pannage for his swine 'in the chace called the forest of St. Leonard,' and in the parks of Beaubusson and la Knepp.

On the death of this William de Braose, the lordship of Bramber passed, by his daughter Aline's marriage, to the Mowbray family, and John de Mowbray, her husband, obtained the royal recognition of his succession to the Bramber barony, including 'the free chase of St. Leonard—de novo facta,' the meaning of this phrase not being apparent.¹¹⁰

By this new lord of Bramber a certain William de Green was appointed 'Custos' of the park of Knepp, for the long term of sixty years, and at the usual salary of 2d. per diem, an appointment

¹⁰¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii, 1-12.

¹⁰² Close, 16 John, m. 13.

¹⁰³ Pipe R. 1 Ric. I.

¹⁰⁴ Ellis, *Parks and Forests of Sussex*, 179.

¹⁰⁵ Assize R. 921, m. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 924.

¹⁰⁷ Lib. R. 9 Edw. I.

¹⁰⁸ Inq. p.m. (re Wm. de Braose), 19 Edw. II, No. 89.

¹⁰⁹ Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 46.

¹¹⁰ Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. 2, m. 25 d.

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confirmed by the king in 1369.¹¹¹ John de Mowbray was succeeded by Thomas his son, who in 1398 was created duke of Norfolk. While he was lord of St. Leonard's Forest, William Roger was appointed keeper of the park of Knepp for life, at the same salary as his predecessor.¹¹² But his tenure of the post was short, for in the first year of the reign of the new king we find John Pilton appointed to the keepership of the same park.¹¹³ The next 'Custos' we hear of, John Penycoke by name, was paid at the higher fee of 3*d.* a day.¹¹⁴ About this period the chief ranger of St. Leonard's Forest was a certain Thomas Anknapp—possibly a transcriber's error for 'att Knapp.' There is still extant one of his accounts for the year 1441. From this it appears that, as with other forests, St. Leonard's was divided into wards, baillies (*ballia*), or walks, as they were called in Tudor times, there being four in the south and six in the north part of the forest; the names of the latter were Throstelhyle (Throstlehill), Thornyngbroke, Boghe (Beaubush) with Shulleghe (Shelley), Forterslond, Whiteberewe, and Hyde. The pannage and the agistment of the forest were let out to farm; the sums received, such, that is, as are legible, varied from 5*s.* to 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 3*s.* 4*d.* was received from the rent of the garden of the lodge within the new park, and 20*d.* from a field called Pirifeld, parcel of a tenement called Derlond (? Deerland) within the forest, and 'no more because for three-quarters of a year it had been on the lord's hands for want of a tenant.' Another entry affords the very interesting information that a fair was held within this forest-land, for the ranger accounts for money received from 'tolls and dues of St. Leonard's Fair held on the feast day' of the saint. Profits from the forest court there were none, for no court had been held within the period covered by this account, neither had there been any wood sales; and the sum total of receipts was £6 12*s.* 8*d.* From this were to be deducted such expenses as the ranger's salary of 60*s.* 8*d.*, and 10*s.* for a furlong of new paling at 'Bronnyngestum.' The very modest sum of 66*s.* was due to the lord as the year's profit from his forest of St. Leonard.¹¹⁵

With the advent of a new king, the first of the Tudors, some forty years later, the forest, together with the rape, came under a new lord, being granted to Thomas Lord La Warr, who in 1494 sold the lordship to Thomas earl of Surrey.¹¹⁶

In the next reign we meet with one of the rare mentions of St. Leonard's Chapel in the forest, the Valor of 1535 containing the following entry:—'Chapel of St. Leonard within the Forest of St. Leonard; Alan Coke clerk now incumbent, worth in rents £6, oblations 19*s.*, profits of wood sales and other casual revenues £2 14*s.* 4*d.* Total £9 13*s.* 4*d.*'¹¹⁷ This chapel was abolished at the time of the Reformation.¹¹⁸

On the attainder of Thomas third duke of Norfolk, St. Leonard's Forest was granted in 1547 to Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral, who, after sixteen months' possession of these lands, fell under a bill of attainder. The 'Inventory' of his possessions, taken at Chesworth, 20 January, 2 Edward VI, contains interesting particulars of the forest of St. Leonard, and its constituent parts. We may judge how important was the economic aspect as compared with the sporting uses of the parks of those times, by the number of fattening oxen, sheep, and pigs, which figure in the details of this inventory. Thus in Knepp Park there were 100 fattening oxen, fifty-three fattening sheep, and one cow, together with thirteen 'young ambelyng geldyns'; towards the keep of all these there was a store of fifty-nine loads of hay in the park. In 'Segewyke Parke' were ten porkers worth 20*d.* apiece, and 100 deer. Chesworth Park contained nine fattening oxen and 'one bare and syk ox'; a horse, six other oxen, sold, but remaining as unpaid for; still other fattening oxen to the number of twenty-eight; the deer in the park amounting to 100. Another inclosure called the 'Litill Parke in the Forest,' contained 'by estimacion fourscore dere.' By the same 'Inventory' we learn that at Knepp Park William Skoterall was 'Keper there, havng at my lordd's pleasure wh therbage of xiiii bests, 11 horsys and ten hoggs. George Bernard, underkeper there, havng the goyng off vi bests or naggs and six hoggs there.' William Barwyke was keeper of Sedgewick, 'havng for his fee iiiiii*li.* xi*s.* iii*d.* per ann. and the rate of viii oxyn, xii keane, vi marys & geldyngs and xvi swyne.' The keeper of Chesworth Park was a certain Henry Foyce at a fee of vi*li.* xx*d.*. The same Henry was also under-steward at xl*s.*, and 'recevor there, havng for hys Fee, by yere xl*s.* wh therbage of xiiii bests, ii horsys, and also ii horsys founde in my lord's stable.' At Beaubush and Shelley parks John Berde was keeper, receiving 'vi*li.* xx*d.* p an. ix catall and xx hors bests.' The keeper of 'Litill Parke in the Forest' was John Myles, receiving 60*s.* a year 'and the goyng of serteyn catall.' The oversight of the ponds and fisheries was the office of 'John Roose, water-bayliffe there,' receiving 26*s.* 7*d.*; while we seem to find an echo of the olden time 'Riding Forester' in the official styled 'Baylifferrant,' Thomas Bradbrige by name.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Pat. 43 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16.

¹¹² Ibid. 1 Hen. IV, pt. 2, m. 17.

¹¹³ Exch. Accts. K.R. bdle. 145, No. 9.

¹¹⁴ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), i, 320.

¹¹⁵ S.P. Dom. Edw. VI, vol. 4, No. 3; printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 22 Ric. II.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 23 Hen. VI.

¹¹⁸ *Formulare Anglic.* p. 212.

¹¹⁹ Chant. Cert. No. 50.

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With regard to Seymour's tenure of St. Leonard's Forest documents at Magdalen College state that

There is communication that the Lorde Admirall aforesaid will buyld a toune w^{thin} the Forest of St. Leonarde, wher increase of tythes may growe to the Colledge . . . wheras now we have but 3s. for the herbage of the foreste and 8s. for the parke of Bewbushe sometye parcell of ye foreste.

During Queen Mary's reign St. Leonard's Forest was once more in the possession of the Norfolk line, the duke spending much time at Chesworth. A certain John Beard was the chief official of the forest during this period, according to a herald's visitation, which says he 'had lands at Cuffold and served the Duke of Norfolk when his grace lived at Chesworth in Sussex, and was Ranger of St. Leonard's Forest in the tyme of Queen Mary, and lyeth buried in the parish church of Cuffold under a fayre marble.'¹²⁰ In Elizabeth's reign the forest was still in the hands of the duke.

Apparently his actual resources by no means corresponded to the extent of his possessions, for in 1561 he was constrained to offer to mortgage to the queen the manors of Sedgewick, Chesworth, Baybush, Shelley, and the forest of St. Leonard. 'In them is plenty of woods for fortifications or ships.'¹²¹

The duke's troubles, however, pecuniary and otherwise, were brought to an abrupt termination by his execution for treason in 1572, when the queen by his attainder came into possession of the Sussex parks and forest which had been otherwise offered to her. In the event the forest of St. Leonard was leased to various persons, Sir John Caryll ultimately acquiring the greater part of it, such as Sedgewick and Chesworth.¹²² The family of Ford had a sub-lease of a portion of this territory, since in 1642 Sir William Ford leased—with the consent of Sir John Caryll—324 acres of pasture and woody ground, parcel of the park of Sedgewick, to John Gratwick, gent. The overlord, Caryll, reserved the right for himself and heirs 'to meet and bring convenient companies to hawk or hunt, fish or fowle, upon the same and to carry the game away.' The great timber was reserved by Sir William Ford, but Gratwick had the usual allowances of wood for reparations, viz. hedge-bote, stake-bote, wain-bote, and plough-bote. A state paper of about the year 1636 places the rents received by the crown from St. Leonard's Forest leases, Sedgewick, Chesworth, &c. at £725 16s. 8d., 'from which being deducted the king's rent £227 14s. 6d. there remains a saleable value of £498 2s. 2d.'¹²³

Some idea of the enormous destruction of wood in the forest at this time may be gathered from the fact that Sir Thomas Sherley in 1578 obtained leave to take 2,000 cords (a cord being 125 cubic feet) of beech, birch, and oak yearly, and next year had licence for a further 2,000 cords; under which licences he had taken by 1597 as much as 75,016½ cords, while another lessee, Edward Caryll, had taken 8,580 cords.¹²⁴ The total destruction for these twenty years was therefore well over a million cubic feet, and would be represented by a stack of wood rather more than a hundred feet in height, length, and breadth.

In 1650 commissioners were appointed to perambulate and report on this district and the 'Survey' they made affords many details relative to this portion of the forest of St. Leonard, namely of 'lands sometime called Sedgwick Parke anciently disparked . . . containing by admeasuremt one thowsand therty three acres and twenty five pches.' The part containing Sedgewick Lodge and its circumjacent park-land comprised more than 372 acres, 'the timber trees and young oakes being in number eight hundred, besides other young trees and Beeches' growing there, being valued at £200.

The extent to which this and the remainder of the 1,033 acres still retained its park and forest-like character is shown by the fact that upon the eleven farms into which it was cut up stood no less than 1,857 trees, 'timber trees, young oakes, Beeches, tillers, together with many great Beeches' (i.e. not included in this enumeration), whose grand total amounted to 2,657 trees besides the great beeches, valued at £490.¹²⁵

From another 'Survey,' of 1650, we gather that the disparked park of Chesworth was cut up into farms, ten in number, mostly of small acreage, the largest consisting of but sixty-three acres more or less. A portion of one of these holdings bore the remarkable sobriquet of 'Jenny Bare-leggs Close.'

Another portion of the estate was in the tenure of Sir Thomas Ersfield, and containing a 'conny-warren,' arable, pasture, and woody lands, was called 'The warren and ould parke.' Richard Waller, of Horsham, held 16 acres at a rent of eleven pounds, with a covenant to 'plant or graft six crab stockes or perrye stockes yerely'; a covenant which it is much to be desired could be introduced elsewhere nowadays when circumstances permit. There seems to have been but little

¹²⁰ Herald's Visitation of 1634, quoted by Horsfield, *Hist. of Sussex*, i, 243.

¹²¹ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 11, No. 56.

¹²³ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. 339, No. 16.

¹²⁵ Parly. Surv. Sussex, No. 48.

¹²² Pat. 44 Eliz.

¹²⁴ Exch. Spec. Com. 2123.

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timber left on Chesworth lands, the surveyors only enumerating 254 trees, 104 of which were 'small oake trees,' the value of the whole being set at £46. Of all this the great timber had been reserved by the crown, when, by patent of 44 Elizabeth, the queen had granted the estate to Sir John Caryll, who in this connexion had merely such wood and underwood as he required for house-, fire-, hedge-, pale-, plough-, wain-, and cart-bote, a sufficiently comprehensive catalogue, and one whose benefits became enjoyable by the 'meane' (mesne) tenants whose holdings are passed in review in this survey.¹²⁶

The manor of Colstaple in Horsham was also surveyed. Leased by the Caryll family, it had been sub-let to a certain Matthew White; the lord reserving the great timber, and the right to hunt or hawk. The timber on this small estate consisted of 350 'small oake trees, besides Tellars and some beeches,' of an estimated value of £52 10s.¹²⁷

In 1655 another survey¹²⁸ was taken of 'St. Leonards Forest, Iron Mills etc. there . . . lying and being within ye deafforrested Forrest of St. Leonards.' It commences with an inventory of the forges of the forest. No less than 250 loads of charcoal and 30 cord of wood were 'reserved yerely out of ye said Forrest of St. Leonards for ye use and service of ye said Forges or Mills.' The surveyors conclude with the remark that 'there hath binn very greate Distrucion of ye Woods within the affores^d Forrest . . . but there is Sufficient Coppice Wood yet remaining if well p^served'—an 'if' in which there is much virtue.

Of the other parks of the forest we find the Middleton family in possession of Beaubush and Shelley, described as disparked.¹²⁹ At the Restoration Edward earl of Sandwich obtained the grant of these two parks. The Carylls, too, recovered Knepp and some other of their possessions in the forest-land, as Sedgewick. These woodland properties seem to have been much sought after, judging from the petitions of John Browning and John Fifield for the reversion, after Sir J. Caryll, of Chesworth manor and parks, St. Leonard's Forest, and other lands rented at £226 13s. 6d. 'with such increase as is fit.'¹³⁰ We find, however, that the forest of St. Leonard itself was conferred by Charles II on his chief physician, Sir Edward Greaves, from whom, by his daughter's marriage, it came ultimately into the possession of the family of Aldridge, whose descendants still remain therein. Their residence, albeit called the 'New Lodge,' is considered to occupy the site of the old ranger's house; while the park of 250 acres surrounding it is supposed to represent the 'Little Park' mentioned in old documents. Several other estates and mansions, such as 'Leonardslee,' 'Newells,' &c., occupy various other portions of the old forest-land; thus partially, in a way, realizing the idea of the unfortunate Admiral Seymour.

During the eighteenth century St. Leonard's forest-land began to come into favour as a residential locality, and Horsham flourished as a county town, while the assize courts continued there. Dr. Burton, in his '*Iter Sussexiense*,' described it as 'the metropolis of the Weald of Anderida.' Proceeding, he says he passed 'through a forest which has its name from St. Leonard, extensive and easily passed through. After passing this we fell again upon the especially impassable Sussex roads.'¹³¹ Nowadays these ways are mended, and St. Leonard's district continues in favour as a residential neighbourhood. Nor is it destitute of deer-parks, Warnham, West Grinstead, Denne, and Leonardslee parks containing in all more than 600 deer, red, roe, and fallow. Other parks are Holmbush (the ancient Beaubush), Horsham, and Knepp.

Separated from St. Leonard's Forest, more by an imaginary than an actual line, WORTH FOREST lies in the north-western corner of the rape of Lewes. Even to-day the district is very woody, and travellers between London and Brighton may form some idea, albeit inadequate, of the aspect of this country-side in days of old, by the sight of the miles of continuous woodland through which the train passes about Balcombe.

Worth was a royal possession in the days of the Confessor, and doubtless, as in the case of some other so-called forests in Sussex, its subsequent denomination as such was a survival from those earlier times. The boundaries of the forest are unknown, but they probably extended from the northern end of the rape of Lewes at least as far south as Cuckfield; possibly as far as Ditchling. In the former case they would include the woodlands of Crabbet, Wakehurst, Worth itself, Balcombe, and Cuckfield, with the addition in the latter case of those of Homewood, Hurst, Keymer, and Ditchling.

No forest or park is named in Domesday in connexion with Worth or its forest-land, though Wanningore (where Richard de Plaiz had a park in the thirteenth century) is mentioned, but no woodland is given as bringing in any payment in money or kind for pannage privileges. There are, indeed, no manors, vills or centres of habitation in this forest-land except Worth mentioned in Domesday, a fact most suggestive of the remote and unopened-up nature of that woodland district, since in the other forests of Sussex that survey names not a few such places in connexion with each.

¹²⁶ Parl. Surv. Sussex, No. 22.

¹²⁷ Ibid. No. 31.

¹²⁸ Ibid. No. 35.

¹²⁹ Royalist Comp. (1st Ser.), vol. 45, fol. 575.

¹³⁰ S.P. Dom. Chas II, vol. 48, No. 46.

¹³¹ *Iter Surriense et Sussexiense*, Oxon. 1752.

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At the time of Domesday's compilation Worth manor was apparently outside the county, since it is entered under Surrey as in the possession of a certain Siward, who held it of Richard of Tonbridge. But the forest which derived its name from Worth appears to have been in the hands of the earls of Warenne, lords of Lewes, since the distribution of lands at the Conquest. It extended over the parishes of Worth, Crawley, Ardingly, Slaugham, and Balcombe. Whatever its ancient area, probably very extensive, in later days it comprised more than 12,000 acres, divided into two parts, east and west, each of 2,567 acres, in five squares (? wards).¹³²

Parks, or paled inclosures of some kind such as 'parrocks,' were probably formed at an early period within the forest for the purpose of confining deer, driven into them from the woodland at large, in order to fatten them for killing and salting in the autumn for the winter food supply, or for hunting purposes. Such were the Great and Little parks, Crabbet Park on the north, Wakehurst on the east, and Cuckfield park in the south. In these parks and in the woodlands uninclosed within the rape and so in the forest of Worth, the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes had the right of taking venison for the use of the sick and infirm monks.¹³³ The same religious house held the wood of Homewood (*nemus de Hamewuda*), a southern offset of the forest, shown on old county maps, not as a park, but as a large uninclosed wood.¹³⁴

The Hundred Rolls disclose many arbitrary proceedings of the lord of Lewes, John de Warenne, in connexion with his forest-land. The jurors of the hundred of Bottingill (which included all the forest of Worth) complained that the crops of the neighbouring tenants were almost destroyed by the ravages of his superabundant game. He had also extended his claim of exclusive hunting rights over almost the whole of his barony of Lewes, not suffering the knights or free tenants to hunt where they had been accustomed to so do. His bailiffs had behaved in equally tyrannical manner in the forest-land, and had destroyed the preserve (*vivarium*) of Richard de Plaiz, and had cut down his wood at 'Werplesburn,' the Wapsburn of later days. The earl also had declared the chase of 'le Clers' a forest, and had extended its bounds into the lands of the archbishop of Canterbury at Lindfield, and had ousted the canons of South Malling from their hunting rights at Stanmer and Balsdean.¹³⁵ As far as 'le Clers' is concerned it appears that from an early date it had been denominated a forest. Its precise situation is unknown. In some records it is said to be near (*juxta*) South Malling; in another actually at (*apud*) the same place. It is constantly spoken of as the property of the lords of Lewes; but frequently as belonging to the canons of South Malling. In 1236, Sir William de Say, lord of 'Hammes' (afterwards Hamsey), relinquished (*remisit*) to the earl of Warenne

the chase of hart and hind (red deer), buck and doe (fallow deer), hare, fox, and all other wild beasts, both great and small in *the woods which are called les Cleres*, and in all the warrens of the said earl in Sussex.

He also agreed not to inclose his wood at Hammes, or to hunt in it, or to make a park of it. The earl on his part relinquished to Sir William the fishery of 'Midewinde'—the middle-wind (or bend), in the River Ouse at Hammes—and all right to the rabbit warren in the demesne of the same manor.¹³⁶

Walter Bachelier, the earl's forester of Cleres, is recorded in 1287 to have fined Giles de la Beche at the Woodmote court, 'without any cause' said the jurors.¹³⁷

Tyrannical as he was, John de Warenne doubtless was not without just cause of complaint against others. In 1325 he obtained from the king leave of taking steps against 'malefactors' who had hunted and taken his deer in the free-warrens and chases of Worth, 'Clariss,' and elsewhere.¹³⁸ This is one of many instances in which the chase or forest of Cleres is credited to the lords of Lewes. Yet, somewhat later, a jury replied to an inquisition into the rights and possessions of the small house of religion at South Malling that the dean and canons 'by ancient custom can and ought to hunt . . . in a certain chace in Claris called the chase of the dean and canons of Southmalling, near Horlockescrouch and Raychesgate.'¹³⁹

Meanwhile the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the earl's forest officials continued, and in 1331 the priory of Lewes had cause to obtain an order from the earl restraining the zeal of these persons, in these words :

Whereas the Bailiffs and Foresters of our woods, waters, and parks challenge and demand of our house of Lewes various things under colour of their office, to wit silver, corn, cheese, and divers repasts every year, contrary to the tenour of our foundations, we . . . will and grant that our house of Lewes be quit of all such challenges and demands.¹⁴⁰

¹³² Horsfield, *Hist. of Suss.* i, 265.

¹³³ Chartul. of Lewes Priory; Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv, fol. 16.

¹³⁴ Mr. Round thinks 'Hamewuda' may be Hammerwood near East Grinstead (*Suss. Arch. Coll.* xl, 69), but that name is clearly derived from some Hammer-pond of the iron-forges, and of very much later origin than the charter of King Stephen which records the grant of this wood.

¹³⁶ Feet of F. Suss. file 13, No. 4.

¹³⁷ Assize R. 924, m. 57.

¹³⁸ Pat. 19 Edw. II, m. 37 d.

¹³⁹ County Placita, Suss. No. 51 and 65, 40 Edw. III.

¹⁴⁰ Misc. Bks. (P.R.O.) B 5, fol. 62.

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At this period poaching affrays were particularly prevalent. In 1327, on his complaint that certain evil-doers had hunted and carried away deer, hares, rabbits, and pheasants from his parks of Worth, Cuckfield, Ditchling, and from his free chase of Cleres and his warren of Lewes, John de Warenne was granted a commission of oyer and terminer to try them.¹⁴¹ Three years later a similar commission was obtained in regard to like offences committed in Worth and the other parks.¹⁴² Durrant Cooper speaks of timber from this forest having been supplied for the church of Worth, about the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁴³ In 1337 the sheriff had orders to deliver to the Constable of the Tower of London two large oaks from the forest of Worth, which John de Warenne had given to the king for making the beams of a certain great engine in the Tower.¹⁴⁴

Outside the forest itself there was plenty of timber in the various parks and woodlands of the rape of Lewes. Even the small manor of Hamsey must have contained a good supply at this period, since William de Say sold to the prior of St. Pancras three hundred trees, half of the number oaks, half 'fewers.'¹⁴⁵

John de Warenne was the last of his line, and to him succeeded Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, as lord of the forest of Worth and all other possessions of the Warennes. As with his predecessor his forest, parks, and chases suffered much from the inroads of poachers, and so in 1379 we find him obliged to prosecute a large band of malefactors, who, led by the parson of Ripe, had raided his forest-land and parks and carried off hares, rabbits, and pheasants.¹⁴⁶ The execution of this earl in 1397 was followed by the forfeiture of his estates. In the patent conferring them upon Thomas, duke of Norfolk, is mention—among other lands and manors—of 'Worth, with its two parks,' doubtless the Great and Little parks within the forest.¹⁴⁷ In the succeeding reign, in 1411, a subsidy roll states that Thomas, earl of Arundel and Surrey, held, *inter alia*, Worth, with its parks and chases, 'worth nothing beyond reprises,' a statement which affords some idea of the cost of foresters' and parkers' wages, the repair of pales, fences, and banks, and the provender of deer.¹⁴⁸

The chase of Cleres, meanwhile, appears to have come into other hands, since in 1363 John Dymok died possessed of it,¹⁴⁹ but it came again under its former lordship, for John, duke of Norfolk, possessed it by right of marriage, in the reign of Edward IV, dying seised of 'Cleres Chacea,' as well as of the manor and forest of Worth.¹⁵⁰

On the attainder of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, in 1546, his estates were bestowed on Thomas Seymour, lord admiral, and among them the forest of Worth. In less than a year and a half he, in his turn, was attainted, and his property seized by the crown. Consequent upon this an inventory¹⁵¹ was made which shows that 'Thomas Michell, gent, Raynger ther,' had 'for his fee per diem by the year lx^s. x^d. . . . also the herbage and pannage of the said Forest and Parke, by patent, during his leif.' Two keepers, Robert Monke and Robert Cowstock, had 'yerely for their wages, every of them xl^s. with the keyping of serteyne cattall ther.'

In Queen Mary's reign Sir Richard Sackville was master of the game in the forest of Worth, with the modest salary of £3. Under him was Robert Monk in the south ward, with a fee of £2; Robert Coulstock in the north ward, Robert Brown in the west ward, and Christopher Somer in the east ward, each with the same fee as Monk.¹⁵² About this period—the earliest date being uncertain—we begin to meet with the place-name 'Tilgate,' applied to part of Worth Forest, but whether it be to the moiety held by the Middleton family by grant from the queen, or to the other half in possession of the Eversfields, it is not easy to determine. But from this period the name 'Tilgate Forest' appears to be as frequently used as Worth for this woodland, until eventually it almost superseded the more ancient Worth. In this manner it seems to have been used in a settlement made in 1639 by Thomas Covert on his wife Diana, in jointure, of 'Tilgate,' described as lying in Worth, Crawley, Slaugham, Balcombe, and Cuckfield. Subsequently Sir Walter Covert died seised of Tilgate, held of the king *in capite* by knight service.¹⁵³ In the period of the Civil War such of the estates in this forest-land as were owned by Royalists were either sequestered or compounded for; and in some cases the woodlands hereabouts suffered waste; tenants of the Parliament, in most cases, being under no restrictions against felling timber.¹⁵⁴ At Slaugham Park John Covert was allowed to compound for his estates; those of John Middleton in Worth forest-land were sequestered, albeit Thomas Middleton, his relative, was one of the sequestrators appointed for the county.

In the northern part of Worth Forest, not far from Crabbet Park, was a wild tract of land called Copthorne, now Copthorne Common, much frequented in the seventeenth and eighteenth

¹⁴¹ Pat. 1 Edw. III, m. 26.

¹⁴² Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 46.

¹⁴³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* viii, 237.

¹⁴⁴ Close, 11 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 32.

¹⁴⁵ Misc. Bks. (P.R.O.) B 5, fol. 89, No. 3.

¹⁴⁶ De Banco R., Mich. 3. Ric. II, m. 477, 243.

¹⁴⁷ Pat. 21 Ric. II, m. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Subs. R. 13 Hen. IV.

¹⁴⁹ Inq. p.m. 37 Edw. III, No. 22.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 17 Edw. IV, No. 59.

¹⁵¹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiii, 129.

¹⁵² (Burrell) Add. MS. 5684, fol. 432.

¹⁵³ *Parks and Forests of Sussex*, 207.

¹⁵⁴ Royalist Comp. (1st Ser.), vol. 43, fol. 91.

centuries by lawless characters, such as smugglers and horse stealers. It is said that a horn was kept in the neighbourhood by whose sound aid might be summoned to withstand or capture such evil-doers. In after and more law-abiding times this relic of the past has gone the way of most obsolete implements; but the late Mr. Scawen Blunt, of Crabbet Park, is said to have seen it.¹⁵⁵

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this forest-land of Worth, pierced by the main road between London and Brighton, came into favour as a residential neighbourhood, and was cut up into various estates, and in 1828 a private Act of Parliament was obtained for the inclosure of waste—that is forest-lands—at Keymer, Balcombe, and Worth.¹⁵⁶ There are no deer parks: some of the various estates into which it is now divided possess, however, park-like lands, such as Worth Park, Crabbet Park, Tilgate Manor, Worth Lodge, Huntsland, Copthorne, &c.

Under such arrangements this ancient forest-land is likely to remain, for its soil is too poor to tempt agricultural experiment. There is not even so much great timber as in most of the other Sussex forests, what there is being largely birch, and there is considerable heath-land, beautiful though barren, as at Copthorne Common, Old House Warren, and High Beeches Warren. So waste and woodland is all the northern stretch of Sussex, and so insensibly we pass eastwards from St. Leonard's Forest to that of Worth, and thence to Ashdown, that the Copthorne part of Worth Forest is sometimes described under dissertations on Ashdown.¹⁵⁷

ASHDOWN FOREST is the most important of those portions of the great woodland of Andredeswald which were formed, more or less artificially, when Sussex was divided into rapes, and this importance is derived from its size, its connexion with kings and queens, and its association with the iron industry and the timber supply of the country, from a remote antiquity until the near past. Extending over about 18,000 acres, it occupied the parishes of Maresfield, Fletching, East Grinstead, Hartfield, Buxted, and Withyham, and is still the largest tract of forest-land remaining in Sussex. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown, and though it would appear to have relation to the ash tree, and a presumed prevalence of it in this forest, as a matter of fact the ash is, and probably always was, a quite uncommon tree in the district. The late Rev. Edward Turner, who lived and moved and wrote about this forest-land during many years, declared that all the remains of such ancient trees as he had seen recovered from their subterranean or subpaludal places, wherein they had lain buried for ages, were either oak or fir; trees of great magnitude withal. There is little woodland of any great extent or denseness, such as is usually associated with the word 'forest,' existing nowadays; and it is highly probable that this particular expanse of forest-land always possessed more open though wild country, and less thickly-timbered tracts—at least in the portion called the Forest Ridge—than the more westerly parts of the ancient Anderida Silva.

This is quite what one might expect, since, speaking generally, although Ashdown Forest in parts possesses heavy clays whereon the oak flourishes, as well as localities of loam sufficiently stiff to support great timber, yet a large proportion consists of green sands and gravels.

As the aspect of a district is affected by its geology, so is its history; and the same sandstone formation that gives its picturesque and uncultivated beauty to Ashdown Forest, also contained in its iron-ore-bearing strata the essential element of that industry which is so interwoven with the history of Sussex, and its woodlands and forests.

Ashdown Forest finds no mention in Domesday, either by its own name or that of any of its constituent parks; but there are the usual entries about the woods of manors—all originally portions of the forest-land—and the swine that fed therein. From these we find that the lords received from such woods as are mentioned 719 hogs; so that we may number the pigs pannaged in those woodlands, parts of Ashdown Forest, of which Domesday takes note, at more than 7,000. The forest which we now call Ashdown, lying in the north of the rape, and extending into only six parishes, in the days when it was called Pevensey Forest covered also much of the south, reaching as near to Pevensey as to justify its name. This is shown, among other things, by the fact that Earl Robert granted to the religious house of Wilmington herbage, pannage, and wood for fuel and repairs from his forest of Pevensey, while the confirmations of these gifts by his son William particularize the places as the woods in Waldron, Hoathly, Hellingly, and Laughton,¹⁵⁸ most of which places lie quite in the southern part of the rape.

The early history of this forest is in the main a record of donations of forest-lands and forest-rights to various religious houses of the neighbourhood. The grant to Wilmington Priory by Earl Robert, and its confirmation by his son William, has been already referred to. The succeeding lords of the forest, the De Aquilas, continued to befriend the same monastery; and Gilbert, third of the name, in 1229 founded the priory of Michelham, seated beside the little River Cuckmere, in the woodlands of 'the Dicker,' a tract of land in the south of Waldron Woods. By his charter of endowment Gilbert de Aquila gave to this convent, among other things, his park of 'Peverse,' an inclosure in the forest, together with pasture for sixty cattle in the Dicker, the Broyle of

¹⁵⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 63.

¹⁵⁷ *Cf. Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 62, 63.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* xvi.

¹⁵⁸ *Dugdale, Mon.* vi, 1091.

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Laughton, and other his woods in Sussex, and pannage for 100 pigs in the same. Timber also he granted them, in the same forest-land, for building, repairing, and fencing, 'to be taken under the view of my foresters.' The neighbouring abbey of Otham was also the recipient of the benefactions of the same Gilbert, consisting of two trees, an oak and a beech, to be taken yearly in his forest, under the supervision of his foresters; also pannage for twenty pigs in it; together with 120 acres of land in the Dicker.

Not many years after the date of these donations to Otham and to Michelham the lordship of Ashdown Forest passed again into new hands. In 1245 Peter of Savoy was lord of the honour of Aquila, its castle, and forest,¹⁶⁹ and a few years later obtained hunting rights over it.¹⁶⁰

His bailiff, or chief forester there, William de Fawkham, endeavoured to set up various new customs in the forest to the prejudice of the free tenants there, calling on them to serve on 'inquisitions which he made of timber felled in the Forest of Asshedoune,' whereas formerly this had only been required of them 'by precept of the king.'¹⁶¹

A survey made in 1273 gives a valuable insight into the conditions and customs of this forest.¹⁶² There were then 208 customary tenants dwelling on the borders of (*circa*) the forest paying at Michaelmas money rents amounting to 39s. 0½d., at Christmas 208 hens, and at Easter 416 eggs. They had the right to all windfall wood¹⁶³ within their 'communia' throughout the year—save that what was torn up by the roots (*rotis eversis*) by the wind belonged to the king; moreover between Hockday and Michaelmas they might go into the forest with their carts in search of drift wood, but not during the winter. They could also have brushwood, furze, and broom for fuel, 'and if it be necessary for the improvement of their common pasture they may burn all the aforesaid, so that they burn no wood';¹⁶⁴ a reference to clearing the ground for pasture by burning the gorse and other shrubs. Further, they might have on their 'communia' as much stock as they could maintain throughout the winter in their own buildings,¹⁶⁵ but for six weeks between Michaelmas and Martinmas the stock must be kept out of the woods upon the heath so that it should not enter the pannage, on penalty of being impounded. They might also have all the swine that they could support themselves¹⁶⁶ running in the forest, in the 'defense' as well as elsewhere, all the year except for fifteen days before and after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; and at Martinmas all the swine should come to the pound-fold (*ad pontfoldam*) for pannage, and 2d. should be paid for every pig over a year, but those under a year should be assessed by the foresters according to their age. The foresters' accounts¹⁶⁷ show that the young pigs were charged at ½d., 1d., or 1½d., according to their age. If any customary tenant had ten swine the king could take one, namely the best, and for every additional ten another; this tenth pig discharged the others from their pannage fees, for it was open to the king to take 2d. for each pig instead of the payment in kind. An examination of such pannage lists as remain shows that it was very rare for any tenant to have more than five or six swine. The total number of swine feeding in the forest varied from time to time; in 1293 the customary tenants had 110 full-grown pigs and 70 young ones, while foreign tenants (*extranei*) had 300 full-grown (at 3d. a head), and 366 young pigs (varying from 1d. to 2d.), making a total of 846;¹⁶⁸ but unless these figures are incomplete this was a tremendous downfall from the previous year, when William Savary, swineherd of 'Lampol,' accounted for 533 grown pigs and 455 yearlings; Richard Preston, swineherd of Walheath, for 340 of the former and 225 of the latter; and Gilbert Brounyng, of 'Heselwode,' for no less than 746 full-grown and 485 young pigs, making a grand total of 2,784—and those, as the charges show, all belonging to foreigners.¹⁶⁹ The amount received this year from foreign pannage was well over £25, while 63s. 7½d. came from the pannage of the customary tenants, 'which is called gersheues.'¹⁷⁰

The survey of 1273 records the right of the prior of Michelham to 60 cows and a bull running all the year on the east of 'la Redee,' between that place and 'la Wigge,' and of the prior of Wilmington to have 36 oxen from Hockday to St. Peter ad Vincula upon Bromknoll, under charge of his own herdsman. The rector of Maresfield could have 16 cows and a bull where the prior of Michelham had his; and the chapel of Maresfield had a right to 15 cows and a bull at 'Uleley'¹⁷¹

¹⁵⁹ Chart. R. 30 Hen. III.

¹⁶¹ Assize R. 912 (47 Hen. III), m. 40.

¹⁶³ In the bishop of Chichester's wood of 'Menesse' in Amberley, Wisborough, and Fittleworth, certain tenants had the right that when a tree fell the first comer might take all the branches and outgrowth, back to the trunk, and this they called 'Twyshewencartfelghe' or 'tuys haggan fellighe'; *Year Bk.* 14 Edw. III (Rolls Ser.), 104–15.

¹⁶⁴ 'Et si necesse fuerit ad pasturam commune sue emendam debent omnia dicta ardere.'

¹⁶⁵ 'Omne instaurum quod possunt per totum yems sustentare ad domos suas.'

¹⁶⁶ 'Omnes porcos suos quos nutrire possunt de nutrimento suo proprio.'

¹⁶⁷ e.g. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1027, No. 22.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. No. 21.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Geoffrey de Say and his esquires had hunting rights (*cursus*) at 'Oulele' in 1353; Assize R. 941, m. 1 d.

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south of 'la Loggebrok,' as well as 20 swine quit of pannage, and house-bote and hey-bote. We know from other sources that the rector had also the tithes of the pasturage and pannage of Maresfield park, the tithes of the forest going to the bishop of Chichester.¹⁷²

The survey continues:—"The forest can be controlled in time of peace by one master forester with his servant and eight other serjeants and not less." Moreover Ralph the Marshal (*marescall*) either in his own person or by deputy had to be one of eight serjeants with a horse, by reason of the land he held in 'Bodinggeham' and 'Rottingeham'; in return he could have 12 oxen at 'Colbebech' and 'Uleleye,' and a beech tree yearly for fuel, while his swine were free of pannage. William de Hodlee had to be, or to supply, a forester for his lands, and Roger de Dalingerigge had to serve in person as forester, receiving 3s. for his livery. John de Farnlegh was required to serve as one of the eight serjeants, but received 5s. from the king for so doing; his land was clearly that 'great serjeancy' held by Roger de Farlegh, forester, about 1353 by service of keeping the queen's chase of Ashdown, or of finding a keeper for the same with horn, bow, and arrows.¹⁷³ The ranger or master-forester received 4d. daily, riding foresters, of whom there were two in 1283, 2d., and ordinary foresters 1d.; while the parker of Maresfield had 1½d. daily.¹⁷⁴ There were also perquisites of office, for the parker of Maresfield and foresters of Ashdown took the honey and wax made by the wild bees in the hollow trees;¹⁷⁵ and occasionally they abused their powers, for one of the foresters was imprisoned at Pevensey in 1395 for taking the tenants' cattle grazing in the forest and using them in his own plough.¹⁷⁶ The head forester also claimed to have the windfall wood 'called cablis,'¹⁷⁷ Sir John St. Clare, who farmed the chase of Ashdown from 1366 to 1370, complaining that the queen had appropriated all such woods 'since the time of the great storm of wind'—presumably the famous hurricane of 1362.¹⁷⁸ This claim was probably unfounded, unless the custom was of recent growth, for in 1292 the ranger accounted¹⁷⁹ for 21s. received 'de cablicio vendito,' as well as 2s. 6d. for 'coperones' from timber felled for making new pales. Ten years earlier he entered 8s. 10d. for 'coperones'—'namely for logs felled for the pales of the forest'—and 48s. 10d. for dead wood sold,¹⁸⁰ which in 1283 brought in £21 8s. 2d.¹⁸¹ When timber was felled at Maresfield in 1387 for repairs to the weir, 4s. were obtained for the 'croppes' of the trees, and the 'chippes and loppys of the said timber' were sold to carpenters.¹⁸² As the bark was in this case sold for 3s. 4d. the trees were probably oaks, and several cases of oaks being cut in Maresfield Park occur, but when the nature of the wood cut in the forest is mentioned it is almost always birch or beech, a hundred of the latter being sold in 1285 for 25s.¹⁸³ The comparative scarcity of oaks in the poor soil of the forest seems also borne out by the fact that while payments for 'the acorn pannage' (*pannagium ad glandes*) are common in the parkers' accounts for Maresfield, the foresters of Ashdown almost always return 'nothing' from this source 'because there are no acorns,' almost the only exception being in 1385—presumably a good year for that fruit—when the ranger had £4 8s. from the West ward, 70s. from the South ward, and 32s. from Coteresley ward for the acorn pannage.¹⁸⁴ The main pannage, called 'Evesfold,' was derived from beech mast.

Ashdown Forest, as might be expected, is found to have been the scene of much illegal hunting and carrying away deer. Timber, too, was subject to unlawful or excessive felling, and in 1309, when Ashdown was still held by the queen-mother in dower, the king ordered an inquiry into the waste committed by John and William Dalyngrigge in the 'chase of Asshedon'¹⁸⁵—an inquiry doubtless necessary, since the normal demands made upon the timber of Ashdown forest-land by house and farm building, and the frequent repairs of Pevensey Castle, were sufficiently large. Thus in 1288 and the succeeding two or three years extensive repairs went on at that castle, and there are records¹⁸⁶ of five cart-loads of wood, 'the queen's own material,' and twelve cart-loads of birch poles for scaffolding brought from Claverigge Wood in Waldron, as well as timber for the stairs. Fourteen loads of scaffold poles were taken from the same wood, and fifty-six cart-loads of firewood cut there and conveyed to Willingdon, while from Waldron fifty scaffold poles and fifty hurdles were brought to Pevensey Castle in connexion with the same work.

¹⁷² Mins. Accts. bdle. 441, No. 7085.

¹⁷³ Assize R. 941, m. 5 d.; *ibid.* 941a, m. 2 d.

¹⁷⁴ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 136, No. 18; but in 1222 the master-forester only received 2d. and his four subordinates 1½d. a day; Pipe R. 16 Hen. III.

¹⁷⁵ Assize R. 941, m. 7.

¹⁷⁶ Mins. Accts. bdle. 441, No. 7096.

¹⁷⁷ At Aldingbourne the parker claimed, in 1384, to have yearly one complete tree of those cut or blown down, all outgrowth of all trees cut by the bishop for timber for repairs, and all chips (*quisquillas*) and other waste wood thrown aside by the carpenters and workmen; Assize R. 1423, m. 41.

¹⁷⁸ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1028, No. 4.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* bdle. 1027, No. 21.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.* bdle. 441, No. 7087.

¹⁸³ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 136, No. 18.

¹⁸⁴ Mins. Accts. bdle. 441, No. 7085.

¹⁸⁵ Close, 2 Edw. II, m. 7.

¹⁸⁶ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 479, No. 15, printed in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlix.

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Ten years later John de Winterselle, the bailiff, rendered account for cutting and squaring beams in the park of Maresfield, and for making 7,000 laths from the same timber.¹⁸⁷ The next year, during the reconstruction of the royal free chapel within Pevensey Castle, 2,000 laths were made from timber from 'Essesdoun forest,' together with 150 props. In addition the chapel was panelled with 400 beech-boards from timber of 'Assesdon.'

In addition to the deer, the birds of Ashdown were objects of the poachers' depredations; partridges and pheasants are often mentioned in records as being killed by unlicensed hunters. The hawk tribe, so much in request in falconry, were also occasionally taken from park and forests, and in Ashdown a certain John de Holmdale took sparrow-hawks belonging to William de Maufe in 1287.¹⁸⁸ Considerable care, however, was taken to preserve hawks; in 1283 three sparrow-hawks were taken in Ashdown Forest by the forester and sent to the king at Marlborough; three years later 2s. was spent in taking care of two sparrow-hawks and two 'muskes,' and carrying them to the court; and in 1287 a charge of 6d. was made for looking for two sparrow-hawks and two 'muskes' in the trees, and 2s. for sending them to Amesbury, with a piece of canvas to cover them.¹⁸⁹ As late as 1539 the ranger received £6 15s. for watching the hawks in this forest, while two falconers were paid 'costs into Sussex to take hawks.'¹⁹⁰

The Hundred Rolls record various illegal practices in connexion with this forest. In the hundred of East Grinstead Walter le Dykere was charged with encroaching upon the king's rights 'in the forest of Eschedune' during the last four years. A charge was brought, a few years later, against Roger Covert, of making a park in the vill of 'Bradebrigg,' in the forest-land. Roger replied that he did not claim hunting rights in it, and a jury declared that it did not encroach upon the king's soil or rights. As a result the inclosure was allowed the status of a legal park.¹⁹¹

The names of some bailiffs in the forest of Ashdown have come down to us from this period; such as Walter de Brayboef, John de la Rude, and John de Waukeford.¹⁹² In 1284 William de Gulderig was master-forester of 'Essendon.'¹⁹³ Ten years later Walter Waldeshef was appointed to the same post, 'to be held, with all that appertains to it, as long as the king pleases.'¹⁹⁴

In the next reign the chief forester of Ashdown was Thomas Culpeper.¹⁹⁵ Edward I granted to a certain Thomas Peynel licence to hunt with his own hounds the fox, hare, wild cat, and badger in the king's forest of Ashdown, except during the fence month, so that he did not hunt the deer or course within the king's warrens. Possibly one of these latter was at what is now called Gardine Hill, in Hartfield, where, as a survey of the time of the Commonwealth tells us, a piece of land, 86 acres in extent, was 'formerly impaled, and employed and used as a coney warren, which paling is all gone and taken away.'¹⁹⁶

In 1350 a Sussex knight, William de Fifhide, obtained a grant from the king of ten wagon-loads of beech faggots from the forest of Ashdown, to be taken every year, under the view of the keeper of the forest, from the neighbourhood of the manor of Birkham; and in addition pasture for thirteen cows and a bull, and pannage for thirty swine within the forest bounds.¹⁹⁷ The Assize Roll of the next year narrates some poaching affairs in this forest, as when Roger Leukenore, 'chivaler,' captured with his harriers a 'sour'—a four-year-old buck of fallow deer—in the chase of Plagh, within Ashdown Forest, doubtless in the neighbourhood of what is to-day called Plaw-Hatch. Another 'evildoer in parks and chaces' was Andrew Mulsh, 'who took a staggard'—a four-year-old buck red deer—at Mayeslond in the same forest.¹⁹⁸

In 1370 Edward III granted to his third son, John of Gaunt,¹⁹⁹ the 'free chase of Ashdown, with the rights and liberties pertaining thereto.' John of Gaunt being duke of Lancaster, Ashdown Forest became a portion of the duchy, and was subsequently denominated in official documents 'Lancaster Great Park.' There are a few notices of places within this forest, of the period of Edward III, contained in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*. The woodland parish of Hartfield is noted as having some forest-right (*quandam custumam*) in connexion with its church, but its nature is not stated. Apparently it was of more value even than that of Maresfield, since it is stated to be worth 40s. per annum, double the valuation set upon the privileges of the latter.²⁰⁰ Another church noted as possessing certain 'custom' in the forest is Withyham, a parish lying partly within its metes and bounds. In addition the jurors report as diminishing the value of their 'ninth's' the imparkation of certain lands in Mayfield into the archbishop's park of Frankham, on the verge of the forest.

Mr. Turner, the historian of Ashdown, considers the forest, or main part of it, to have been imparked in this Edwardian period, but his sole basis for this supposition appears to be the use of

¹⁸⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 479, No. 16.

¹⁸⁸ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 136, No. 18.

¹⁸⁹ Assize R. 921, 7 Edw. I, m. 16.

¹⁹⁰ Mins. Accts. 1089.

¹⁹¹ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. 2, m. 33.

¹⁹² Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. 3, m. 16.

¹⁹³ Pat. 44 Edw. III; Orig. R. 46 Edw. III, m. 20.

¹⁸⁸ Assize R. 924, m. 10.

¹⁹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 342.

¹⁹¹ Assize R. 912, m. 40.

¹⁹² Rot. Orig. 25 Edw. I, m. 17.

¹⁹³ Parl. Surv. No. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Assize R. 941, 25 Edw. III, m. 1.

²⁰⁰ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 378.

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the term 'Lancaster Great Park,' an insufficient basis, considering the loose use by mediaeval scribes of terms which had by right a rigid application. However this may be, lands once presumably portions of the forest are at this period found in the possession of different owners. Thus we find much of Waldron woodland in other hands than those of Edward III or John of Gaunt. In 1370 Michael, Lord Poynings, died seised of it;²⁰¹ in 1388 his son Richard 'on the day on which he died held the manor of Waldron of the Duke of Lancaster, as of the Honor of Aquila.'²⁰² Before the Poynings the Badlesmeres had been lords of its woodlands, and had free warren there. On the southern verge of the forest the Pelhams possessed lands whose names had at an earlier date been associated with Ashdown Forest, and at a still earlier period we find Thomas de Audeham possessed of 'the manor of Fletching in Ashedon forest.'²⁰³

Shortly after the death of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire, keeper of Ashdown, a survey was made of the forest,²⁰⁴ of which a fragment is still extant.²⁰⁵ According to this,

the Forest is about by the pale 35 myle, it is a barren ground and hathe no covert of any underwood saving great Trees and in some of the Covers birchen Trees. Itm there is no faire launde in it but only hethes and they are not playne but all holtes. Itm there are in it of Redde Dere ccc Whereof male dere l. Itm Falowe Dere vij or viij^c whereof male dere c.

There were six lodges for the officers, all ruinous, besides Newebridge lodge, which was lately built, but unoccupied, and falling to decay. There were three foresters and three 'walkers,' each receiving 45s. 6d. yearly, and each paying for the pannage of his 'walk' 20s. 'in a maske yere.'

In 1539 Edmund Henslow, or Hensley, was Master of the Game in Ashdown Forest, and in the Broyle of Ringmer. Subsequent holders of this post were members of the Maresfield family of Kidder, and Mr. Turner considers that the office became hereditary in their family.²⁰⁶ In 1540 it was found that the waste of timber in Ashdown Forest and the neighbouring woodlands had become so great that a commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, and to view the actual state of affairs, including in their scope the destruction of game that had also taken place. From their 'perambulation' it is seen that most of the various walks and wards and lodges bore the same names that survive in the district to-day: such as South, Costeley, Newbridge, and West wards, with Duddleswell, Pippyngworth, Deans, Browns, and Cavells lodges. The conditions disclosed by this and similar commissions—for this was not the first inquiry made on the subject, and by no means the last—were such as to call for remedial, preventive, or restrictive measures. Waste of wood and destruction of game continued, and in the reign of Mary, Edmund Hensley, still Master of the Game of Ashdown, proceeded against various delinquents—including some of the keepers—in the Duchy Court,²⁰⁷ charging them, *inter alia*, that in 'the great waste ground called the Forest of Ashdowne' divers persons named, with others to the number of twenty, assembled about midnight at Hartfield,

having with them divers and many greyhounds, crossbows and arrows, longbows and arrows, pikes, forks, bills and clubs and arrayed with coats of fenses and skulls of iron . . . then and there . . . in most riotous manner did chase her Majesty's deer and did Kill one Red deer and four fallow deer and carried them away, and wounded and ill-treated the keepers of the said deer.

Another band of twenty-six persons were at the same time charged with similar misdeeds committed in the forest about six weeks later, on which occasion eight fallow deer were killed; while yet another company of evil-doers hunted the deer and wounded the keepers. The defendants pleaded that

the bill of complaint was untrue and insufficient in law; that if they had offended against forest laws they ought to be tried by a forest court. A swaynemote should be called and chose 12 inhabitants to enquire into all misdemeanours, and go through the forest and seize all spoil and waste.

The second band of supposed evil-doers declared their assembling together as alleged was actually the subsequent proceeding to a 'wood-court holden in a place called Duddles by the steward and others to make enquiry,' after which, 'the defendants and others walked through the woods and surveyed the waste.'

William Bruges was one of the keepers accused, not only in the complaint of the Master of the Game, but also by certain 'commissioners of the view of waste and destruction of deer, woods, and underwoods,' namely, John Sackville and Edward Gage.²⁰⁸ Bruges replied that he was keeper

²⁰¹ Inq. p.m. 43 Edw. III, pt. 2, No. 17.

²⁰² Ibid. 11 Ric. II, No. 43.

²⁰³ Ibid. 4 Edw. I, No. 45.

²⁰⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 29.

²⁰⁵ For. Proc. (T.R.), 197.

²⁰⁶ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 47.

²⁰⁷ Duchy of Lanc. Dep. vol. 69, H. 2.

²⁰⁸ Duchy of Lanc. Plead. xxxviii, R. 7. The Sackvilles, ancestors of the Dorset family, had been seated in the forest-land for centuries. Jordan de Sackville, in the beginning of Edward I's reign, held in the manor of Buckhurst, in Ashdown Forest, 'a certain park of which the pasture was poor, and its pannage, together with that of the outside woods, only worth 2s,' and the pannage in his park of Newenham was only worth 8d., because it was close to Ashdown Forest, and the bailiffs would not allow any effectual impounding to be done. Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. I.

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in the Walk called Duddleswell, and that he and other keepers, time out of mind, had been used to

cut down and fell certain reasonable birch trees and alders which be dead in the topgrowing, to take for their own use in consideration of fees and wage, which is all the fee and wage the said keeper hath; that he had in consequence caused to be felled in the last five years about 120 small birch trees, all little trees and dead in the top.

Concerning five oaks mentioned by the commissioners of waste, he had felled them by licence of Edmund Hensley, esq., and used them for repairing the lodge. As to the deer he had been ordered to kill one doe for a certain Mr. Fraunkwell, who had a 'warrant' for a doe, and by chance he had killed a fawn, which had been accepted in lieu of the doe. He denied that he had killed and given to his friends a hind, a doe, or one red deer, as alleged; 'or that there were diverse times at his lodge pasties of venison.' To these various defences Edmund Henslow replies: 'Answer is uncertain and insufficient and must be tried in this Court'; but the ultimate result does not appear.

Queen Elizabeth issued various commissions to inquire into the waste of the woodlands of Ashdown, and enacted measures to diminish it. In the single parish of Framfield, lying mostly in the forest-land, there were three iron-furnaces that continually drew their fuel of timber from the neighbouring woods.²⁰⁹ In the third year of this reign, John Pelham, who held much land on the southern verge of Ashdown Forest, was charged with entering on the queen's 'great waste or open sward known by the name of the forest of Claveringge or Claveridge,' of 'claiming the same as his own proper inheritance, and cutting down timber therein to the value of £1,000, and to the intent that he may the better colour and cloke his said intrusion and wrong-doing . . . hath used a new name for the said waste, calling it his forest of Dallington.'²¹⁰ A truly extraordinary nomination on the part of Pelham, supposing his intrusion was upon the ancient place called Clavering, or Claverugge,²¹¹ in the parish of Waldron, within the Forest of Ashdown. It is difficult to see any connexion between this locality and Dallington, which lay many miles to the east, in the rape of Hastings.

In 1583 the queen's attorney proceeded in the Duchy Court against a certain Francis Chalenor, who, together with Matthew Comber, had killed a stag within forest bounds after a sporting run extending from Ashdown through the neighbouring forest of St. Leonard westwards into the parish of Lindfield on the south.²¹²

The 'Marshal' of Ashdown Forest at this time was John Roots, a well-connected man and owner of lands and tenements in the neighbourhood of Pevensey. His name is met with chiefly as an assenter of the ancient privilege of his office of exemption from serving on juries of various kinds.²¹³

James I was by no means averse to the chase, and was at least sufficiently alive to the necessity of preserving the timber in the woods and forests to issue a proclamation against the use of wood fuel in glass-making. Nevertheless the waste of timber, the destruction of deer, and the decay of the fences and banks in the forest-land of Ashdown still continued, whereby not only was 'Lancaster Great Park' deteriorated as a game preserve, but the tenants of the neighbouring holdings damaged by the depredations of the deer. At this time Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, was Master of the Game in Ashdown Forest, and possessor of the parks of Buckhurst, Stoneland, and Newenham, all carved at some time out of the forest. In 1605, backed by the tenants in the district, he applied for a commission to cut timber for the repair of the pales in Ashdown Forest, 'in order to preserve the game in which the king delights.'²¹⁴ After his death his son Robert, who succeeded to his possessions, petitioned that the office of Master of the Game in Ashdown and Broyle Park, lieutenant of Sussex, and Master of the Swans might also descend to him, and obtained the grant in 1609;²¹⁵ and the Dorset association with Ashdown continued until broken by the turmoil of the Civil War. During these commotions, with their consequent lawlessness, Ashdown Forest, in common with others, sustained much damage and loss in deer, timber, and pales. But so soon as the authority of the Commonwealth was established, and the Parliament had leisure to turn from waging war to composing civil affairs, they directed their attention to the administration of the lands 'late the possessions of Charles Stuart, late King of England,' appointing Commissioners of Survey, who have left the result of their labours embodied in most voluminous and detailed documents. The following is a much abbreviated transcript of the survey, entitled:—

A Survey of the mann^r of Duddleswell & great parke of Lanc. wth the rights members and appurtenances thereof. . . . All which said impal'd parke ancently devided into three wards comonly called Costly ward, South ward and West ward & since subdivided into six walkes commonly called

²⁰⁹ Horsfield, *Hist. of Suss.* i, 364.

²¹¹ Cf. Inq. p.m. 33 Edw. I, No. 173, 'Claveregge boscos infra metas de Asshedowne.'

²¹² Duchy of Lanc. Proc. xxv.

²¹⁴ S. P. Dom. Jas. I, vol. 13, No. 6.

²¹⁰ Duchy of Lanc. Plead. vol. 48, fol. 16.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid. vol. 48, No. 57.

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Southward walke, Pippinford walke, Hine leapewalke, Brodestone walke, Comedeane walke and Whitedeane walke.

Southward al^s } Southward in the parishes of Maresfield and Bucksteed begins at Milbrook
Duddleswell Walke } in Nutley and thence goes up^{re} gill East to Beggars Bush and thence to
Blackpitt gill & thence to Crowborrow gate & then south and west to Pound Gate and Westwards
to Barnes gate and soe along the Pale rounding, and through Nutley to Milbrook againe.

Pippinford } Begins at Milbrooke affores^d and thence west runs downe to Stonegate and thence
Walke } to litle stone gate below the vachery and soe to Chalwood gate and thence to Pike
church gill. And thence returns north east up the said gill to Witchcross, and thence along the gill
called depedeane gill unto ye steele Forge past the lodge & thence southward to Milbrooke againe.

Hyneleape } Lying in the parishes of Maresfeild and Eastgrinstead, begins at Pikechurch gill and
Walke } goes along west by ye Pale to Dallingridge & thence to Plowhatch gate and soe to
Leggesheath gate and thence Northward to Mudbrooke gate and claypitts gate, Kidsbrooke gate, to
Highgate, and thence southward to Honneywell and soe to Witchcross and thence to Pikechurch gill.

Broadestone } Lying in ye parishes of East Grinstead and Hartfeild, and in the north part of the
Walke } said parke and begins at Highgate and goes along the pale eastward to playes gate
and Posternegate and soe to Blackegill into Hartfeild Parish, and soe to quabocke, thence to Farmers
gate and colemans gate and thence to Newbridge gate and soe to Newbridge River, and thence South-
ward up the River to Steele Forge and thence westward along deep deane gill to Wichecross and thence
Northward to Honnywell and soe to Highgate.

Comedeane } Lying in ye Parish of Hartfeild and in ye north part of ye said Parke, begineth at
Walke } Newbridge and goes along the pale to Chuckhatch gate, and soe to Readesgate and
thence to Buckhurst pke and soe to Blackbrooke and thence southward to Landwelheade, thence to
Newledge and thence to Beggars bush, and so to the three wards and downe the brooke to Steele
Forge and soe to Newbridge.

Whitedeane } Lying in Withiham parish, and in the east part of the s^d park Eastward begins at
Walke } Blackebrooke agst Buckhurst pke & passes along the pale by Fidges gate and frayes
gate and grubbs gate and so to Newmans gate, and thence south along the pale to Crowborrow gate
and thence west to Beggars bush, and thence to Loudwell hedge & thence northward to Blackbrooke.

The survey goes on to view the various lodges attached to these 'Walkes,' each with its resident keeper. The first on the list, Duddleswell Lodge, to which all the others assimilate closely, consisted of—

a Hall, a parlor, a kitchen, and other necessary roomes below staires, with four chambers above staires, besides garretts, with a barne, a stable, and gardens & severall inclosed parcells of land adjoyning and belonging . . . containing by estimacon thirty acres . . . in the tenure and occupacon of Robert Brookes keeper of the said Walke. . . . All which . . . we estimate to be worth p ann 30 acr. o r. 00 p, xv^{li}.

Pippinford, Hineleape, Broadstone, Comedeane, and Whitedean lodges, of which John Pranke, Francis Hesmon, James Kingsland, and John Palmer were the tenants and keepers, were of similar description and value, with the chief exception of Whitedean, whose grounds contained only ten acres, and whose value was estimated at only four pounds. In addition to these keepers' lodges Southward Walk contained the Chamberlain's residence, called the White House, which, however, 'with thappurtenances' was estimated at little more than six pounds, because—

as great a part of ye s^d howse as is now standing was pulled downe & carryed away & sould or otherwise disposed of by Sir Henry Compton about anno 1638, who was then Ranger or by the Earle of Dorcett, then M^r of the game in the said Parke, which was of the value of Therty pounds, 30^{li}.

In addition to the strictly sporting parts of this forest, its walks, or wards, the surveyors report upon certain 'franchises' of the territory, 'loci immunes,' localities without the pale, immune from forest law, *anglice* 'commons' in one meaning of the word.

There are [they say] belonging to the said parke divers pcells of land . . . commonly knowne and called by their severall names viz^t Part of Chelwood Common lying on the south side ye said Parke . . . And Buntisgrove al^s Bunchgrove in ye pish of Maresfeild . . . Alsoe Forrest row greene in ye pish of Eastgrinstead . . . Alsoe Quavrocke Comōn or greene lying in ye pish of Hartfeild . . . Alsoe Colemans hatch greene lying in the pish of Hartfeild afforesaid . . . Alsoe Chuckehatch greene lying in the pish of Hartfeild afforesaid . . . Alsoe Mershe greene al^s Leigh greene lying in the pish of Withyam . . . Also Crowborrow Comōn lying in the pish of Rotherfeild & Bucksteed . . . Alsoe Harney Comōn in the pish of Maresfeild . . . Memorandum Y^t when there is any drove made in the said Parke that ye Officers doe usually drive all the said lands or commons and doe impound all such catle or horses of such psons as have custome for the same in ye said Parke.

Deare red } There are wⁱⁿ the said park about 120 deere red and fallow w^{ch} wee value in
and fallow } grosse at 120 pounds.

Woods and } The woods & und'woods upon the whole parke wee estimate in grosse at six
und'woods } hundred pounds.

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The commissioners then take under survey three 'cottages incroached,' which they value at 23*s.* 4*d.* Upon these 'purprestures' they comment—

Memorandum That the said Pollard & Hever aboves^d are poore, especially the said Hever having three children, & both have beene at charges in building the s^d cottages and fencing ye said platts of ground . . . therefore we doe conceive the said widdow especially is to be pittied and considered.

Eight other 'cottages incroached' are described as 'very p'judicial to the said parke and rather to bee pulled downe than continued, and therefore we have put noe value upon the same.' The commissioners comment upon the earl of Dorset's claim to offices, fees, and perquisites, 'the said Earle by letters pattent from King James under the seale of the Dutchy dated 18th Junii 22nd of the said King' having been appointed 'Master of the Forrest of Ashdown and governor or principal M^r of the game in the same Forrest' at the yearly fee of £6 16*s.* 10½*d.*,

and alsoe keep^r and surveyor of all the woods and underwoods and trees then growing or thereafter to grow in the said Forrest. And also Stewart of the Honor of ye Eagle & of the Forrest of Ashdowne . . . and of the Court Barron, Avesfeild, Woodmote, and Swainmote Courts within the said Forrest . . . at the yearly fee of xl^s for execysing the said sev'all offices.

They also note that by patent of the 8th of King Charles the earl had been granted the rents and perquisites of those various courts within the three wards of the forest, paying therefor £8 19*s.* 'ould rent,' and 32*s.* for two 'stirkes' (heifers) at Michaelmas and Lady Day by equal portions, covenanting to acquit and discharge the crown of all the fees due for all the offices mentioned in the first patent. The earl also had by the same patent of King Charles a grant of all the underwoods and coppices of the forest, as well as the chamberlain's house and grounds, the fish-ponds and waste ground on which were situate the forges, furnaces, and workmen's dwellings. All marked oaks, elms, ashes, and beeches, and all chestnut trees and crab trees were excepted,

and also twelve of the fairest young trees of Oake, Elme or Beech upon every acre, and alsoe trees of eight inches square foure feet above the stem. Also all Herbage, pannage, mast and ackornes, chesnuts and Beeches. And also excepted Browse for the Deere and estovers to the keepers and tenn^{ts} Habendum all the premises from the annunciation last for 31 yeares paying for the woods xvi^{li} xiii^s iiiii^d, & for the Chamberlains house xx^s at Michs and Lady day by equal porcones wth divers other covenants, pticularly for repairing all the houses and Fences at his own proper costs and charges.

These various grants the commissioners 'conceive if ev^r authenticke to be voide in regard hee hath not made good the covenants menconed,' the earl having almost destroyed the woods and underwoods and suffered, or even occasioned, many of the encroachments, and allowed the pales to be ruined, and the privileges of the courts to be lost. Coming to the various 'reprises,' or deductions from profits in connexion with the forest, the surveyors note that the afore-named keepers had received —'before the late troubles'—from the earl the yearly fee of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* each, with allowances for hay for the deer in winter time. In addition, they had been allowed to agist a hundred cattle and twenty horses or mares 'each of them for their owne benefitt,' but 'they have continued to take in considerable numbers of Catle and horses.' Adverting to the inclosures of Buckhurst Park (44½ acres), Newneham Park (14 acres, 2 roods), and Newbridge lands (9 acres), they declare them to be all 'taken and inclosed out of ye great pke of Lanc^r' by the earl of Dorset or his ancestors, 'who produceth no evidence whereby they claime to hold the same.' Of another inclosure known as the 'Vachery lands,' of 100 acres, together with a barn, they say the 'title hath beene claimed, and Dan^l Rogers proved immediate tenant and the estate in fee allowed.' As regards the inclosures of the park, the surveyors state that they 'make noe reprise for the fenceing and repaying of the Pales of the said Parke, which are ruined through the neglect of the Earl of Dorsett.'

The 'Aves Court kept the next tuesday after all saints' day' apparently represents the 'swainmote' of the middle ages, albeit that court was held thrice a year; while 'the Woodmote Court wherein they present abuses of Customes, incroachments, Spoylers of game or wood,' was held three weeks after All Saints' day instead of every forty days, as in the period when the forest laws prevailed. It was at this 'Aves' court (from 'Avesagium,' here equivalent with agistment, the pasturing of cattle within the forest) that the tenants did 'pay their aves money for the yeare past,' and at which doubtless any questions touching agistment came under review, together with the kindred matter of pannage or feeding of swine within the forest. The figures presented in this connexion by the surveyors seem immense, and are evidence of the former great extent of the forest, since it would appear impossible that its then contracted compass could afford appreciable sustenance for the vast number of horses, cattle, and swine, in addition to the large herds of deer which the forest at one time maintained.

By ancient Customalls (say the Commissioners), which ye jury and tenn^{ts} did produce, it did appear that ye tenn^{ts} w^{ch} did belonge to ye Dutchy, who have custome in ye said Parke, if they kept a draught of oxen they were allowed to have two mares & one coult going in ye said Parke all ye Summ^r till Mich^s, paying therefore ii^d, but noe such Custome or allowance for any other tenn^t neither any mencon for any of the tenn^{ts} keeping of a horse or a gelding in the said Parke, but they have of a long time used the same. . . .

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Also they

doe claim Custome for their hoggs paying therefore for their grown hogges ii^d and a pigg i^d, but by their ancent Customalls pduced as affores^d they are to have the swine of their own breeding to goe in ye said Parke all the yeare except in Fence month, when any of their hogges may be impounded and the tenn^{ts} amerced at the Woodmote Courte, paying for their Custome yearly for ev^y hogg of a yeare old ii^d, of $\frac{1}{2}$ a yeare i^d ob, & for und^r halfe a yeare i^d except sucking piggs and all ye said tenn^{ts} are to be sworne at the Aveshould Court aforesaid to Aves truly for their said cattle mares & swine.

Also they

doe claime Custome in the summer for what Cattle they can brede and winter upon their customary lands in the s^d great Parke, paying therefore at ye Aves Court for a bullocke halfe a penny & for a horse a penny, and if they have any cattle going in the said Parke betwixt Michs and Martinmas to pay two pence lipp²¹⁶ besides their Custome money afforesaid . . . Memdum that we find the number of Catle assessed for by all that claime Custome in the said Parke to bee Communibus Annis about one thousand, and the horses assessed for about one thousand and fifty. Memorandum That the said Keepers have been allowed to keep as ajustment six hundred Catle and two hundred horses besides their owne, and alsoe ye Warrowner and keep^r of the old lodge & Chamberlain's howse a hundred and forty Catle and sixty horses, besides their owne, and besides what ye Ranger juisted without limitacon.

The profits to the lord of

the Aves rents or pannage rents payable by the Free ten^{nts} . . . & by Forraine tenn^{ts} who claime custome in ye greate Parke of Lancaster for their mares, catle and swine for their liberty of running in ye said Parke payable only at Mic^{hs} are communibus annis viii^{li} x^s.

Driving ye	}	Ye benefit arising to ye lord by driveing ye said Parke and Commons thereunto
Parke		belonging at ye will of ye lord . . . wee value . . . at x ^{li} .
Fishinge	}	The Royall Fishings Fishing ponds and other Fishings are worth communibus
		annis iii ^{li} .

Little is said about the deer, usual and proper denizens of a forest. The surveyors merely say, 'their hathe been some thousands of deere kept upon the said Parke both Redd and Fallow, and alsoe a considerable quantity disposed of for the use of the comonwealth.' This interesting report concludes with 'an Abstract'

Of the present rents future improvements and all other pfitts of the said mann^r. and Parke—

The severall rents, pquesits, and Royalties are p ann lxxxvi^{li} i^s.

The Parke and lands at the improved value is p ann MMCCCCXV^{li} vi^s. vii^d.

Some totall of improved value is MMDVII^{li}. vii^s. viii^d. ob.

Totall of acres in ye said parke are 14000^{ac}. o^r. 27^p.

Reprises are p ann liii^{li}. vi^s. iiiii^d.

The reserved rents of the lord of Dorsetts lease bee in force are p ann xxix^{li}. viii^s. iiiii^d.

Deere valued in grosse at cxx^{li}.

Woods and und^rwoods valued in grosse at DCXX^{li}.

Part of Whitehouse destroyed valued at xxx^{li}.

Fish in Whitehouse pond wee value at l^{li}.

Another survey was appointed to be made about five or six years later, but the reasons are not apparent. Among the State Papers of the year 1656 there is a petition to the Protector himself on the subject.²¹⁷ 'You appointed us to survey' (say the petitioners) 'the lands in question, and we are in readiness, but know not' what allowances are to be paid or when, what clerks, messengers &c. allotted, or when to enter on the survey. 'We therefore beg to know your pleasure.'

In reply to this petition of the month of August comes an order in November for £250 to be paid out by the barons of the Exchequer to John Marsh, who is to distribute £50 to each surveyor,²¹⁸ and in the result the survey was 'perfected' in 1658.²¹⁹ There is but little difference in the two surveys, but we find the value of Old Lodge and grounds reduced from £6 to 40s., and its extent from 12 acres to 9, for 'Henry Ford lately deceased did in his lifetime intrude into the said house and premisses and utterly destroyed the fences of the said enclosure, as also the fruite trees and conyes and alsoe suffered the said house to goe much to decay.'

At Warren Lodge also the £35 of the former survey had fallen to £21 4s., for the 86 acres 'formerly impaled and employed to and used as a cony warren' were now open to all comers, for 'the paleing is all gone and taken away.' Similar destruction seems to have supervened upon the wood, for instead of a valuation of £620, as in 1650, £414 is the price set upon the timber in 1658. The 'old banck of the said Forest' is spoken of, 6 ft. from the pale being the outmost bound.

The survey of 1658 includes long lists of free- and copy-holdings; of twenty-four 'highways allowed and sett forth wth in the forrest or chace aforesaid,' and in addition no less than eighteen

²¹⁶ This is the agistment of cattle 'tempore leptyme' of the various foresters' accounts; e.g. Mins. Accts. bdl. 441, No. 7082.

²¹⁷ S.P. Dom. Interregnum, Vol. 129, No. 142.

²¹⁸ Ibid. Vol. 130, No. 122 (41)

²¹⁹ Parl. Surv. Suss. No. 27.

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gates besides the various gates peculiar to a forest, the 'hatches' namely, such as Prickett-, Plaw-, Coleman-, Chuck- and Braby's-hatch.

In 1660 Richard earl of Dorset petitioned for a grant at the rental of £5 of the office of master of Ashdown Forest and Broyle Chase, 'his ancestors having for centuries past had custody of the forest, as lying near their estates,'²²⁰ and in June of the same year he obtained this appointment.

In 1661 George earl of Bristol obtained a grant of Lancaster Great Park, Ashdown Forest, with leave to disafforest.²²¹ The earls of Dorset and Bristol appear to have come to a mutual agreement concerning the forest, which however fell through, the matter being involved in some confusion. What is certain is that those parties obtaining demises of portions of the forest-land failed to realize the profits prospective, owing to 'the crossness of the neighbourhood' as it was termed. For the tenants of surrounding holdings, considering themselves deprived of their immemorial rights in pasturage, pannage, and wood by the various inclosures made, took the law into their own hands, and destroyed the offending fences and pales. These disputes went on for a considerable period, particularly in connexion with the tenants of Maresfield and Duddleswell manors, until at length, early in the reign of William III, a commission issued dividing the forest of Ashdown, or Lancaster Great Park, between the proprietors and the tenants claiming common of pasture and allowance of timber. No less than 6,500 acres were allotted to the latter, and divided in proportion to their holdings; and since the whole amount of forest-land inclosed within the pales was 13,000 acres, the possession of half of it now granted to the tenants must be regarded as distinctly advantageous when compared with the mere exercise of privileges decidedly restricted in their nature.

Various banks or dykes in Ashdown Forest were utilized as boundaries in the new allotment and award.²²² Like this award, which remains the land arrangement of to-day, these earthen banks still exist in many places, in some cases inclosing rectangular spaces. Possibly these were inclosures into which the deer were driven to be fattened previous to the autumnal salting-down for winter use. Or they may be remains of the 'parrocks' of olden time, whatever they were. Whether of a kindred nature to the fattening inclosures, or whether they were little or back-parks, 'parrocks' appear to have existed chiefly in this part of Sussex, particularly in the archbishop's manors in the woodland. Though as early as the reign of Richard II the word 'parrock' came to be used as a name for the 'pannage' court,²²³ yet originally it denoted some kind of inclosure, as is seen by an Account Roll of South Malling in the time of Edward II, wherein are recorded payments for mending the pales around the parks and the parrocks.²²⁴

These ancient banks are practically the sole relics of the aforetime forest. Its timber has left few remains except such as is preserved in the various parks, as Withyham and other possessions of the Dorsets, still the chief landowners in the forest-land. Some idea of the amount of timber remaining in Ashdown Forest early in the eighteenth century may be obtained from a rent-roll of the Duke of Dorset in 1720.²²⁵ Thus even in days when wood was so cheap more than £680 was received from wood-sales of standing timber, pollards and poles; 279 loads being felled in Withyham alone that year, and 3,850 faggots sold from Bramblegrove Wood. In Fletching there was some particularly fine timber as late as 1771. In that year

two oak trees, whose tops were quite decayed, sold standing, at the risk of being unsound, at £69. They contained upwards of 23 loads, or 1,140 feet of square timber. The carriage of them to the water-side, only 9 miles, on a good turnpike road, cost upwards of £30. Each tree was drawn by 24 horses, on a low carriage made for the purpose, and travelled only 4½ miles a day. They were floated from Landport, near Lewes, to Newhaven, where they were with difficulty embarked for the use of the Navy at Chatham.²²⁶

The wild deer, both red and fallow, are now entirely beings of the past on Ashdown. According to Mr. Turner 'the last, a doe, was accidentally sprung from a patch of brakes, just below Gill's Lap, by the Hartfield and Withyham Harriers, while pursuing a hare, and after a run of two hours, killed, about the year 1808. Of this I was an eye witness.'²²⁷ So too with regard to the black game, which at the period of this doe-hunting episode were as numerous on Ashdown as pheasants in a modern preserve, the continual cutting of the heather and cranberry, the cover and the food of these fine grouse, has brought about their total disappearance.

But if the wild deer have become things of the past there are both fallow and red deer preserved in various parks in this forest-land. Buckhurst, a beautiful park with some fine old timber, has a herd of about 600 deer, red and fallow, roaming over its 2,000 or more acres. Buxted,

²²⁰ S.P. Dom. Chas. II, vol. 5, No. 36.

²²¹ Ibid. vol. 40.

²²² See Duchy of Lanc. Maps, No. 85.

²²³ e.g. 'Et de vi^{li} iii^s x^d de parroco tento in yeme.' Ct. R. Lambeth, 17 Ric. II. (No. 929).

²²⁴ Mins. Accts. 7 Edw. II, P.R.O.

²²⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxxix, 140.

²²⁶ Horsfield, *Hist. of Suss.* i, 377.

²²⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xiv, 62.

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another picturesque park, extends over 300 acres, harbouring amidst its ancient trees a herd of 250 fallow deer. Sainthill is another deer park of small dimensions, its 40 acres being the home of about as many fallow deer. Outside the forest-land of Ashdown, and sole remnant of the numerous deer that once wandered over the woodlands of the archbishops of Canterbury, in the small park called 'Moat' (the northern portion of the ancient park of Plashet), a small herd of fallow deer is kept.

Contiguous to the north-eastern part of Ashdown Forest, in the same rape, and originally distinct from that woodland, more perhaps by reason of its different ownership than by its situation, is the forest anciently called Rotherfield Chase, afterwards Waterdown.

WATERDOWN FOREST occupied the whole of Rotherfield, an extensive parish lying in the north of the rape of Pevensy, east of the forest of Ashdown. Once a possession of King Alfred, Rotherfield was among the lands granted by the Conqueror to Odo his half-brother. His tenure of it was but brief, for he was thrown into prison, and some at least of his possessions confiscated. Among them was Rotherfield, which, consisting largely of forest-land, and also comprising a park, may have on that account particularly appealed to the sporting tastes of William.

During the life of the Conqueror this manor and park in the woodland remained a royal possession, but in the next reign it came into the hands of Gilbert of Tonbridge,²²⁸ who gave the church of Rotherfield, 'with its lands' and all that appertained to it, to the monks of Rochester Cathedral.²²⁹

Gilbert also granted to Rochester 'one stag from my forest every year.' Whether this forest was Waterdown or the forest of Tonbridge across the county border is not clear. Indeed the woodland of Rotherfield was perhaps considered part of the forest of Tonbridge, of which Gilbert was lord. Archbishop John Peckham in 1282, in an *Inspeximus*, enumerating the various things pertaining to Rotherfield when granted to Rochester, uses the expression 'both in tithes and in hunting rights.'

The forest itself continued in the possession of the house of Clare for many generations, and it appears probable that it was considered by its lords as 'the south part of their forest of Tonbridge.' In the reign of King John, Richard earl of Clare granted to the Sussex abbey of Bayham pannage for twenty hogs in this 'south part of his forest.'²³⁰ Another part of Waterdown Forest extended on the east into Eridge and Frant; the portion in the latter parish being of a very open nature, consisting of heath-land and ferny ground. Hence the ancient name for Frant was Ferneth—'fernheath.'

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Wauton family possessed this part of the forest-land, Sir John de Wauton obtaining a grant of free warren there in the reign of Edward I.²³¹ From this knight Bayham Abbey obtained rights of pasture and taking wood in 'the common and heath land of Farenth.'

In the same reign there is record of a poaching offence committed in Waterdown Forest at Rotherfield, by certain persons who had entered the free chase of Gilbert de Clare at Thornbrigge (Tonbridge) and Rotherfield (while the said earl was in the king's service in Wales), and hunted and carried away deer.²³² On the other hand, the jurors of the 'Hundred Rolls' complained that the earl had appropriated free warren in the hundred of Rytherfeud contrary to ancient usage, and had exceeded the bounds of such as he legally possessed. In 1315 we find Thomas Colepeper obtaining 'the office of forestership of Rotherfield in Tonbridge chace.'²³³ The forest was now in the possession of the king's favourite, Despenser, who in 1320 transferred 'Retherfeld manor . . . with 8,000 acres of wood in Retherfeld, Westpeckam and Tonebrigge' to Hugh de Audele and Margaret his wife.²³⁴ Hugh fell under the new king's displeasure in 1329, and in January of that year Bartholomew de Burghersh was appointed custodian of 'the forests of Tonebrige and Retherfeld, late (the possessions) of Hugh Daudele.'²³⁵ But the next month, on 6 February, Bartholomew was ordered to deliver these forests back to Hugh Daudele, 'they being in his (Burghersh's) custody by the king's commission.'²³⁶ Seven years later the king ordered de Burghersh to fell and sell timber in places where it would effect the least harm, in the woods or park pertaining to the manor of Rotherfield, 'which he holds by the king's commission.'²³⁷ In the previous year poachers had been active in this forest, and had entered 'the king's free-chace at Retherfeld,' hunted therein, cut down timber, and carried away deer and trees.²³⁸ In 1401 Henry IV granted to 'his knight John Dalynrugge the custody of the lordship of Retherfeld with the chace there to hold during the minority of the heir of Thomas, late lord le Despenser, and so from heir to heir.'²³⁹ He was to undertake the maintenance of all houses, woods, inclosures, and gardens, and meet all charges, and account for any surplus over the value (64s.) set upon the estate.

²²⁸ Mr. Round, in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xli, 50.

²²⁹ *Reg. Roffense*, 590.

²³⁰ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 154.

²³¹ Chart. R. 14 Edw. I, No. 30.

²³² Pat. 11 Edw. I, m. 2.

²³³ Orig. R. 8 Edw. II, 1.

²³⁴ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 3.

²³⁵ Ibid. 3 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 38.

²³⁶ Close, 3 Edw. III, m. 33.

²³⁷ Ibid. 10 Edw. III, m. 19.

²³⁸ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 28.

²³⁹ Ibid. 2 Hen. IV, pt. 4.

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Ten years later, Richard Beauchamp earl of Warwick became possessed of this forest,²⁴⁰ and his family, in some branch or other, as the Nevilles and Abergavennys, have held the eastern part, the neighbourhood of Eridge and Frant, ever since; George, Lord Abergavenny, dying in 1536 possessed of one moiety of Waterdown Forest and of lands called Eridge.²⁴¹

The large amount of woodland in this district is evidenced by the fact that as late as the reign of Charles II the rector of Rotherfield kept a woodward or keeper for the 366 acres of wood pertaining to the rectorial manor, while of the residue of the parish a large proportion of its 14,344 acres was heath, common, or wood.²⁴² Camden described Waterdown as one of the three great forests of Sussex, and Aaron Hill said of this forest-land: 'There is a place called Eridge Park . . . and an open old appropriate forest of the name of Waterdowne that butted on the park enclosure. The park is an assemblage of all nature's beauties.'²⁴³ To-day its acreage is 2,500, and it has large tracts of heather and bracken, together with fine timber trees of oak and beech. The 'green rides' cut in its woods are said to total no less than 70 miles in length. This park contains 400 fallow and 100 red deer, and has several pieces of water.

We now come to consider the last on our list of Sussex forests.

DALLINGTON FOREST lay in the easternmost part of Sussex, in the centre of the Rape of Hastings. It extended over the parishes of Dallington, Brightling and Burwash into Mountfield, and by the first three of these names it was variously denominated. Its exact metes and bounds are not known, and they may have included Penhurst and Ashburnham woodlands. Like several of the other forests of Sussex, Dallington appears to owe that denomination to an original royal ownership, for in the Saxon era much of this forest district was in the possession of Edward the Confessor, as Brightling, Ninfield, and Ashburnham; or of members of his family, as Goda his sister, who held Mountfield and Netherfield. Other parts of the forest-land were held by Earl Godwin or his heir Harold, as Whatlington, Crowhurst, and Sedlescombe.

It is in connexion with Dallington that the sole use of the word 'Forest' in the Domesday of Sussex occurs, where, under that manor, is the entry that 'the count holds half a hide in the forest.' The only park mentioned in Domesday in this division of the county is Wiltingham, but it does not appear to have had any relation to the forest, lying as it did beyond its southern verge.

After Domesday, the charters of Robertsbridge Abbey, which stood on the bank of the river Rother, on the eastern margin of the forest, contain references to this woodland. To this establishment Henry, count of Eu, granted pannage for their hogs in his woodland, and the vill of 'Werth, with Cumba, near my forest of Bristlinga, with woods, plains, and pastures.' All these three place-names were at one time or another applied to the forest as alternative to Dallington, albeit Werth and Combe were quite insignificant localities, to-day surviving as the names of farms. From a succeeding count of Eu, Ralph de Issouden, the monks obtained free pasturage for their bullocks, sheep, and hogs, in his 'forest of Werth.' From his wife, who survived him, the abbey received, in 1225, right of pasturage for twenty oxen, twenty cows with their calves, and twenty mares with their foals, in her 'forest of Burgherse.' The same convent had also received from Ralph de Issouden grant of a forest-privilege which recalls the decision given by the seventeenth-century commissioners who adjudicated upon tenants' rights in Ashdown Forest and defined their right to wood-allowance as applicable only to beech, alder, and willow. For the earl had given the monks the right to take 'dead wood in his forest of Werth,' viz. 'le boul, le algneit, le fredne'—birch, alder, and ash—and another wood of doubtful identity, viz. 'le curhive' (? hazel).

Judging from the number of persons who obtained grants of 'free warren' over various parts of this forest-land it seems probable that this portion of the great Andredeswald became subdivided, in course of time, in such a way that the chief mesne-lords exercised rights of hunting over the forest-land in, and in the neighbourhood of, their particular manors; for in the Middle Ages a man might have 'free warren' over the lands of another.

As early as the reign of Henry I the St. Leger family are found holding Dallington and Wartling. William of that name obtained a grant of free warren in 1244,²⁴⁴ his son Walter²⁴⁵ and his grandson John²⁴⁶ receiving confirmations of the same in 1264 and 1301 respectively with regard to that part of the forest within their lands, as Dallington. Walter de Echingham had similar hunting rights conferred by Edward I²⁴⁷ over the forest-land of Burwash, Brightling, and Mountfield. These privileges the family retained for several generations, Thomas de Echingham obtaining confirmation of them from Henry VI.²⁴⁸ Doubtless one cause of so many co-existent rights over coterminous lands was the forfeiture incurred by William, count of Eu, for adhering to the king's enemies, whereby his estates came into the hands of King Henry III, who in 1248

²⁴⁰ Pat. 12 Hen. IV.

²⁴³ Horsfield, *Suss.* i, 402.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. 30 Edw. I, m. 50.

²⁴¹ Inq. p.m. 27 Hen. VIII.

²⁴⁴ Chart. R. 28 Hen. III, m. 2.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. 21 Edw. I.

²⁴² Terrier of 1675.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. 49 Hen. III, m. 4.

²⁴⁸ Pat. 16 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 18.

conferred them upon Peter of Savoy, the royal favourite.²⁴⁹ Forfeitures and minorities of heirs were the main causes of the numberless gifts of honours, offices, and privileges by the sovereigns in those days; but it would be difficult to find an instance of more numerous co-existing or rapidly alternating grants of kindred rights than are met with in the case of the forest-land of Dallington. In addition to those already mentioned, others to obtain free warren over it or its constituent parts were Stephen de Burghershe in 1272;²⁵⁰ a certain Iterus Bochard five years later;²⁵¹ and Alan de Boxhull in 1314.²⁵² Edmund de Passeleye obtained an extensive grant of free warren in 1283 over lands in that forest, as Brightling, Mountfield, Ticehurst, and Battle.²⁵³ From the terms of this concession it appears that the forest was at the time a royal possession, since it contained a clause 'saving the king's rights in his forest.' An early 'extent' of the manor of Burwash, within the forest bounds, shows that in the park itself practical economy was evidently not sacrificed to sport, for it contained some of the arable land of the demesne; its herbage and pannage was worth half a mark annually; sale of wood 9s.; of heather (much used for thatching and for the bedding of cattle) 12d.; while the 'warren of conies' brought in 4s. In addition to its arable and pasture the park contained 20 acres of wood. By the same survey the forest of Dallington was reported to have herbage worth 5 marks annually; while the swine-owners who turned out their hogs to feed on the beech-nuts and acorns paid on an average 2 marks annually. Timber sold in the forest brought in £4; and 'wainagium,' or the toll of wagons passing through the forest, was worth 12d., from which we may conclude that traffic and trade were not very brisk in the interior of the rape of Hastings at that period.²⁵⁴

Evidently the timber of Dallington Forest was of good repute, since in the fourteenth century it was sent on the long journey to Lincolnshire, to build a bridge withal at Boston. Nearer home John, duke of Brittany, used it to repair his manor-house at Crowhurst.²⁵⁵ About the same period John de Ashburnham obtained from King Edward III payment for sixty oak trees which Edward II had cut down in Ashburnham Woods (the southern part of Dallington forest-land) for the repair of Pevensey Castle. The king had also caused to be felled therein 169 oaks for Dover Castle repairs.²⁵⁶

Although these facts tend to show that the growth of heavy timber was considerable over Dallington Forest, there was much country in it of an open nature, barren, or supporting only broom, gorse, and kindred growths. Hence the special mention of the sale of such vegetation—'brueria'—as among the usual revenues from the forest. Hence, too, the designation 'waste' (*vastum*) as applied to the forest in a return of the possessions of John, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond. Among the estates of which he died possessed was, it is stated, the rape of Hastings, and Cumbwood waste—'Combwoode vastum'—which is doubtless but another name for the forest, the 'Brislinga, Werth, and Cumba' of Earl Henry's grant to Robertsbridge Abbey.²⁵⁷ Dallington appears in 1400 to have been again in the royal hands, for John Fraunceys, the king's serjeant-farrier, was appointed 'Bailiff of the Rape of Hastings and Keeper of the Forest of Dallington.'²⁵⁸

In 1457 Sir John Pelham by his will required his trustees to enfeof John Pelham, his son and heir, in 'the Forest and Chace of Dallington'; and in this family it remained for many generations. But questions of possession arose between the Hoos and the Pelhams concerning the manors of Crowhurst, Burwash and others, and Dallington Forest; these were ultimately composed in 1465 by Thomas Hoo's son, William Lord Hastings, renouncing in favour of the Pelhams all claims to those manors, three hundreds of the rape, and 'the Chace of Dallington.'²⁵⁹

Not till the eighteenth century did this forest come into other hands; until, in fact, 1774, at which time we find John, earl of Ashburnham, lord of Dallington.

The later history of this forest is entirely industrial, rather than sporting; for the ironworks were particularly active and persistent in this district.

Yet though no more the wild deer range over Dallington forest-land, or shelter within the recesses of Darum Wood, there are still some fallow and a few red deer in the largest park of this woodland, Ashburnham. Comprising more than a thousand acres, this beautiful park, wild and hilly, with sandstone rocks appearing here and there, contains some very fine timber, oak, beech, fir, and Spanish chestnut; and nearly 250 deer, mostly fallow, roam over its surface diversified by streams, lakes, and ponds. At Brightling Park, too, in the centre of the old forest-land, fallow deer are still preserved. Lying high on the forest-ridge, a wide and varied outlook from it affords splendid views over hill and dale and woodland, as far as the southern sea that bounds an isle which, when the Romans invaded it, was little else than *primaeval* forest-land, of which the county of Sussex preserves to-day the greatest remains.

²⁴⁹ Pat. 33 Hen. III, m. 2.

²⁵⁰ Chart. R. 1 Edw. I, pt. i, 22.

²⁵¹ Ibid. 6 Edw. I, pt. i, 20.

²⁵² Ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, 16.

²⁵³ Ibid. 12 Edw. I.

²⁵⁴ Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. I, No. 50.

²⁵⁵ Pat. 32 Edw. III.

²⁵⁶ Close, 3 Edw. III, m. 26.

²⁵⁷ Inq. p.m. 15 Edw. III, No. 43.

²⁵⁸ Pat. 2 Hen. IV, pt. 1, m. 8.

²⁵⁹ Duchy of Lanc. Plead. vol. 48, F. 16.

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IN fixing his attention upon the churches of Sussex, the student will do well at the outset to disabuse his mind of a prejudice due to the ill-informed and unsympathetic *dicta* of the older generations of county historians and compilers of guide-books. One such writer has sweepingly described them as ‘rude and mis-shapen buildings, humble in their pretensions’; and the Rev. Edmund Cartwright’s verdict upon his own picturesque old church (Lyminster) is that it was ‘of the coarse parochial architecture’¹; while, more recently, a writer, who might be expected to speak more sympathetically, curtly dismisses the very interesting little church of Ford—containing specimens of seven periods of architecture, from pre-Conquest to Caroline—with the words, ‘an insignificant place, with a church to match.’ Such harsh criticisms, whether from the archaeological or the architectural point of view, are quite undeserved. Many of the churches, as might be expected in a purely agricultural county, possessing but little building stone, and whose notoriously bad roads must have made the carriage of materials peculiarly difficult, are of the plainest design, and often built of the humblest materials; many also are on a very small scale, such as the churches of Binsted, Burton, Earham, Tortington, and Selham; but there is always grace of outline and proportion, and not seldom considerable beauty and refinement in the sparing ornamentation. And if we can say this much in vindication of the rank and file, it is waste of time to attempt a defence of such universally recognized masterpieces as the Cathedral and Greyfriars’ church at Chichester, and the great churches of Boxgrove, New Shoreham, Steyning, and Winchelsea.

Its maritime character, and the convenience of its coast and harbours for trading with the Continent, have had a marked effect on the architecture of the county, rendering it peculiarly open to foreign influence. One result of the constant intercourse with Normandy (which, it should be remembered, was for centuries a province of the English Crown) was the importation of the finest building stone from the famous quarries around Caen, in exchange for cargoes of wheat, which were returned in the flat-bottomed barges that brought the stone.

It may be doubted whether this foreign influence did not, especially during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, outweigh that of the neighbouring counties. Along the western boundary—particularly where the chalk downs afforded good marl or clunch—the masons who wrought some of the marvellously delicate work of the late twelfth century seem to have

¹ The Rev. Edmund Cartwright, joint-author of Dallaway and Cartwright’s *Hist. of Suss.* was vicar of Lyminster from 1824 to 1834.

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been employed as much as in Hampshire, and even to have come as far east as Steyning. It has been noted (*V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 425) that, especially along the northern border, Surrey and Sussex have something in common in the masonry, and still more in the timber bell-towers and spirelets of a group of churches in the forest country, which in early times virtually obliterated any artificial boundary between the two counties.²

The successive occupations by Roman, Saxon, and Norman, and the resulting religious changes, have left their mark upon the architecture of the county; while such minor events as the removal of the see from Selsey to Chichester, towards the close of the eleventh century, and the varying fortunes of alien priories and other monastic bodies holding lands and spiritualities within the county, have affected the churches to no small extent; still more, of course, the Reformation of the sixteenth century, with the resultant changes in their structure and fittings.

There were at one time or another nearly seventy monastic establishments in Sussex, including the cells of alien priories, colleges of secular priests, friaries, houses of the military orders, nunneries, and hospitals, most of them exercising considerable influence in the building, rebuilding, and maintenance of parochial churches and chapels, as well as contributing their own very important quota towards the total of the ecclesiastical architecture of the county. Thus, the influence of the wealthy and important Cluniac priory at Lewes, which had the patronage of over fifty Sussex churches, is clearly traceable in the churches of West Grinstead, Iford, Newhaven, &c., and in the elaborate early wall-paintings of Hardham, Westmeston, Plumpton, and Clayton, all executed in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The scanty remains of the priory itself—especially the beautiful ornamental details of mouldings, capitals, and carvings—show that Burgundian workmen and art followed in the train of the foreign monks by whom the great foundation was constantly recruited. The plans of this great church, of the infirmary and its chapel, together with some others of the buildings, have been recovered in recent excavations. (*Vide Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlix, 66, &c.)

Doubtless there were churches of some sort to supply the needs of the Roman-British converts, but of these we have no certain trace, although, as will presently be shown, Roman materials have been abundantly used in a large group of early churches. It is possible that the original sites may, in one or two cases, have been retained by later generations of church-builders; and also that the sites of heathen temples were appropriated to Christian uses, as e.g. in Chichester and in the fortified hill-village of Burpham. Urn burials were found on the site of Arlington church in a late restoration.

Even more important than Lewes Priory was the great Benedictine abbey of Battle. It proved to be one of the wealthiest of English abbeys at the dissolution. Richly endowed by the Conqueror with lands and churches in and out of the county, it influenced the character of many parish churches, including that of Battle itself; and as its first monks were brought from Normandy it is only to be expected that they should exert their influence in

² The churches of Reigate, Wotton, Chiddingfold, Dunsfold, and Alfold, show Sussex influence in their masonry; while the fourteenth-century timber towers of Rogate and Tangmere, Sussex, are of the same type as the Surrey examples at Alfold, Burstow, Crowhurst, Dunsfold, Elstead, Horley, Horne, Newdigate, Tandridge, and Thursley.

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favour of French architecture. Accordingly we find distinct evidence of this in some of the fine vaulted chambers beneath the refectory of the abbey (early thirteenth century), and in the late twelfth-century arcades of the parish church. Among other churches in their possession were those of Mountfield, Whatlington, and Westfield, the early features in the chancels of which churches may be fairly ascribed to the monks of Battle. The Benedictines had another house at Wilmington, near Eastbourne, a cell of the Norman abbey of Grestein, and the chancel of this church, with its small windows and ornamented string course, is evidence of their care.³ A fifteenth-century gateway, some undercrofts of earlier date, and a few other fragments incorporated in farm-buildings are the sole remains of the priory.

Happily, we still possess in the grand priory church of this same order at Boxgrove the quire and transepts of a church of the first class, which have come down to us in an exceptional state of preservation. The nave and its aisles, separated by a solid wall from the crossing, and originally used as the church of the parish, are ruined and roofless, as are all the conventual buildings; but the whole of the eastern limb, including the massive central tower, and two bays beyond to the west (forming a sort of Galilee), remain in a singularly perfect state.

Of this church the transepts and part of the central tower, with the two eastern bays of the nave and the entrance to the chapter-house (forming part of the east walk of the cloisters), are relics of the first building of about 1120. The transepts are narrow and shallow, and the nave was also planned upon a small scale; but both the parochial church, comprising the western part of the nave and its aisles (*c.* 1175), and the noble quire (*c.* 1210), were built upon spacious lines, and the latter is one of the best examples of the emergence of Early Pointed architecture from the Romanesque to be found in the south of England. The quire and its aisles are about 83 ft. long and 48½ ft. wide; the parochial nave and aisles nearly 90 ft. by 44 ft.; while the eastern bays of the nave and the crossing make the total internal length over 221 ft. Its corbel-tables and flying buttresses, its beautiful arches, circular and pointed, with clustered and plain columns, and a liberal use of Purbeck marble, compare closely with the slightly earlier work of Bishop Seffrid II in the quire and other parts of Chichester Cathedral. The work of the same masons is to be found in the quire of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth. The piers of the central tower, inserted *c.* 1170, the late chantry chapel of Lord de la Warr, and the arcaded entrance to the chapter-house are other specially interesting details. The influence of Boxgrove Priory is to be traced in Barnham and Walberton churches (in its gift) and also in the chancel of West Wittering.

Of the Benedictine priory of Sele, in Upper Beeding, dependent upon the abbey of St. Florent, Saumur, no remains of any importance exist in situ, but built into the walls of the chancel of the parish church are a singular two-light window and door brought from the priory church after the dissolution.

The Premonstratensian order had houses at Bayham, on the extreme north-east of the county, and at Dureford, on the north-west border. They originally (in the latter part of the twelfth century) built a house for them-

³ Among other possessions of the abbey of Grestein were the churches of Eastdean and Friston (near Eastbourne), which contain several curious early features probably attributable to these patrons.

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selves at Otham, in Hailsham parish, near the modern hamlet of Polegate (before migrating to Bayham), the desecrated chapel of which still remains, showing some interesting early fourteenth-century windows and handsome sedile and piscina.

Of Bayham Abbey, founded about A.D. 1200, the plan of the destroyed church, 252 ft. in length, with its polygonal apse and double transepts, has been recovered, but the least injured parts are the cloisters, the frater subvault, and the chapter-house. The work is mostly of early thirteenth-century character, simple, but marked by exceedingly graceful proportions. The quire and eastern transepts are of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the nave was partly rebuilt before its close. This establishment does not seem to have influenced the church architecture of its neighbourhood to any extent.

Of the abbey of Dureford, near Rogate, founded in the reign of King John, by De Husee, lord of Harting, as a dependency of Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, nothing remains but a few foundations, some carved stones, grave-slabs, and encaustic tiles. It only acquired Rogate church, but it owned land in the neighbouring parishes, such as Trotton, and probably both churches owe some features of their architecture to the canons.

The Cistercian abbey of Robertsbridge, founded by Robert de St. Martin in 1176, and enlarged by his successors, has little now remaining but some walls of the church, a crypt, and a portion of the refectory. Salehurst church was probably partly built by these monks.

The Augustinian canons had more houses than any other order in Sussex, and of nearly all some remains exist. Of the priory of Pynham, or De Calceto, near Arundel, only the stump of a gate-house or tower, with good early thirteenth-century buttresses, remains, but excavation would probably reveal the ground plan of the church and offices. Tortington, in the same locality, founded early in the twelfth century, exhibits walls and fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; among them a wall with graceful triple vaulting shafts, which may have formed part of the church. This priory owned numerous lands in the neighbourhood, and Tortington church, with its interesting chancel arch, was among their possessions. In it, and in the similar small twelfth-century church at Binsted, hard by, we may trace the influence of the canons.

Hardham Priory, higher up the Arun, founded *temp.* Henry II, retains in the entrance to its chapter-house one of the most beautiful pieces of early thirteenth-century architecture left to us in Sussex. Its pointed arches, with quatrefoil piercings, slender detached shafts, and dog-tooth ornament, recall the work at Boxgrove.

Shulbred, in Linchmere parish, lying in the remote north-west corner of the county, had another small priory, also of late twelfth-century foundation, and although the church has been destroyed, others of the buildings, such as the prior's house, remain. To this priory we owe the perfect little mid-thirteenth-century chancel of Linchmere church.

Michelham Priory, in the parish of Arlington, near Hailsham, founded in 1221, also possesses extensive remains of its domestic buildings, such as a gatehouse, the refectory, with its great west window, the monks' lavatory in the cloisters, and some fine vaulted chambers; but of the church very little exists save the foundations.

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Of the establishments at Hastings and Warbleton—the latter a transference from the older house—practically nothing remains save the foundations of the cruciform church at Warbleton. (For the plan see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 294.)

The various orders of friars, who had houses in Chichester, Arundel, Shoreham, Lewes, Rye, and Winchelsea, have left practically nothing in the shape of buildings, save in the first and last named towns. At Chichester we have the very perfect, stately, and lofty quire of the Franciscan church, which has never been unroofed. The nave has been destroyed (probably as far back as the fifteenth century), and the cloisters and other adjacent buildings—which there are grounds for believing to have been largely of timber construction—have likewise vanished.

The ruins of the Franciscan church at Winchelsea, on a much smaller scale, show features in common with the foregoing—especially in the peculiarly elegant chancel arch; but its quire has a straight-sided apsidal termination, and the tracery of the windows is more advanced. The date can hardly be earlier than A.D. 1290.

The Dominicans have no buildings remaining in Sussex, though they once had settlements at Chichester, Arundel (established c. 1221), and Winchelsea, but parts of the small house of the Carmelite order remain at New Shoreham.

The Augustinian friars had a small house at Rye, of which the parts left show mid-fourteenth-century details, chiefly windows with tracery of French or Flemish character. These occur in what was probably the chapel.

Both the military orders—the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers—had preceptories and commanderies in Sussex, the Templars at Shipley and Sedlescombe (near Brighton), and the Hospitallers at Poling (near Arundel)—the last-named still retaining its chapel and other buildings, with features of the late twelfth and early fifteenth centuries, which have never been suffered to go to ruin, and retain their original roofs. Some of the very remarkable features in the transeptal chapels of Sompting church (in which parish the Hospitallers had an estate) and the fine twelfth-century tower at Southwick may be traceable to their influence; while Shipley church owes its work of the same period to the Knights Templars.

Nearly every trace of the nunneries at Lyminster, Ramestede, or Ramscombe near Lewes, and Rusper has disappeared; but considerable remains of that at Easebourne, near Midhurst, founded about the middle of the thirteenth century, still exist, forming a quadrangle together with the parish church.

Finally, we have to notice a large class of religious buildings in the shape of hospitals such as the *Maisons Dieu* at Chichester and Arundel, the leper and other hospitals at Rye, Playden, Seaford, New Shoreham, Lewes, and Arundel. The first-named is of the highest importance architecturally.

It must be borne in mind that, besides the foregoing monastic houses, another group—the foreign—exercised a marked influence on the ecclesiastical architecture of Sussex, from the reign of Edward the Confessor down to about 1420, when Henry V seized the alien priories and confiscated their estates. The abbeys and priories of Bayeux, Séez, Almanesches, Fécamp, Bec, Grestein, St. Denis, and St. Florent, Saumur, &c.—nearly all in

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Normandy—owned land and churches in the county, and in many cases had their cells in Sussex. Many of the sea-coast and some inland parish churches show traces of foreign influence largely due to this connexion, but in some cases merely owing to nearness to the Continent. The following may be instanced—mostly twelfth-century examples:—East Dean (West Sussex), Climping, Ford, Lyminster, Rustington, East Preston, Angmering, Ferring, Broadwater, Lancing, New Shoreham, Steyning, Bramber, Rottingdean, Newhaven, Bishopstone, Seaford, Westdean and Eastdean (East Sussex), Eastbourne, Hellingly, Guestling, Icklesham, Brede, and Rye. Chichester Cathedral and Boxgrove Priory church also show foreign characteristics, as, e.g., in the square abacus, retained well into the thirteenth century.

The influence of wealthy families must likewise be remembered, particularly in such cases as those where the architecture wears a foreign look. The de Warennes at Lewes, the de Braoses at Bramber and Shoreham,⁴ the family of de Hauteville, Earl Roger de Montgomery and his successors in Arundel and the neighbourhood, Gilbert de Aquila and his successors at Pevensey—these and many other lords, and later the wealthy merchants who traded with France and the Low Countries, contributed to keep up a certain foreign strain, noticeable especially in these sea-coast churches. So late as about 1537 we find a window with tracery of French character put into the chantry chapel of the Oxenbridges in Brede church.

Chichester Cathedral, the successor of the original Saxon cathedral (now under the sea, at Selsey), was in building under Bishop Ralph, 1091 to 1108, when the eastern limb and the transepts were consecrated. The nave was in progress when the partial fire of 1114 occurred, the restoration and completion of the building occupying the greater part of the twelfth century.⁵ The work is rude, and for the most part plain, but it is possible to distinguish periods of execution in the details, although the original plan seems to have been adhered to. In 1186–7 another and more destructive fire made the cathedral almost a ruin. To this calamity, however, it owes its most beautiful and characteristic features, in the remodelling of the nave and the rebuilding of the retro-quire under Bishop Seffrid II, between 1187–99. It is evident, however, that there was no real pause at this date in the building operations. The transformation of the rude early work, the adding of chapels, porches, and sacristy, the building of upper stories to the western towers, and of the lantern to the central tower, and even of additional aisles to the narrow-aisled nave—all this and more was in progress, almost unceasingly, up to and beyond the death of Bishop Ralph Neville in 1244. The Galilee porch at the west end dates from about 1260. After this the next landmark is the extension and partial rebuilding of the Lady Chapel, under Bishop Gilbert de Sancto Leophardo (1288–1301). Later still are the great windows of the transepts—the south early, and the north

⁴ It is curious to note that some of the same peculiarities in detail are found in the quire of New Shoreham church and in the late twelfth-century arcades of Reigate church, Surrey (see *post*). Both churches were built by the de Braoses, or under their influence.

⁵ There are reasons for believing that the ground story and triforium of the nave, and the corresponding stages of the two western towers, were completed by 1130 or 1140. The church was only consecrated in 1184, and among the last works to be finished was the vaulting of the Lady Chapel of Bishop Ralph by Bishop Hilary, 1147–69.

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late fourteenth-century work, the cloisters (of the latter period), the spire of the central tower, and the detached bell-tower—the last two being still in progress during the early years of the fifteenth century. Bishop Sherborn's great altar-screen of oak, now happily replaced, brings us into the opening years of the sixteenth century.

Chichester Cathedral is specially valuable for its late twelfth-century architecture, for the studies in several different kinds of early vaulting, and for the woodwork of the quire stalls, *c.* 1300–30.

Of course, directly and indirectly, the influence exercised by the mother-church upon the ecclesiastical architecture of the county was very considerable, and we constantly come across features, in the churches of West Sussex especially, which owe their inspiration to the cathedral. Amberley (chancel, arch, &c.), Boxgrove (quire arcades), Aldingbourne (south chapel), Burpham (chancel vaulting), and Climping churches are cases in point.

The bishop and the cathedral body had the patronage of more than thirty livings, and the bishops had manor houses or palaces at Selsey and Bexhill, besides a castle at Amberley.

Another influence to be reckoned with is that of the archbishops of Canterbury, who had manors and palaces at Mayfield, Malling, Tarring, Slindon, and Pagham, and the right of presentation to some seventeen livings. The thirteenth-century chancels at South Bersted, Tangmere, Patching, and Edburton, and the beautiful fourteenth-century work in the chancels of Isfield and Buxted, are probably due to them. Not only so, but the clergy whom they would appoint to these and other 'peculiar' would often be Kentish men, who would naturally import Kentish masons to rebuild their churches.

The two important livings of Winchelsea and Rye belonged from an early date to the Crown, and we may suppose Edward I to have interested himself in the building of the former church.

As to the sites of churches, it is interesting to record that St. Nicholas, Brighton, stands within a Druidical inclosure, and that Arlington, Ford, and Iping, as well as St. Olave's and St. Andrew's, Chichester, are built upon Roman or older sites—the last-named upon a Roman pavement. Climping and Etchingam stand within a moat—probably chiefly meant to keep them dry.

We have next to consider the materials used in the construction of Sussex churches; and in this connexion what is written will apply equally to other classes of buildings. Sussex, like Surrey, is not a stone county, and such building stones as it possesses are not of first-rate quality, either for durability or for high-class masonry; from which it follows that the county has never boasted a flourishing native school of stone-craft, such as must have existed in the neighbourhood of the great quarries of the Midlands. Its masons must often have been imported, like the best of its building stones—Caen—many of them at first from Normandy, but afterwards from other parts of England.

For the ordinary walling of most of the sea-board churches, and inland also in the western and central parts of the county, seashore flints, and flints dug from the chalk or taken from the fields, are commonly employed. They are equally the usual material in domestic and castellated buildings. The use of flints for the walling makes a marked contrast with the sandstones employed in eastern Sussex and the chalk rag of the north-west corner.

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There is very little faced or squared flint work, the barbican at Lewes Castle and the churches of Alfriston, Poynings, Steyning, West Tarring, and Boxgrove being some of the exceptions of mediaeval date, and St. Michael's, Lewes, and Laughton (chancel) of the eighteenth century.

In some cases there is an attempt at decorative treatment in the form of chequer-work, as in the chancel of Upper Beeding church, in the towers of Felpham, Steyning, Hailsham, St. Clement's Hastings; in the porch of All Saints' Hastings; in a gateway tower at Arundel Castle; the Carmelites' building at New Shoreham, and in some of the Lewes houses—all late fourteenth- to sixteenth-century work.

For constructional rather than ornamental reasons we find common flints built herring-bone fashion in a few early churches, such as Hangleton and Ovingdean, the treatment being obviously derived from the similar disposition of Roman bricks (as at Rumboldswyke, West Hampnett, and Eastergate churches); and the thin shaly rubble used at Bosham, West Wittering, Wisborough Green, West Grinstead, Lurgashall, Sutton, Terwick, Elsted, Burton, Selham, West Sussex, and Bexhill, East Sussex; or water-worn stones, as in the early manor-house at Nytimber, Pagham.

Bricks have been comparatively little used in Sussex, except for house chimneys, but there are one or two noteworthy exceptions, (1) in churches partially constructed with Roman bricks—the spoils of some villa hard by—as at St. Olave's, Chichester, Bosham, Rumboldswyke, West Hampnett, Eastergate, Walberton, and Hardham: and (2) in mediaeval and later buildings, such as Twineham Church, entirely rebuilt in this material *temp.* Henry VIII, Herstmonceux Castle, a noble example of fifteenth-century brickwork, Cakeham Tower, East Wittering, early sixteenth century, and another tower with a rich projecting cornice at Laughton, built 1534. Besides these there are many later manor-houses (such as Brickwall, Bolebrook, Tanners, and Holmshurst), and lesser domestic buildings wholly or partially built of brick, to which reference is made elsewhere.

Caen stone is found in almost all the churches near the coast, and in many inland churches of importance, but often in conjunction with native stones, and stones brought from the Isle of Wight. It seems to have been imported from a very early date, as it appears in at least two pre-Conquest churches—Sompting (tower, with other stones), and Ford (nave, north wall), and in the bas-reliefs from Selsey, now in Chichester Cathedral. With the Norman Conquest it was imported freely, and good examples of its use may be pointed to in the Lady chapel (*c.* 1150), Chichester Cathedral; Seffrid's casing of the nave arcades, 1187–99; Boxgrove Priory church, West Wittering, Climping, Old and New Shoreham, Broadwater, and Steyning churches. It was superseded, however, by local stones after the middle of the fourteenth century, although used in the rebuilding of Arundel collegiate church (*c.* 1380), and in many of the remarkable series of late tombs (*c.* 1480 to 1550) for which Sussex is famous. The excellence of the stone is attested by the manner in which it has withstood the south-westerly rains and humid atmosphere near the sea for seven or eight centuries, so that the original tool marks are, in most cases, plainly visible.

But before this stone came into general use another was widely employed in south-western Sussex in pre-Conquest times. It is a fresh-water limestone,

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of immensely old formation, belonging to the Eocene age, and prominently associated with the Bracklesham beds of the Selsey peninsula—although a stone of the same formation is quarried as far away as Brussels. It has a sponge-like appearance, being filled with small holes, and resembles the tufa or travertine so largely employed by the Romans. Perhaps, owing to this likeness, it was sought out and used by the early builders in this part of Sussex; and although its texture renders it unsuitable for delicate mouldings and carving, it becomes exceedingly hard with exposure, and weathers very well. It is found in most of the sea-coast churches, and for some distance inland in the western part of Sussex, as at West Wittering, Bosham (pre-Conquest work), Singleton (pre-Conquest tower), South Bersted, Yapton, and Sompting. In the last well-known pre-Conquest tower it is used for the short stones in the ‘long and short’ pilaster buttresses and strips.

A hard white stone, close-grained and resembling Portland, is also found in the pre-Conquest and other early work of the south-west part of the county, as in Singleton, Eartham, Eastergate, and Barnham churches, and in the earliest parts of Chichester Cathedral. It was probably brought from the Isle of Wight. The stone used by Bishop Ralph Luffa for the building of Chichester Cathedral was chiefly from other quarries in the Isle of Wight. It is generally known as Binstead stone, and is easily distinguished by its greenish colour and coarser texture from the Caen stone used by the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century builders. In the fourteenth century another Isle of Wight stone—from the quarries near Ventnor—a green sandstone of poor weathering qualities, and suitable only for walling and large features, was imported for work at the cathedral. The detached bell-tower is a prominent instance of its use. During the same century the famous Beer freestone was also imported from Devonshire for use in Bishop Stratford’s *Sacellum* in Chichester Cathedral, and for other fine mason’s work.

Chalk, quarried from the Downs that form so important a scenic and geological feature of Sussex, is extensively used both for rubble and internal dressings, and also for vaulting in the cathedral and many other churches. The hard chalk-rag is employed for the walling of many churches, such as Treyford, Elsted, Harting, and Easebourne, in the north-west corner of the county, and in such churches clunch of excellent quality is found in use for the dressed stonework. There is an instance of the use of clunch in eleventh-century quoins at Hangleton, near the sea, in Mid-Sussex. The delicate early fourteenth-century tracery of the east window at Sutton, near Petworth, is in this material. Its marble-like surface, freedom in working, and subsequent hardening in exposure, rendered it a very favourite material with the masons.

A green calcareous sandstone, closely resembling the firestones of Surrey, appears in some West Sussex churches, such as Aldingbourne, where it is used in alternating stones with the white clunch. Probably this has been brought from under the deeper beds of chalk in the Downs at the back.

The sandstone dug from the hills at and near Pulborough has been extensively employed in the churches and other ancient buildings of that neighbourhood. It is of various shades of brown, yellow, greyish-green, and orange, and though it weathers well, has a rough and striated appearance

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owing to its uneven composition, rendering it unsuitable for any but the plainest work. It was in use from before the Conquest down to the sixteenth century and later, but was chiefly employed by the eleventh- and fifteenth-century builders, being displaced in the interval by Caen and other imported stones. Pulborough, Arundel, and Lyminster churches, and Arundel Castle, afford good examples of its use. A rare instance of carving in this stone is to be seen in a rude bas-relief upon the head of an eleventh-century window in the south wall of Tangmere church.

Various sandstones of paler colour, finer grain, and lighter colouring, are quarried in northern, central, and eastern Sussex. Thus, at Henley Wood, to the north of Midhurst, and elsewhere in the hilly country of the district, an excellent, hard, and very durable stone of grey, greenish, and purple colours was employed in the eleventh-century work at Linchmere church, in work of the same period at Easebourne, and in many other churches and domestic buildings of that locality, including parts of Cowdray House.

Another, softer, and of a streaky yellow colour, is quarried near Horsham. It is a good deal used in Horsham parish church and the churches and houses of the neighbourhood.

Horsted Keynes gives its name to another sandstone, harder and of a more even texture than the last. It is of various colours, yellow, buff, and grey, and is dug from the hills. Horsted Keynes, Ardingly, and West Hoathly churches and the great Elizabethan house at Wakehurst are examples of its use. It is possible to work finer details in this stone than in most of the Sussex sandstones, as witness a fourteenth-century carved corbel at West Hoathly church.

A yellow sandstone of somewhat uneven quality is associated with Hastings. It has furnished the principal material for the two ancient churches and the castle, and was employed in the building of Battle, Westfield, Sedlescombe, Penhurst, Crowhurst, Ashburnham, Brightling, and Etchingham churches, being dug from many places in the hills round Hastings. It has weathered well for the most part, but, as in the Hastings churches, St. Clement's and All Saints', the sea air and smoke from coal-fires have caused disintegration.

A coarser-grained sandstone, of various colours, is quarried near East Grinstead, and appears in all the neighbouring churches and houses. Hartfield and Withyham churches are good instances of its employment.

In the country to the south and south-east of Tunbridge Wells, as far as to Hailsham and Battle, where iron ore had been melted from the time of the Romans, the stone quarried from the hills is largely impregnated with iron, and we find ironstone used for rubble and quoins in the churches of Lamberhurst, Ticehurst, Wadhurst, Rotherfield, Mayfield, Maresfield, Buxted, Framfield, Little Horsted, Warbleton, Hellingly, Heathfield, Herstmonceux, Burwash, Brightling, Dallington, Penhurst, Ashburnham, Battle, Catsfield, &c. The stone is of a dark brown colour, with red, orange, and purple tones, and while hard and durable in plain work, is unsuitable for any but the simplest mouldings and ornaments. It is sometimes found used, with evident design, in bands, alternating with a lighter stone (such as a greenish firestone or Caen), as in a composite respond and two beautiful mid-twelfth-century windows in Hellingly church, and in an internal arch, slightly later in date, in Arlington church. Conglomerate, or 'pudding-stone,' found in various

parts, such as on gravelly heaths, is employed as rubble in a few churches such as West Wittering in the Selsey peninsula.

Eastbourne Rock is the name given to a pretty green sandstone of hard and even texture and excellent weather-resisting qualities, found upon the coast and in the hill-country behind Eastbourne. It resembles the firestones of Surrey in appearance, but is of a deeper and more uniform colour. The best examples of its use from pre-Conquest times are the churches of St. Mary Eastbourne, Jevington, Eastdean, Westdean, Friston, Willingdon, Wilmington, East Blatchington, Litlington, Arlington, Westham and Pevensey, and the buildings of Michelham Priory.

Sussex or Petworth marble (quarried near the town of that name) has been extensively used in work of the twelfth century and later. In the cathedral it is most conspicuous in the work of Bishop Seffrid II and his successors, particularly in the form of shafts. Many capitals and bases are also carved in it. Purbeck marble is used side by side with it, and both are employed in coffin-slabs, and in the fine series of late pre-Reformation tombs for which Sussex is famous.

Good examples of the structural use of these marbles occur (besides in the cathedral) in Bosham (east end), West Wittering (lancets in east wall), Boxgrove (pillars and shafts of quire), East Preston, Ferring (east windows), and other churches.

Many fonts—particularly those of a common square pattern and of late twelfth-century date—and ancient altar-slabs are in this material.

From the same formation that has yielded Horsham and kindred sandstones, a stone of hard quality, capable of being naturally split into thin layers, has been used from early times as a roofing material. Probably both the Romans and the Saxons made use of it, as did all later generations of church and house builders down to the seventeenth century. These Horsham slabs or 'stone-healing' furnished a practically indestructible roofing material, highly picturesque in appearance, but of such ponderous weight that exceptionally heavy roof-timbers had to be employed, and for this reason when the roofs have been renewed the stone-healing has usually been discarded. It is still found upon the roofs of over fifty churches, chiefly in West Sussex, among which the following may be instanced: Ardingly, Upper Beeding, Bury, Clayton, Coombes, Cuckfield, Findon, Framfield, West Grinstead, Hamsey, Lancing, Lyminster, Pulborough, Shermanbury, Shipley, Old Shoreham, Sompting, Southease, Stopham, Thakeham, Twineham, and Woodmancote. In towns such as Horsham and Lewes, and in many wayside cottages and manor houses, stone-healing is still often to be seen. Where thatch would ordinarily be used (as in many ancient cottages around Horsham) we often meet with this heavy stone roofing.

Reed- and straw-thatched roofs remain in great numbers—such as in Amberley and the neighbouring villages on the Arun—but only over cottages and farm buildings. Tiles are, and have been for many centuries, one of the commonest roof-coverings. So also oak shingles for the numerous timber spires and turrets: these have been used as sheathing for roofs or walls since the Roman occupation, and in the case of the spires there is no doubt that the present shingling represents the original thirteenth- or fourteenth-century covering. The oak framework of these spires, timber towers, and

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turrets is in most cases ancient, and so also in numerous instances are the roofs of the churches. The sweet chestnut was also largely used in Sussex for the framework of church roofs, and in houses, as in the range of old buildings to the north of Eastbourne church. Considering the prominence of the iron industry, it is not a little remarkable that there is hardly any ancient wrought ironwork remaining in Sussex, and that of simple character. In like manner, although glass was manufactured from a very early period along the north-west border, there is but little of ancient date now in existence.

With regard to floors, besides the plain and encaustic tiles, we find a good deal of paving in the cathedral and many churches of slabs of the blue-grey marble quarried round Petworth, and of kindred stones of bluish colour. They are known locally as 'winkle-stones,' from the presence of numerous fossil shells.

There are some three hundred and thirteen parish churches and chapels-of-ease of ancient foundation remaining in Sussex, substantially as in mediaeval times, or rebuilt upon the old sites. About thirty parish churches have been pulled down, mostly during or before the sixteenth century. In addition to these, there were between sixty and seventy hamlet chapels, and fully as many private chapels and oratories attached to the various castles, manor houses, episcopal residences, &c. The number of the hamlet chapels is exceptionally large, probably larger in proportion to that of the parish churches than in any other county. The sites in most cases are known, and very often parts of the walls, or at least the foundations, are still visible: sometimes, as in the case of Bowley farm, in Pagham parish, a piscina, or other distinctive feature, remains. Good examples of these chapels are found in a more or less perfect state, though desecrated, at Nytimber, in Pagham parish (early thirteenth century); Bilsham, in Yapton parish (early fourteenth century); Atherington, Climping parish (late thirteenth century, with very beautiful carved capitals);⁶ Durrington, West Tarring parish (twelfth and thirteenth centuries); and Balsdean near Ovingdean (eleventh century). They are simple aisle-less buildings, without structural division between nave and chancel, and were usually detached, standing within their own yard, in which interment seems sometimes to have taken place. The private chapels of the greater houses and castles were, on the other hand, annexes to the main structure, and were usually open only on two or three sides. Of these the following may be cited: the chapel of the bishop's palace, Chichester (early thirteenth century); Halnaker (early thirteenth century); Petworth (with good early fourteenth-century arcading); Cowdray (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); Arundel Castle, St. Martin's Oratory in the keep (early twelfth century); Hastings Castle (late twelfth century); Herstmonceux (mid-fifteenth century); and Bodiam Castle (late fourteenth century).

The principal types of parish-church plans are as follows:—

1. Nave and chancel, mostly small, with or without a chancel arch, and occasionally with an aisle of later addition. To this class belong the churches of Rumboldswyke, Eastergate, Clayton, Selham, Burton, Friston, Ford—all

⁶ Atherington may be considered as both a manorial and a hamlet chapel. It served as the chapel of the bailiff of Séez, whose moated house it adjoins, and as a chapel-of-ease to the mother church of Climping. So also Nytimber, before mentioned, was both the chapel of the manor and the hamlet. See for account of Atherington, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlv, 148; and for Nytimber, xlv, 145.

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originally pre-Conquest ; Hardham, Chithurst, Elsted, Treyford, Buncton, Tangmere, Eartham, Coates, Linchmere (originally)—late eleventh century ; North Marden, Up Waltham, Coombes, Tortington, Binsted, Terwick, Easebourne, East Wittering—first half of twelfth century ; Didling, Houghton, East Marden, Greatham, Wiggonholt, Folkington, Lullington, Earnley, and Chalvington—thirteenth century and later. Many of the churches in other classes were originally of this simple type, but the plans have been altered by subsequent extensions.

2. A class of larger churches with aisles, but without towers, and having instead timber bell-turrets. They are of mixed dates. To this belong : Barnham, Bignor, East Blatchington, Denton, Ferring, Itchingfield, Litlington, Up Marden, Merston, Selmeston, Walberton and Wilmington, &c.

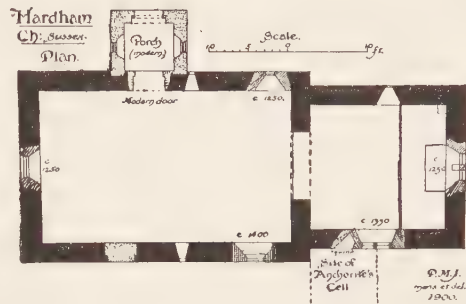
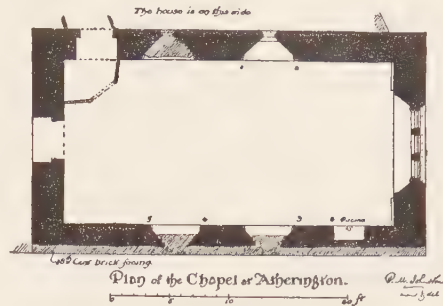
3. A numerous class, having western towers and usually one or more aisles, comprising about one hundred and ninety churches, of which the following are typical examples, arranged according to the date of the distinctive feature, the tower :—*Pre-Conquest* : Bosham, Jevington, Singleton, Sompting. *Eleventh century* : Fittleworth.

Twelfth century (early) :

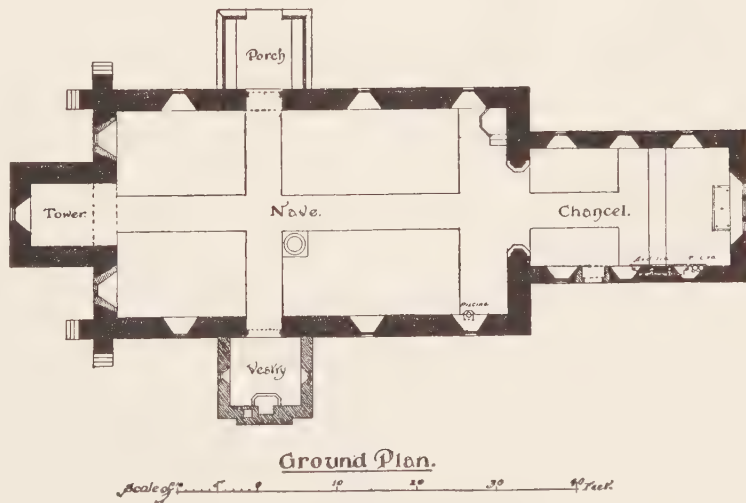
Bishopstone, Burwash, Fletching, Guestling, St. Michael's Lewes, Piddinghoe, and South-east (the last three *round* towers). *Twelfth century (late)* : Horsham, Rustington, Southwick, and West Thorney.

Thirteenth century (early) : Amberley, East Blatchington, Bury, Cuckfield, Ovingdean, Preston, Rudgwick. *Fourteenth century (early)* : Chiddingly (with stone spire),

Cocking, North Mundham (upper part), West Tarring (upper part), Trotton, Withyham. *Fourteenth century (late)* : Eastbourne, Hamsey, Hailsham, Hooe, Felpham, Pulborough, Ripe, Thakeham. *Fifteenth century* : Ashburnham, Battle, Burpham, Bolney, Brede, Westbourne, Cowfold, Crawley, Crowhurst, Dallington (with stone spire), St. Clement's and All Saints' Hastings, Penhurst, Poling, East Preston (with stone spire), Waldron, Warbleton, Warnham, Washington. *Sixteenth century (early)* : Angmering, Twineham (of brick), Steyning.



ST PETER'S CHURCH, PRESTON, SUSSEX.



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4. Churches with a flanking tower, i.e. on the north or south of the nave, sometimes at the western, but more commonly at the eastern end of the nave :—*Eleventh century* : Eastdean (East Sussex). *Twelfth century* : West Grinstead, Icklesham, Climping, Yapton, Goring (originally), Herstmonceux, Stoughton, West Hampnett. *Thirteenth century* : Pevensey, Patching, Clapham, Ashurst, Aldingbourne, West Wittering, Midhurst, Stedham, Pevensey, Littlehampton (destroyed), West Stoke, Willingdon. *Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* : Donnington, Wivelsfield, Warnham. Battle church had a mid-twelfth-century transeptal tower on the south until the fifteenth century.

5. Churches consisting of nave, central tower and chancel, without transepts, but usually with aisles, arranged according to the date of the dominant feature, the tower :—*Twelfth century* : Shipley, Newhaven, Playden. *Thirteenth century* : Rottingdean, Kingston-by-Sea, East Dean (West Sussex), Stedham (before restoration), Ditchling, Lancing. *Fourteenth century* : Etchingham.

6. Cruciform churches, with or without aisles, and nearly always having a central tower. These cannot be classified strictly in order of date, but are mostly early, the last three, however, being of the latter part of the fourteenth century. Burpham, Climping, and Stoughton, which appear above, belong to this class also. Chichester Cathedral, Sompting, and Worth (pre-Conquest), Bramber, Old and New Shoreham, Boxgrove, North Stoke, Burpham, Climping, Stoughton, Broadwater, Sidlesham, East Dean (West Sussex), Horsted Keynes, Fletching, Ditchling, South Harting, Lindfield, Rye, Poynings, Alfriston, and Arundel.

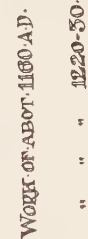
The round towers in the Ouse Valley are a remarkable local feature. They occur at St. Michael's Lewes, Piddinghoe, and Southease ; were built circular to save stone quoins, and constructed of the material nearest to hand—field flints. They are crowned with short timber spires, and all date from the first half of the twelfth century. The detached bell-tower of the cathedral is a special feature, paralleled originally in the cases of Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral, and in Sussex in the case of Winchelsea church, which possessed a stone and wood bell-tower.

There are only four ancient stone spires besides that of Chichester Cathedral in Sussex, viz. : those of Chiddingly (early fourteenth century), Northiam, and Dallington (East Sussex), and East Preston (in West Sussex), the last three of late fifteenth-century date.

Timber spires on towers are very numerous in every part of the county, there being some forty examples of mediaeval construction covered with oak shingles. Notable among these are the fine spires of Alfriston, South Bersted, Berwick, Billingshurst, Bosham, Burwash, Bury, Buxted, Chailey, Cuckfield, Ditchling, Fletching, West Hoathly, Horsham, Horsted Keynes, Lurgashall, Mayfield, Rotherfield, Sompting, and Tarring. South Harting spire is sheathed with copper. There are also numerous spirelets on timber turrets, as at Alciston, Chalvington, West Chiltington, Denton, Eastergate, Folkington, Friston, Westmeston, Wilmington, &c. 'Pepper caster' turrets of diminutive size are found at Barnham, Ford, Tortington, &c. Three towers built with massive oak framework from the floor of the church, each crowned with a spire, and all of mediaeval date, remain at Itchingfield, Rogate, and Tangmere, in West Sussex ; and Slinfold church had another before it was rebuilt. The two

•DSSFX.

•GROUND PLAN- IN SOME RESPECTS
AS BEFORE RESTORATION



PLAN OF WINDOW.
IN EAST WALL.

Niche-or-Window.
-formerly-here.

Philip M. Johnston
mens & del.

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former belong to the first half of the fourteenth century ; Tangmere is possibly a century earlier. At Yapton an interesting skeleton framework of oak has been constructed, in the early part of the fourteenth century, within the older tower, which had shown signs of failure, to take the weight of the bells. There is a somewhat similar oak staging within the stone tower at Lyminster.

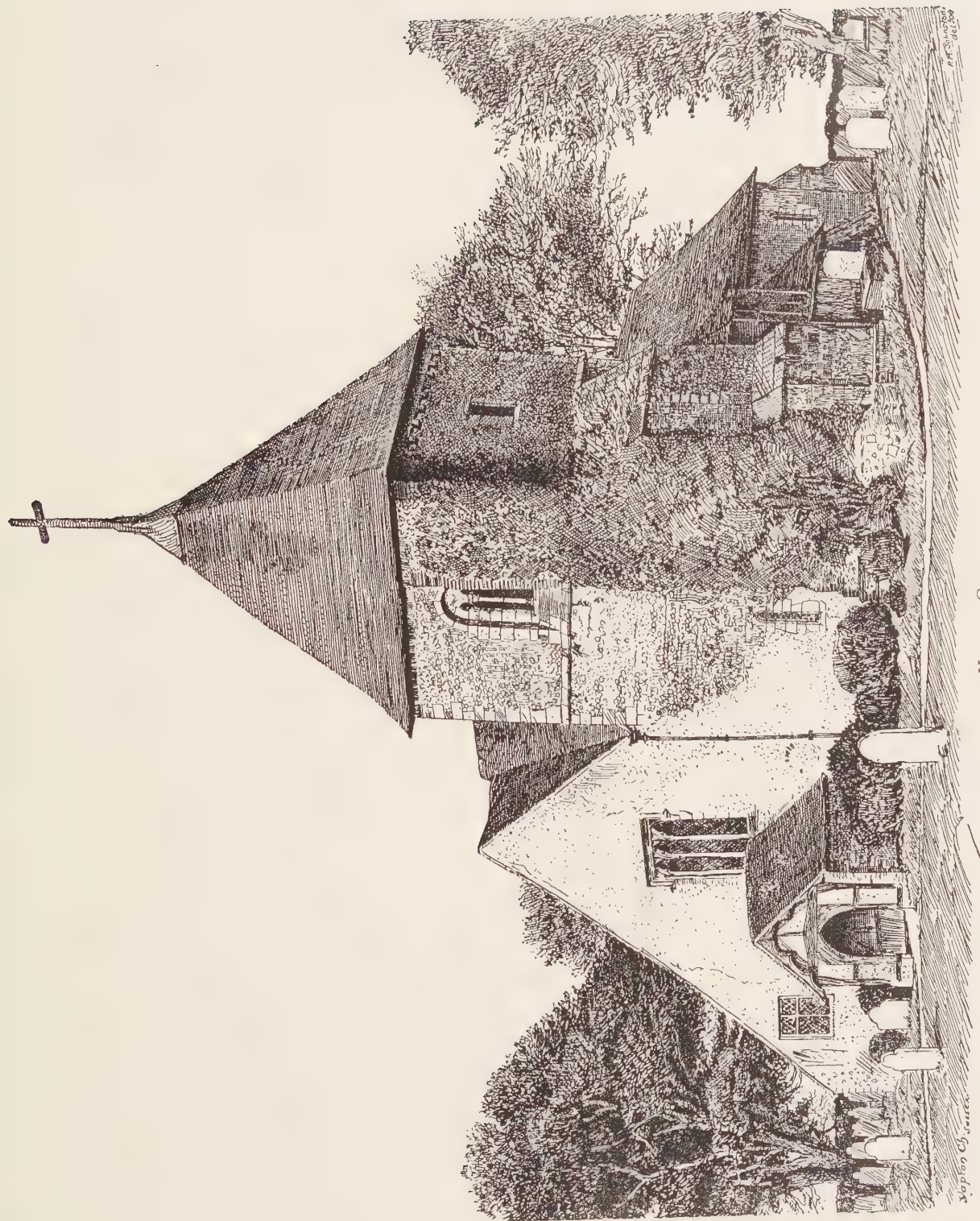
Akin to these constructions are the rare instances of a timber arcade to an aisle, found at Selmeston, in the neighbourhood of Lewes, dating from the early part of the fourteenth century ; also the nave of the Hospital church of St. Mary, Chichester.

The four-gabled pre-Conquest tower of Sompting—a design unique in England, though commonly met with in Germany—is crowned with a timber spire, the framework of which is probably coeval with the tower. It is now covered with shingles ; Rickman describes it (*circa* 1848) as ‘slated’—i.e. roofed with small Horsham slabs.

Apsidal terminations have never been popular or numerous in Sussex. Bishop Ralph, following the Norman fashion, planned the new cathedral at Chichester with a great apse to the quire, and smaller ones to the Lady chapel, quire aisles, and transepts, all of which have been replaced by square-ended terminations, although traces of the apses remain. Lewes Priory church and its infirmary chapel had apses, and one of these belonging to the latter remains fairly perfect, with its altar, to a few feet above ground. Battle Abbey church had a triple apse to its quire (traces of which remain in the crypt beneath the high altar), and others to the transepts.

The remarkable pre-Conquest church of Worth still retains its apsidal plan ; while very perfect late eleventh- and early twelfth-century examples remain at North Marden, Up Waltham, and Newhaven. Both Old and New Shoreham churches had originally apsidal east ends and transept chapels. Keymer church (rebuilt) had an early apse ; and the foundations of an apsidal chapel on the eastern face of the flanking tower at Eastdean (East Sussex) can still be seen above ground. The semi-hexagonal, or straight-sided, apses (late thirteenth century) of Bayham Abbey church and the Greyfriars’ church, Winchelsea, are interesting instances of the same idea, revived at a later period.

Minor features in planning remain to be noticed. The broad nave and the narrow aisles—the latter being chiefly intended originally for processional purposes—are typical of the earlier churches (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). In such cases the nave and aisle, or aisles, were usually all under one long roof with eaves only five or six feet above ground—a very practical construction, both as regards the weather and economy of stone and walling materials. Cocking, Sidlesham, Mundham, South Bersted, Yapton, Climping, Lyminster, Bury, and Amberley, in West Sussex, and Berwick, Burwash, Bishopstone, Icklesham, Playden, and Beckley, in East Sussex, are typical examples of this treatment. Yapton may be instanced as retaining the original windows in its low aisle wall. In other cases—as at Felpham, Rustington, Lancing, and Ifield (West Sussex), and Heathfield and Beddingham (East Sussex)—a break is made in the roof at the point where it reaches the nave walls, so as to allow of the formation of a row of clearstory lights ; but sometimes, as at Felpham, this occurs only on the north or less-exposed side.



YAPTAN CHURCH

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With regard to the fenestration of clearstories, we have some interesting varieties in treatment; thus at Horsham, West Tarring, Pevensey, Battle, and Salehurst, the clearstory windows are pierced through the wall-space above the piers of the arcades—not over the apex of the arches. These are all thirteenth-century churches, Battle being somewhat earlier as to its arcades. At Salehurst the lancets are set very curiously in the clearstory bays. In order from west to east they are single, double, single, triple, single. Quatrefoil-shaped openings occur in the small clearstory (thirteenth century) on the south side of Rustington church, and again at Lancing. Similar quatrefoils were found at Rogate some years ago, but were destroyed. At Bosham, Firle, and Playden there are plain circular openings; at Felpham trefoil-headed openings; at Beddingham ogee-quatrefoils; and at Arundel quatrefoils under hood-mouldings, carried round the nave and transepts, of late fourteenth-century date.

Two West Sussex churches, Ashurst and Findon—displaying evidence in their arcades of having been rebuilt about A.D. 1200, by the same masons⁷—are peculiar in possessing twin naves, divided by a central arcade, but spanned by one lofty roof, the tower in both cases being placed to the south of the west end.

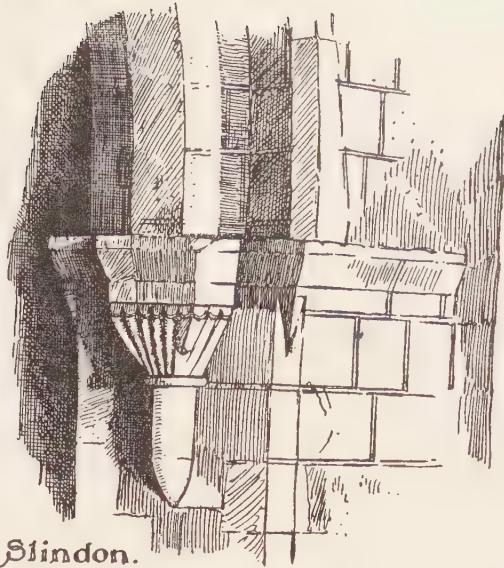
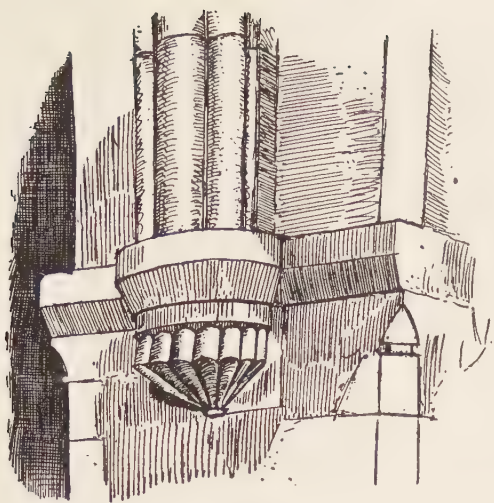
Aisles, or chapels, on a large scale, parallel to the chancel and used as Lady chapels or Saints' chapels—sometimes built at the cost of a family or a gild—remain at the following among other churches: Arundel, Beckley, Brede, Brightling, Buxted, West Chiltington, Ditchling, Eastbourne, Findon, Firle, Framfield, Funtington, Guestling, Horsham, Icklesham, Mayfield, Northiam, Pevensey, Ringmer, Rodmell, Slaugham, Winchelsea, Rye, and West Wittering. Certain peculiarities group together the small attached chapels of early date (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) at Arlington, Beckley, Guestling, Newtimber, and Wivelsfield; while there is another remarkable group, all dating from the closing years of the twelfth century, placed at the end of the south aisle of the nave, and all vaulted, at West Hampnett and Aldingbourne (West Sussex), and St. Ann's Lewes and Westmeston (East Sussex)—probably all by the same gild of masons.

The plan of Sompting church stands by itself. It has a large chapel abutting upon the western end of the north wall of the nave, and eastern chapels opening off the transepts, that from the northern transept taking the form of a vaulted aisle, while that from the south is a shallow recess with a small chamber adjoining. The floor of the south transept is sunk several feet below that of the nave owing to the site being upon the slope of a hill.⁸ Sloping floors, due to the same cause, are exceptionally numerous in Sussex, and have been found at Fletching, Hangleton, Portslade, Pulborough (chancel), and Rottingdean.

Before restoration the arch between the chancel of Ditchling church and the Lady chapel on the south was filled in by a coped wall with an opening in it; and at Arundel the Fitzalan chancel is entirely separated

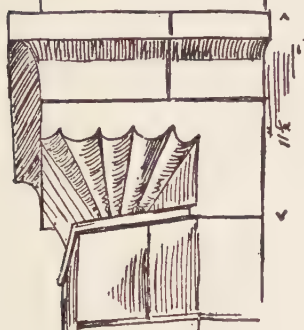
⁷ A third church—West Grinstead—has an arcade of exactly the same character, with capitals enriched with delicate early foliage and double chamfered arches, precisely similar to the work in the other two, but here the roofs of the twin naves are of the more usual M shape. Clapham Church also has arcades of the same date and character, but the roof is of the ordinary type, prolonged to cover the aisles.

⁸ No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the many peculiar features in this remarkable plan. Probably they are partly to be accounted for by the presence in this parish of an estate of the Knights Templars.



Slindon. Arch to N. Chapel.

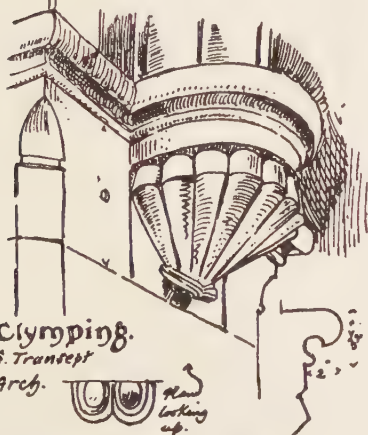
Slindon.
E. respond to S. Arcade.



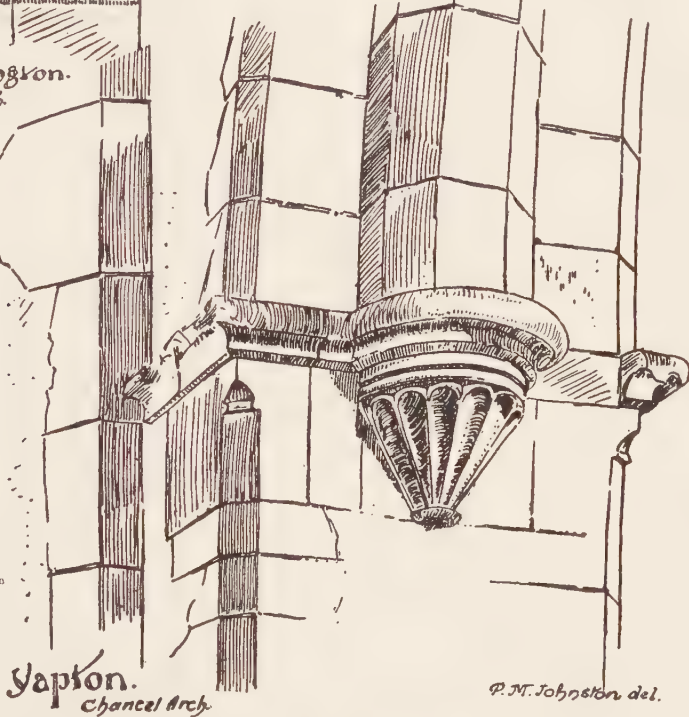
Rustington.
Tower Arch.

Thakeham

Rustington.
W. respond, S. arcade.

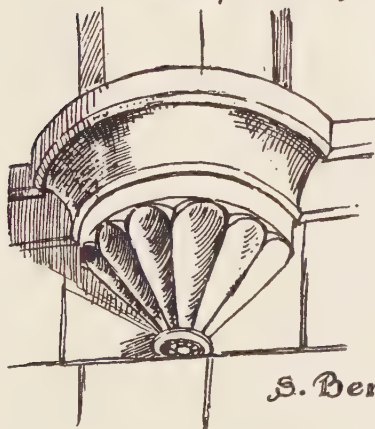


Clymping.
S. Transept
Arch.

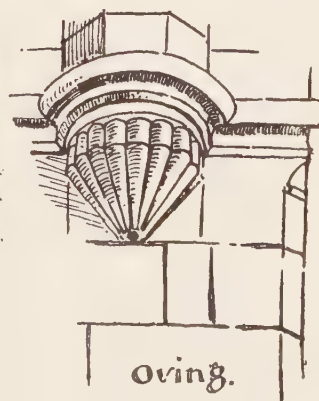
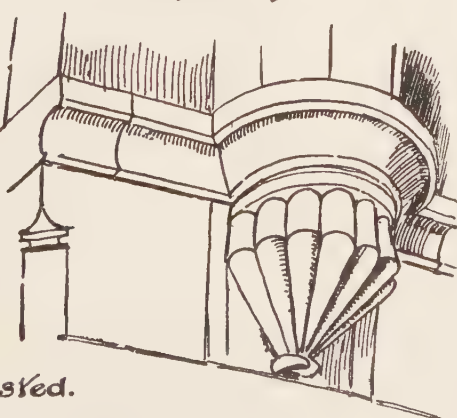


Yapton.
Chancel Arch

P. M. Johnston del.



S. Bersked.



Oving.

EXAMPLES OF CORBELS

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from the body of the church by a coeval iron grate and a brick wall. The arcade between the quire and its aisle is also partially blocked by a stone wall with battlemented cornice. A similar arrangement obtained in connexion with the chapels of the north aisle of the nave at Chichester Cathedral.

Of stone porches the following are typical examples :—*Pre-Conquest* : Bishopstone. *Twelfth century* : Lancing. *Thirteenth century (early)* : Chichester Cathedral (north and south), Patcham, Walberton. *Thirteenth century (late)* : Chichester Cathedral (west), Edburton, Horsham, Litlington, Portslade, Salehurst (west), South Stoke, and Wisborough Green. *Fourteenth century (early)* : Bosham, Brightling, Eastbourne. *Fourteenth century (late)* : Alfriston, Arundel, Battle, Lindfield, Lamberhurst, Poynings, Ticehurst, Wadhurst. *Fifteenth century* : Buxted, All Saints' Hastings, Mayfield, Playden, Singleton, Steyning, and Winchelsea (early sixteenth).

Nine or ten of the later examples have, or had, parvise chambers over the porch. Ashburnham, Elsted, and Trotton are of seventeenth-century date, as is also the brick porch at Ford. Twineham, Thakeham, and Stoughton have brick porches of the early part of the sixteenth century.

The pre-Conquest porch at Bishopstone is a rare feature. It has a coeval sundial, with the maker's name inscribed thereon, and probably had a priest's chamber over. One or two of the others are vaulted, the Arundel and South Stoke porches having transverse stone ribs, with stone slabs laid across, recalling a very early form of stone roofing, of which a kindred example is found in the Great Hall at Mayfield.

Porches of mixed timber and stone construction are numerous, and often highly picturesque. Of some twenty or more the following are the best examples :—*Thirteenth century* : Barnham, West Chiltington, Rustington (North). *Fourteenth century* : Arlington, Arundel, Etchingham, West Grinstead, Mayfield, Penhurst, Rustington, Shipley, Sompting, Yapton. *Fifteenth century* : Ifield, Lyminster, Newick, Salehurst. *Sixteenth century* : Bury, Coates, Thakeham. *Seventeenth century* : Fittleworth. Lurgashall has a unique feature in an early seventeenth-century narthex of timber, extending along the low south wall of the church and abutting against the tower at the east. This is said to have been built to provide a place of rest and shelter for the farmers who had to come long distances to church in inclement weather.

There are not many ancient sacristies or vestries ; probably in most churches the tower was used for these purposes, or a space curtained off in nave or chancel. Examples occur, besides the cathedral, at the following churches. They are of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century dates :—Arundel, Bosham, Boxgrove, Eastbourne, Etchingham, South Harting, St. Clement's Hastings, Horsham, and Winchelsea. With the exception of Eastbourne (at the east end), all are on the north of the quire. There have also been sacristies opening off the sanctuary at Appledram and Pulborough (both early thirteenth century), the first on the north and the second on the south side, at the extreme east end.

Anchorites' cells must at one time have been fairly numerous—usually as an annex to the north or south wall of the chancel. Traces of their squints and other features remain at Hardham and Kingston-by-Sea. A squint on the north side of the nave of Battle church, and another on the east side of the north transept at Boxgrove, may have had some connexion

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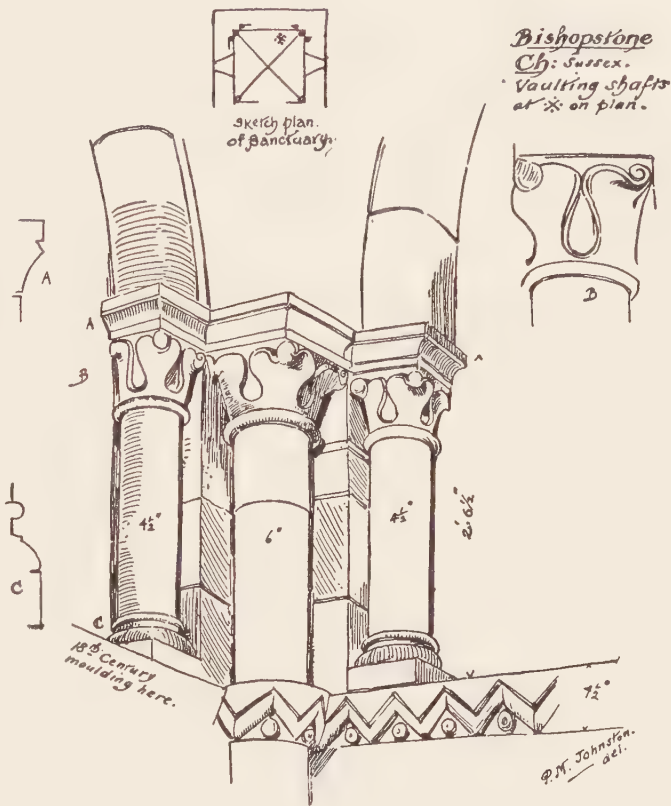
with destroyed anker-holds. We know from the will of Bishop Richard de la Wych, in 1253, wherein he leaves bequests to certain recluses, that, besides the Hardham anker, there were others at Pagham, Houghton, Stopham, and the church of the Blessed Mary of Westout (now St. Anne's) Lewes. Rustington church probably had a cell on the north side of the chancel.

Crypts beneath churches are rarely found in Sussex. The cathedral, owing to its low-lying site, possesses none. A portion of the crypt under the high altar at Battle Abbey church, with three straight-sided apses, is still to be seen. There is a small crypt (probably a charnel) partly sunk below the east end of the south aisle at Bosham, the crown of its vault forming a raised chapel in the aisle over. This is of mid-thirteenth-century date. Heathfield and Winchelsea have crypts of the fourteenth, not now accessible, and there is one of the fifteenth century below the quire of St. Clement's Hastings, also closed.

Examples of vaulting in monastic and parish churches occur as follow:—*Twelfth century (early)*: Boxgrove, over aisles of eastern bays of nave. *Twelfth century (late)*: Icklesham, tower, Bishopstone, sanctuary (by the same builders), Burpham, chancel (evidently modelled upon the Lady chapel vault of Bishop Hilary at the cathedral), Sompting (chapels opening off transepts), Aldingbourne, St. Anne's Lewes, and Westmeston—all three with a vaulted chapel at end of south aisle, *c.* 1190.⁹

Thirteenth century (early): New Shoreham, quire and aisles, *c.* 1200—with many interesting peculiarities in detail; Boxgrove (closely resembling contemporary vaulting in the cathedral), quire and aisles—note the use of dog-tooth moulding and the fine carved bosses; Broadwater, with chamfered ribs, and singular 'hook'-corbels to the shafts, resembling those at New Shoreham; Kingston-by-Sea, central tower, with peculiar treatment of ribs, *c.* 1220. Rye, chantry adjoining south transept. *Fifteenth century*: Hastings, towers of St. Clement's and All Saints' churches, elaborate examples of later lierne vaulting, with many ribs and curiously carved corbels. Besides these, there are the crypts above referred to, a vaulted apartment of early thirteenth-century date at Shulbred Priory, and remains of vaulted monastic buildings at Bayham, Robertsbridge, Lewes, Tortington, Easebourne, &c.

⁹ West Hampnett, near Aldingbourne, has a similar chapel of the same date.



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A very large proportion of the roofs of churches have been renewed in 'restorations,' but a good number of mediaeval date remain. Thus, at Hardham, Binsted (parts), Burpham, Clayton, Climping, Bury, Buxted, Lurgashall, West Grinstead, Felpham, West Chiltington, Hamsey, Ifield, Lyminster, Playden, Tortington, and Yapton are simple early roofs of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, constructed of rafters, collars, braces, and struts, with tie-beams. Somewhat more elaborate roofs of the thirteenth century remain at Old Shoreham (chancel), with the dog-tooth moulding on its tie-beams; Ditchling (chancel), with richly moulded wall-plates;¹⁰ Up Marden, with nail-head moulding on a plate; and Linchmere (restored), with a finely moulded tie-beam. The greater part of the roofs over the vaulting at New Shoreham, Boxgrove, and Chichester Cathedral are of this early period. As a rule they are of a very sharp pitch, with heavy timbers. Of the fourteenth century there are good examples at Sutton (early, with remains of coeval colour decoration, arched braces, and good mouldings), Winchelsea, Arlington, Cuckfield, Friston (chancel), the Greyfriars' church, Chichester; and later in the century, Alfriston, Rotherfield, Chichester Cathedral cloisters, the chapel of the commandery of the Knights Hospitallers, Poling (the last three with arched braces), Thakeham, Pulborough, Trotton, and Racton churches. Trotton roof has a very wide span, with graceful arched principals, purlins, and wind-braces. The Fitzalan chancel, Arundel, has an elaborate (restored) roof of oak groining with moulded ribs and very beautiful bosses. The nave roof of the same church is a restoration upon the ancient lines. The wall-plate in the chancel of Ford church has an early fourteenth-century moulding.

Examples of fifteenth-century roofs occur at Billingshurst and Eastdean (with panelled ceilings), Ford (nave), Friston (nave—a very fine, massive construction), Crawley (nave—with coeval inscription on one of the tie beams), Penhurst, Waldron (aisle), Ringmer, Westham (nave), Horsham (resembling the nearly contemporary roof at Cuckfield), Singleton, Sidlesham (nave and aisles), and Lyminster chancel (with arched principals). Framfield (1500) and Buxted have early sixteenth-century roofs. At South Harting is an interesting and rare instance of a fine Elizabethan roof on a large scale over the chancel dated 1577. The outlines are Gothic, but the detail is Renaissance in character.

There are three mediaeval lych-gates, viz. that under a house dated 1520, at the side of the churchyard, Hartfield, and others at Pulborough and Worth. The steps of a churchyard cross remain at Brighton.

Sussex has an interesting series of early buttresses. The germ of these is found in the pilaster strips of pre-Conquest date at Woolbeding, Worth, and Sompting; those on the angles of the tower at the latter being sloped off at the top. Typical shallow twelfth-century buttresses remain at Aldingbourne, Boxgrove, Buncton, Chichester Cathedral, Climping, Horsham, Herstmonceux, Icklesham, St. Anne's Lewes, Newhaven, Rustington, New Shoreham, Old Shoreham, and Southwick. Of late twelfth and early thirteenth century dates are a numerous group, comprising Aldingbourne, Appledram, Bosham, Boxgrove (including flying buttresses), Chailey, Chichester Cathedral (flying and other buttresses), Chidham, Clapham, De Calceto

¹⁰ Before restoration this roof had a tie-beam with dog-tooth ornament.

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Priory, Ferring, Lyminster, East Marden, Patching, Rottingdean, Rustington, Rye, West Tarring, New Shoreham (flying buttresses), Westfield, and West Hampnett. The late thirteenth-century buttresses at the Franciscan church, Chichester, the fourteenth-century examples at Harting, Isfield, Poynings, Ripe, and Winchelsea; and the fifteenth-century flying buttress at Rye are specially noteworthy later examples.

Parapet walls and corbel-tables of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries occur at Chichester Cathedral, Boxgrove, New Shoreham, &c., and of the early fourteenth century at Winchelsea (traceried). Several church towers retain their original parapets of early date, such as Climping and Yapton (traces)—twelfth century—Amberley and Cuckfield, thirteenth century. The latter has a fine corbel-table, a feature found also at Preston—both resembling the work at Chichester, a fact perhaps to be accounted for by these churches being in the gift of the bishop.

Quite a number of churches still retain ancient stone coping on their gable walls, as e.g. Chichester Cathedral, Boxgrove, New Shoreham, Horsham, Battle, Winchelsea, Rye, Willingdon, Pevensey, Icklesham, Ardingly, Climping, and Linchmere. In connexion with the coping, angle turrets or pinnacles of twelfth- and thirteenth-century date still remain at Rye, Chichester Cathedral, Battle, and Horsham.

Some of these copings have knee-stones of ancient date, such as at Linchmere, Icklesham, Arlington, Pevensey, and Willingdon. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century gable crosses remain at Climping and Winchelsea, and one of pre-Conquest date was lately discovered at Walberton. A gable cross of wood is found at Lyminster, old at least in idea.

Coming to the smaller features; priests' doors are comparatively rare; the following are the principal examples in order of date: Coombes (twelfth century), Stoughton (*c.* 1190), Rustington, Climping, Etchingam, Oving, West Wittering (north side), Boxgrove, Fittleworth (north side), Warbleton, Peasmarsh (early thirteenth), Ardingly, Beddingham, Trotton (late thirteenth), Wadhurst (fourteenth), Ringmer (fifteenth). The proportion of pre-Conquest nave doors is unusually large. They occur at Bolney, Friston, Lyminster, Stopham, and Woolbeding, on the south side; and at West Dean (West Sussex), Lurgashall, Selham, Old Shoreham, Slaugham, Wivelsfield, and Worth, on the north side.

The typical 'Norman' doorway of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so commonly a richly ornamented feature in other counties, is comparatively rare and usually plain in Sussex, and it is remarkable that there is not a single instance of an enriched tympanum, and that the beak-head ornament only occurs once on a door, at New Shoreham. The following are the best examples in order of date: Ovingdean, Bramber, Patcham, East Lavant, West Grinstead, Steyning, Lyminster (west), Chichester Cathedral (south tower), East Wittering, Chichester (door in close), Terwick, Tortington, Bishopstone (porch), Sompting (north and south), Horsham (north aisle), Rye (north transept), Old Shoreham (north transept), West Chilington (north door), New Shoreham, Shipley (west doors), Climping (west door of south tower). Verging on the end of the twelfth century is a group of doors of very simple character and a close family likeness, all in west walls, and all with pointed heads, at Cuckfield, Halnaker Chapel, Horsham, and Portslade; others with

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round heads of the same date are Aldingbourne and the Bishop's Palace Chapel, Chichester. The south door of East Dean Church, near Chichester, with pointed head, and French-looking capitals, is possibly by the same hand as the last.

Good early thirteenth-century doorways are found at Chichester Cathedral, West Thorney, North Mundham, Oving, Lodsworth, Willingdon (finely moulded), Preston, and Battle; late thirteenth century, at Trotton and Amberley (south, very richly carved and moulded); fourteenth century, at Tangmere and Aldingbourne (west); late fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, at Alfriston, Poynings, Arundel, Mayfield, Hastings (both churches), Wivelsfield, Singleton, Iden, and Coates.

Low side windows are exceptionally numerous; 92 or more examples

have been noted, ranging in date between *c.* 1225 and *c.* 1525. The most interesting occur at Climping, Rustington, Appledram, West Thorney, West Wittering, West Hampnett, Edburton, Up Waltham, Botolphs, Trotton, Ardingly, Arlington, Wilmington, Isfield, Alfriston, Coombes, St. Clement's Hastings, and Twineham, the last-named a brick opening.¹¹ Some have squints adjoining, which communicate with a chapel in the neighbouring aisle, as at Appledram and Isfield; others have sill niches, as at Coombes and Hastings, and nearly all are rebated to hold a shutter. The iron grate remains at Trotton. Many churches have two or even three such openings, e.g. Climping and Clapham. Dial markings and pilgrims' signs occur on or



COOMBES CHURCH, LOW SIDE WINDOW IN SOUTH WALL

near some of them, as at West Thorney, West Hampnett, Rustington, Ford, Yapton, Edburton, and Litlington. Eastbourne Church shows many incised outlines of fish on its pillars, and New Shoreham has a variety of such *graffiti*.

A very perfect pre-Conquest sundial is preserved over the south porch at Bishopstone, inscribed with the maker's name, ✠ EADRIC, within a Greek fret border. A sundial at Bexhill is dated 1599.

Consecration crosses are found incised on the tower and priest's door (with IHC) at Climping, a nave quoin at East Blatchington, the pre-Conquest chancel arch, Lyminster, and on many door-jambs, such as at St. Olave's Chichester, East Wittering, Aldingbourne, Chichester Cathedral (south door), East Preston, Ford, and Amberley. One on a pillar of the north arcade at

¹¹ The greater part of these openings have been described and illustrated in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xli and xlii, but since the publication of these papers the list has been considerably added to.

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New Shoreham is a deeply cut 'Templar's' Cross. They take the form of crosses in black flints at Boxgrove, Broadwater, Seaford, and Westham, and of tiles at East Preston; they were also painted upon the walls inside at Ford (? pre-Conquest), Amberley (twelfth century), Climping, Slindon, Poling, Warminghurst, Trotton, Pevensey, &c.

Squints occur in the churches of Appledram, Arundel, Barlavington, West Chiltington, Chithurst, Framfield, Heathfield, Isfield, Jevington, Kirdford, Lyminster, Mayfield, Mountfield, Peasmarsh, Penhurst, Rustington, Selham, &c. At Rodmell and St. Thomas-at-Cliffe Lewes, they have a sort of mid-wall shaft in the centre, of twelfth-century date.

Altar recesses are found at Worth (south transept), Albourne (high altar), Clayton, Coombes, Friston (high altar), Ford, Arlington, Bolney, and Mid Lavant (destroyed), Patcham, Sompting, Tangmere, Thakeham, Westmeston, Wisborough Green, and Wivelsfield (side chapel), of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Most of these take the form of round-arched recesses on the western face of the chancel arch wall. At Rustington two such recesses with pointed arches (*c.* 1210) appear on the eastern face; possibly they were originally pierced. (See illustration p. 374.)

The original stone altar in the Fitzalan chancel at Arundel with its ponderous slab of Purbeck marble has never been destroyed. Altar slabs, marked with the five crosses, are preserved in Chichester Cathedral Lady chapel, Aldingbourne, Broadwater, Chithurst, Mundham, Oving, Salehurst, Selmeston, South Stoke, Tangmere, Treyford, Waldron, Westham, and a few other churches. A small chantry-altar slab is built into a buttress quoin at Yapton. There are a number of Elizabethan and later altar-tables, as e.g. at Rye (in mahogany).

Aumbries remain in Chichester Cathedral and nearly all churches (e.g. Little Horsted, West Grinstead, Rogate, Burpham, and Climping); and not a few stone recesses, sometimes rebated for doors, usually in the east wall. Tabernacles, or what may be presumed to be such, occur at Sompting (? pre-Conquest); Binsted (twelfth century, oak-lined, with triangular head, in south wall), Stoughton (east wall), Sullington (triangular head). Wivelsfield, Rogate, Sompting, Climping, and Burpham have twin recesses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, rectangular and rebated for doors, all in the east wall, behind the altar. At Eastbourne there is a canopied recess over the high altar of late fourteenth-century date.

Of piscinae, which are extremely numerous, the following are valuable examples in order of date: ? *Pre-Conquest*, Rumboldswyke—of the pillar type, resembling one of like date in Brading church, Isle of Wight. Pillar piscinae, of *eleventh and twelfth century* dates, Bosham (north aisle), Woolbeding, Icklesham, Up Waltham, Pevensey and Hastings castles, East Hoathly (very richly ornamented), and Walberton (traces of). Niche-piscinae of the *twelfth century* remain at Sompting (2), Binsted, Aldingbourne, Ford, Rogate, Lyminster (with scallop-shell basin), Bosham, Yapton, Burpham, Litlington, and Guestling; *thirteenth century*, Albourne (east wall), Bayham Abbey, Bosham (3, one double), Boxgrove (4), Amberley, Ferring, Cocking, Tarring Neville, Battle, Stoughton (very rich work), Climping, Pulborough, Thakeham, Barnham, and Fittleworth (round trefoil heads, very much alike), Tangmere, East Blatchington, Rustington, Portslade

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(very good), Boxgrove, Willington, North Stoke, West Stoke, Mountfield, Cocking, Ditchling (2), Linchmere (east wall), Chichester Cathedral, West Tarring, Preston, Sompting, St. Mary's Hospital Chichester, Buxted, Otham (the last three elaborately carved), Trotton, Wisborough Green, Jevington, Icklesham, and the Greyfriars' Church, Chichester. Triangular piscinae are found at West Thorney, West Wittering, Bosham, Sidlesham, and Lurgashall. Of the *fourteenth century*, fine examples, nearly all moulded and carved, remain at Winchelsea (3), Arlington, Buncton, Pyecombe (double), Rudgwick, Icklesham (2), Kirdford, Salehurst, Denton, Sutton, Isfield, Ripe, Chichester Cathedral, Cocking, and St. Olave's Chichester. Piscinae of *late fourteenth and fifteenth century* work occur in Bodiam Castle chapel, Eastbourne, Etchingham (2), Poynings, Alfriston, Westbourne (very good), Arundel, Poling (Commandery Chapel), Worth, Hastings, St. Clement's (2), and All Saints'. Rood-loft piscinae, high up in the wall, occur at South Harting, Petworth, and New Shoreham—great rarities.

Sedilia are not so common, and must often, as at Chichester Cathedral, have been of wood, and so have disappeared altogether. Early examples are found at Rogate (late twelfth), Guestling, Litlington, Shipley, Portslade, Tangmere, Aldingbourne, Rotherfield, East Blatchington, Findon, North Stoke, Ditchling, West Hoathly, Preston, Sedlescombe, Otham, Buxted, St. Mary's Hospital (very fine) and the Greyfriars' church, Chichester, the Cathedral Lady chapel, Winchelsea (2, very richly carved), Beckley, Sutton, Denton, Ripe, Etchingham, Poynings, Alfriston, Pulborough, and Eastbourne—ranging in date from the early thirteenth to late fourteenth century.

Holy-water stoups are found at Ovingdean (eleventh century), Westfield, Beckley, Ferring, Firle, Fletching, Eastdean and Westdean (East Sussex), Isfield, Cuckfield (2), Iden, Wisborough Green, Rogate, Worth, Maresfield (2), Ashington, Westham, Wivelsfield, Fletching, Ripe, Bury, Crawley, Lancing, West Hoathly, Singleton, Telscombe, and the two Hastings churches—generally of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Stone recesses for the Easter sepulchre, or tombs used for placing the sepulchre in or upon, are found at Cocking (thirteenth century), Lancing, Berwick, Denton, Westdean (East Sussex), and Bepton (fourteenth century, early), Eastbourne, Alfriston (fourteenth century, late).

In addition to these are certain small recesses, like aumbries, in several churches (e.g. Sompting), and a large number of late tombs which served this purpose, and which are noticed *post*. One of these latter—the canopied altar tomb of Lord Dacre (d. 1534)—was directed by his will to be used for the Easter sepulchre.

Niches and brackets for images are few and poor in character, as compared with other counties. Chichester Cathedral (south porch), Ditchling, Buncton, Eastbourne, East Blatchington and Bishopstone (east wall of porch), are noteworthy exceptions.

Bishop Sherborn's great altar-screen of oak, lately restored to the cathedral, is the only thing of its kind in the county, but there are in two of the nave chapels in Chichester Cathedral what may be termed early stone reredoses, i.e. a group of trefoil-headed niches, with quatrefoils above, richly moulded and with foliated capitals, all inclosed within a horizontal

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and vertical string-course—the imagery in one of these reredoses has been restored, so that the original effect can be readily appreciated.

As to pavements, we find plain slabs of ‘winkle’ stone or Sussex marble, occasionally in square pieces, used for the general floor covering, as at Chichester Cathedral, Arundel, Trotton, Boxgrove, New Shoreham, and Winchelsea. A great many churches retained until their ‘restoration’ a good deal of plain red or buff tiling (e.g. Climping), but of this very little is now to be seen. Of encaustic tiles we have excellent examples in a large number of churches and monastic houses, particularly in the following :—Alfriston, Appledram (very good thirteenth century), Battle Abbey (all dates), Bayham Abbey (thirteenth and fourteenth), Binsted (thirteenth century, including a remarkable glazed and incised tile), Boxgrove (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), Chichester Cathedral (several dates), St. Mary’s Hospital (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), St. Olave’s Chichester (thirteenth century), Ditchling (thirteenth century), Dureford Abbey (thirteenth century), Etchingham (late fourteenth), Horsted Keynes (various dates), Lewes Priory (twelfth to fifteenth centuries), Michelham Priory (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), Poynings (late fourteenth), Robertsbridge Abbey (thirteenth), Rustington (thirteenth century, by the same artist as those at Dureford), Rye (various dates), and Winchelsea (fourteenth century). There is no doubt that excavation would reveal many more tile pavements on the sites of monastic and other churches.

Considering how much glass was made at Chiddingfold, on the Sussex border, during the Middle Ages, it is surprising how little ancient glazing has survived. The following is almost an exhaustive list :—Alfriston (figure of St. Alphege, &c., late fourteenth century), Ardingly (early fourteenth century), Arundel (late fourteenth century), Battle (fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, very fine), Boxgrove, Brede, Brightling (good early fourteenth century, figures and canopies), Bury, Chalvington (figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and inscription recording the donor—east and north windows, *c.* 1300); Coombes (flowered quarries, fifteenth century); Denton, Eastbourne (*cinquecento*); Eastergate (fine heraldic and quarry glass, *c.* 1360); Etchingham (fourteenth century, late); Firle, Fletching, West Grinstead, Harting, Hooe (figures of Edward III and queen), Isfield, Linch (German or Flemish—sixteenth century—an importation); Newark (*Agnus Dei*, thirteenth century); Penhurst (fifteenth century), Poling, Poynings (The Annunciation, good late fourteenth century), Ringmer (Crucifixion, &c., fifteenth century); Rotherfield, Rustington (*cinquecento* roundels); Shermanbury, Singleton, Stopham (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, heraldic, figures and portraits); Sutton (very good early fourteenth century); Ticehurst (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); Warbleton, Wartling, Westham (very good fifteenth century, figures, &c.); Withyham, Wiston (heraldic); Woolbeding (sixteenth century, from Mottisfont Priory, Hampshire); Worth (heraldic); Yapton (thirteenth century, *grisaille* fragments).

The wall-paintings of Sussex, recorded or still existing, are numerous and of great importance. The following is a summary condensed from the lists that have been printed in vols. xliii, xliv, &c., of the Sussex Archaeological Society’s *Collections* :—

Aldingbourne (fragments, eleventh to sixteenth centuries); Alfriston (a ‘Doom,’ whitened over, &c.); Amberley (consecration crosses, figure

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subjects and texts, eleventh to sixteenth centuries); Angmering (a 'Doom,' destroyed); Arlington (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, including St. George and St. Christopher, floral ornaments and floriated crosses); Arundel (consecration crosses, the Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Acts of Mercy, *c.* 1380, and a fifteenth-century painting of the B.V. Mary); Battle (Scenes from the Passion, &c., fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, destroyed); Beddingham (figure and foliage on arch soffit, *c.* 1200); South Bersted (fifteenth-century paintings on nave pillars, &c.); Binsted (St. Margaret of Scotland, a Trinity tree, &c., remaining, and a series of Scriptural subjects, destroyed, *c.* 1140); Bishopstone (painting on a niche in porch, &c.); Bosham (Virgin and Child, destroyed); Boxgrove (late twelfth-century scroll and pattern work, and floral and heraldic designs on the vaulting, by the Bernardis, *c.* 1530); Broadwater, Buncton, Burpham, Burton (figure of female saint on a window splay), Bury, Chichester Cathedral (late twelfth-century figures and decoration on arch to library and walls, capitals, &c., of Lady chapel; paintings, similar to those at Boxgrove, upon the vaulting of the latter, &c.); Chichester, St. Olave's (a thirteenth-century series of figures and architectural ornamentation on east wall—destroyed); Bishop's Palace chapel (very fine early thirteenth-century painting of the B.V. Mary and Child and consecration crosses); Chiddingly; West Chiltington (a very important series of late twelfth-, early thirteenth-century and later paintings—saints, the Incarnation, Nativity, and the Passion, &c., with very beautiful architectural ornamentation); Clapham; Clayton (a valuable early twelfth-century series of a 'Doom,' &c.); Climping (consecration cross, twelfth century, and the animals going into the ark, and others of the thirteenth century); Cocking (the angel appearing to the shepherds—on a window splay—early thirteenth century); Cuckfield (heraldic and other colouring on nave roof); Ditchling; Eastbourne; Eastergate (eleventh-century architectural and figure-work on north wall of chancel); Elsted (eleventh- and early fourteenth-century fragments); Farnhurst (thirteenth-century figure-subjects); Findon (The Last Supper, early thirteenth century); Ford (eleventh to seventeenth centuries, including a pre-Conquest consecration cross, the 'Agony' and a 'Doom'); Friston, West Grinstead (St. Christopher, fifteenth century); Hardham (a most valuable series of New Testament scenes, the history of St. George and other legendary subjects covering the walls of the entire church—all dating from the commencement of the twelfth century¹²); South Harting (fourteenth-century paintings of St. Helena, St. Anne, and St. Lawrence, now covered up); Hastings All Saints (a fifteenth-century 'Doom'; also other subjects now destroyed); Henfield, West Hoathly, Hooe, Horsham (many paintings of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, almost all destroyed at the restoration); Icklesham (Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury); Iford; Keymer (early twelfth century and later figures and decoration—destroyed); Kirdford (figure subject, destroyed); Mid Lavant, fifteenth-century figure subjects, destroyed); Lewes Priory (twelfth-century fragments); St. John's, Southover (painting of St. John the Baptist, destroyed); Lindfield (St. Michael and B.V. Mary, destroyed); Lurgashall (fourteenth-century heraldic shields); Lyminster, Maresfield (Martyrdom of St.

¹² For a full account see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliv, 73. These paintings are evidently by the same Lewes Priory artists as those at Clayton, Westmeston, Plumpton, &c.

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Bartholomew, &c., destroyed) ; Mayfield, Midhurst (B.V. Mary and Child, thirteenth century) ; Newick, Nuthurst (a 'Doom,' St. Christopher and other saints, &c., destroyed) ; Patcham (a fine 'Doom,' and other paintings of twelfth- and thirteenth-century dates) ; Pevensey, Plumpton (an early twelfth-century 'Doom' and scriptural subjects, in tiers—destroyed) ; Poling, Portslade (a 'Doom,' Adoration of the Magi, &c., destroyed) ; Poynings ; Preston (Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Katherine and St. Margaret, a bishop, St. Michael weighing souls, Incredulity of St. Thomas, 'Noli Me tangere,' the Last Supper, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, &c., mostly destroyed by fire in 1906—illustrated in *Archaeologia*, xxiii, 109, and *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 242) ; Rogate (St. Christopher and masonry patterns, destroyed) ; Rotherfield (a 'Doom,' Incredulity of St. Thomas, the Annunciation, St. Christopher, patterns on columns, &c.¹³) ; Rustington, Shipley, Shulbred Priory (the Nativity, &c., sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) ; Sidlesham, Singleton, Slaugham, Slindon (consecration crosses, beautiful masonry patterns, late twelfth century, mostly destroyed) ; Stedham (St. George, the Three Marys, a 'Doom,' the Man of Sorrows, St. Christopher, and our Lady as the Queen of Saints, thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, all destroyed¹⁴) ; Steyning (figure subjects of late twelfth-century date on columns of north arcade, one the Anointing of Christ's feet) ; Sutton (decoration of early fourteenth-century roof and chancel) ; West Tarring, Thakeham, Treyford (scroll-work, diaper patterns, six-winged seraphim, &c., early thirteenth century) ; Trotton (the Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Acts of Mercy, beneath figures of Moses and our Lord as the Divine Judge, &c. *c.* 1390 ; also the legends of St. Hubert and St. George) ; Udimore (figures and scroll-work, &c., thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) ; Warminghurst (a consecration cross, *c.* 1280) ; Westbourne, Westfield (St. George, destroyed) ; Westmeston (Scenes from the Passion, the Adoration of the Lamb, the history of St. George, the Signs of the Zodiac, &c., early twelfth century, all destroyed¹⁵) ; Wisborough Green (the Seven Deadly Sins, fourteenth or fifteenth century, destroyed, St. James of Compostella and a crucifixion¹⁶) ; Wiston, Withyham (a 'Doom,' &c., destroyed) ; West Wittering, Wivelsfield (thirteenth-century lozenge pattern) ; Worth (patterns on windows, fourteenth century) ; Yapton, red colouring on columns, &c.

The fonts of the county are for the most part plain and of ordinary character, all periods being represented. There is a large group of early fonts, of tub, pudding-basin, or cup shape, nearly all in a hard freshwater Chalk limestone, of Eocene age, a stone no longer to be dug or quarried in Sussex, presumed to have been brought originally by sea from the Isle of Wight or Purbeck, and almost always found in West Sussex churches of pre-Conquest date and foundation. Those at Yapton and Walberton have shallow incised ornamentations, the Yapton font having arrow-heads and long sword-shaped crosses. The following is a list, in order of date : Bepton, Berwick, Bignor, Burton, Chidham, Cocking, Didling, Farnhurst, Ford, Graffham, Hardham, Littlehampton, Lodsworth, Up Marden, North Mundham, Poling, Selham, Tangmere, Trotton, Up Waltham, Walberton, Waldron, West Wittering, Woolbeding, Yapton.

¹³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xl, 218.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* xvi, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xxii, 134.

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Twelfth Century : Aldingbourne,* Amberley,* Appledram,* Ashurst, Barnham,* Battle,* Binsted, Bishopstone, Bosham,* Brighton, Coates,* Denton, Easebourne,* Eastdean (East Sussex), Edburton, Ewhurst,* Felpham,* West Grinstead,* Ifield, Lancing,* Lewes, St. Anne and Southover, Lyminster, Midhurst, Pagham, Piddinghoe, Pyecombe, Pulborough,* Rodmell, New Shoreham,* Sidlesham,* Slaugham,* Sompting, Stoughton,* Tillington, West Thorney, Tortington, Warnham,* Wiggonholt. Those marked with an asterisk are of a type very common in the south-eastern counties, having shallow square bodies, with circular basins, standing upon a square base and supported by a large central and small angle shafts. The bodies are of Sussex or Purbeck marble, usually ornamented with shallow sunk arcading, but sometimes this is supplemented by floral and other devices, as at Barnham, New Shoreham, Sidlesham, Slaugham (carving of a fish on west side), and Stoughton. The font at Brighton is circular and ornamented with bas-reliefs of the Baptism of our Lord, the Last Supper, and the legend of St. Nicholas ; those at Denton, Eastdean, and St. Anne's Lewes are by the same artist, tub-shaped, and ornamented with basket-work and other patterns. The Binsted and Tortington fonts are richly carved with arcading, and those at Edburton and Pyecombe—almost identical in design—are among the finest examples of leaden fonts.

Thirteenth Century : Buxted, Cuckfield, East Dean (West Sussex), Ditchling, Etchingham, Ferring, Henfield, Iford, Itchenor, Linchmere, Oving, Maresfield, Rottingdean, Rustington, Salehurst, Slindon, Sutton, Warbleton, Worth. Those at Cuckfield, Iford, and Rottingdean are evidently by the same hand, as are also the Buxted and Worth fonts. Slindon is a very graceful design. Salehurst font has a salamander carved on its base.

Fourteenth Century : Alfriston, Arlington, Arundel (late), Barcombe, Beddingham, Westdean (East Sussex), Eastbourne, Herstmonceux, Jevington, Southease, Willingdon, and Wilmington are all square fonts, of almost identical design, having engaged angle-shafts and tracery panels, and all worked in the green Eastbourne rock, evidently by the same mason or school of masons. Other fonts of this period occur at Climping (late), Etchingham, Lindfield, Newick, and Poynings.

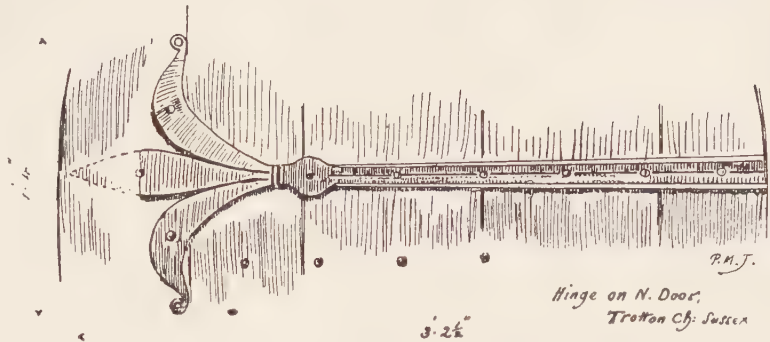
Fifteenth Century : Burpham, Burwash (with shields of arms), Bury, Cowfold, Crawley, Dallington (heraldry), West Dean (West Sussex), Fittleworth, Hailsham, Hartfield, St. Clement's Hastings (with emblems of the Passion), All Saints' Horsham, Horsted Keynes, Mountfield (an early font re-worked), Patching, Portslade, Rogate, Rotherfield, Shermanbury, Singleton, Sullington, Thakeham, and Westham. The fonts at Bury, Burpham, and Patching (with Climping, somewhat earlier) are of a common octagonal type, having quatrefoil panelling and carved paterae. Those at Cowfold, Shermanbury, and Thakeham (the former recorded to have been made in 1481-2) are by the same hand, and all have roundels of star and other geometrical patterns on bowl and base, besides tracery. Sixteenth-century fonts, very plain, are found at Litlington and Ticehurst ; and interesting examples of the seventeenth century at Kirdford (1620), West Hampnett, Stedham, Ashburnham (1660) ; Lurgashall, and North Chapel, of the same design, 1661 ; and Mayfield 1666.

Fonts built into walls occur at Berwick, Telscombe, and Tarring Neville—all of late date and in the same locality.

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Font covers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—some of which have been destroyed—have been recorded at Battle, West Grinstead, Nut-hurst, Patching, Sedlescombe, Sompting, and Ticehurst—the last two singularly interesting and elaborate structures with doors. That at Ticehurst has much late tracery of Flemish character. Good seventeenth-century covers remain at Penhurst and Trotton.

Of ancient wooden doors there are singularly few examples, nor are there many mediaeval door fittings remaining. Arundel, Barlavington, Chichester Cathedral, Coates, Pulborough, Rye, Steyning, Ter-wick, Ticehurst, Trot-ton, and Westbourne, are almost all the old examples left. Ter-wick west door has the original hinges of the twelfth century, and two of the doors at



Trotton have very graceful hinges (*c.* 1290), while the door at Coates is a perfect example of early sixteenth-century work. The north door and some internal doors at Chichester Cathedral retain their original hinges, roses, and scutcheons. The south door at Botolphs church is dated 1612, and that at Wadhurst 1682.

The screen-work is scanty and mostly of plain character, but there are more examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than in any other county. The germ of the rood-screen of a later period is found in the rood-beam, such as the remarkable beam with the double billet moulding upon it (date *c.* 1120) across the east wall of the nave at Old Shoreham. At Binsted the ends of another early rood-beam, richly moulded (date *c.* 1260) have been left sawn off in the wall, at a height of about 7 ft. from the floor; while at Bury we have a rood-beam of about 1280, which now crowns a screen of the fifteenth century. A complete chancel screen of about the date 1270 is found at Old Shoreham, with very beautiful trefoil-arched openings and trefoil piercings above, having slender octagonal shafts and a battlemented cornice. This plainly never had a gallery or loft. Of about the same date is the low screen at the east end of the south aisle of Rodmell church (it is not clear that this is its original position), having a battlemented cresting and delicately moulded quatrefoil and trefoil tracery of very early design. A truly magnificent piece of thirteenth-century screen-work (*c.* 1290), in a state of almost untouched perfection, is found in the rood-screen dividing the nave of St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, from the chancel. This consists of eight bays of window-like tracery on moulded shafts, each bay under a crocketed pediment between pinnacles. The two centre bays form the 'holy doors,' and their posts are carried up to give support to a richly-moulded beam, with carved scroll-work of bold design on its soffit, 'curling' off the beam in a very original manner. For beauty and antiquity combined this screen is perhaps unrivalled, especially taken in conjunction with the perfect returned quire stalls of the same early date.

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At Bignor is a rood-screen with early reticulated tracery and turned shafts, dating from about 1320. Next in order of date are the beautiful parclose screens at Eastbourne, six in number, the earliest dating from about 1310 and the latest about 1340. The tracery and moulded shafts are of several patterns, and with the battlemented beams are in very perfect preservation. Midhurst has a small tower screen of about 1320, with elegant trefoil tracery. The Palace Chapel at Chichester retains its ancient narthex screen of about 1340, with interesting tracery on baluster shafts, repaired in a characteristic fashion in the early part of the seventeenth century. Playden and West Thorney, at the opposite extremities of the county, have screens of somewhat similar character and about the same date—the tracery at the former being of a fantastic ‘flamboyant’ character. The chancel screen at Etchingham also dates from about 1340, while at Sackville College, East Grinstead, and at Ovingdean, Patcham, and Poynings, are screens dating between 1350 and 1370. Newtimber retains a part of its rood-beam, richly coloured (*c.* 1380), while the following belong to the fifteenth century:—Ardingly (rich tracery—removed to the tower), Brighton (very elaborate carved rood-loft, and tracery on two planes), Broadwater, Burton (a perfect example, retaining the rood-loft), Cowfold, Fletching, Mayfield, Henfield, Itchingfield (parts only old), Kingston-by-Sea, Playden (a parclose screen), West Tarring (a low boarded screen with doors, but having iron spikes instead of an upper part of tracery), Thakeham, Racton, Rotherfield, Rye, Westham, Warnham, and Wiggonholt. Screens of this period, destroyed within the nineteenth century, existed at Climping, Framfield, West Grinstead, Horsham, Litlington, Rustington, and Somington. A fine screen, dated 1522, is preserved in Steyning Vicarage. There is a parclose screen of early seventeenth-century date in Warnham church.

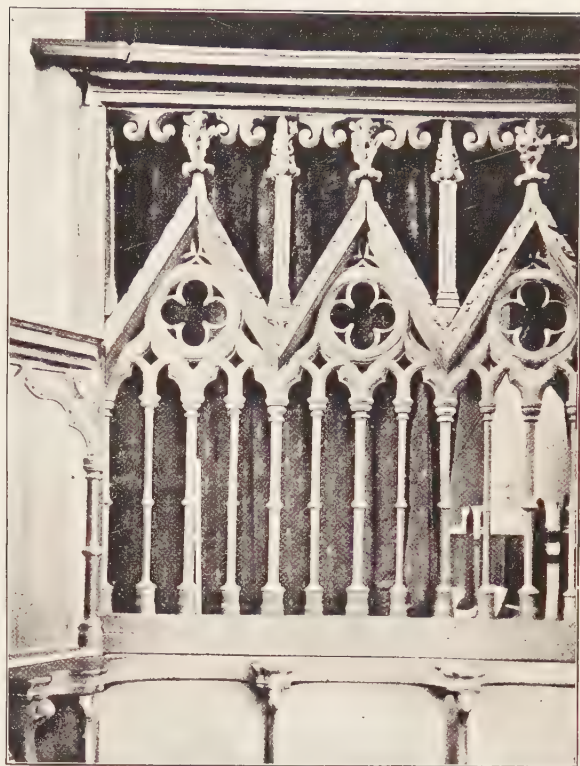
There are remains of the rood-loft at Arundel, to the west of a lofty screen of wrought ironwork (late fourteenth century) which fills the entire eastern arch of the tower. Modern copies have replaced the screens of iron scroll-work (twelfth century) once found in Chichester Cathedral.

A solid chancel screen of timber and plaster with a door in the middle and a loft on the western face formerly existed at Treyford church (now in ruins)—Barnham had a timber-arched framework, of thirteenth- or fourteenth-century date, in the same position. In some cases, as at Henfield, Ifield, Rusper, Warminghurst, and Racton, the head of the chancel arch, or roof space, was filled in with close boarding or tracery as a back-ground for the rood, or for a painted ‘doom.’ Chapel screens of iron (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) occur at Ashburnham and Sidlesham. Rood-loft doors and stairs exist in some twenty-five churches, as at Appledram, Ardingly, Battle, Chichester (Franciscan church), Denton, Eastbourne, Ifield, Poling, Rudgwick, Rustington, Salehurst, Singleton, Westbourne, Westham, Willingdon, Winchelsea (Franciscan church), and Yapton. Corbels for the loft occur at Trotton.

Quire stalls, with traceried canopies and carved misericordes, are found in Chichester Cathedral and St. Mary’s Hospital, having graceful ogee-arched canopy work, and beautiful carvings of figure-subjects and foliage on the misericordes, date *c.* 1290 to 1310. Etchingham has very good stall-work of about the date 1340, while that in the Fitzalan



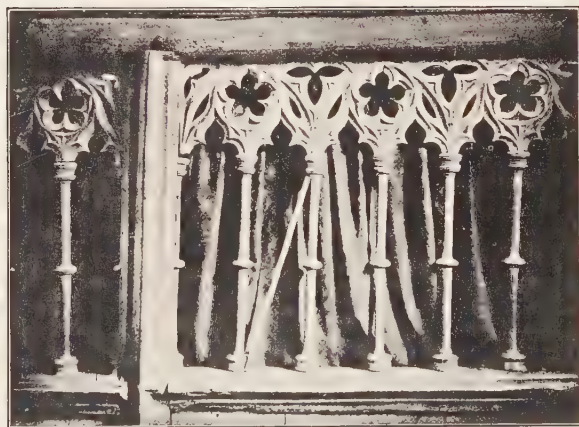
OLD SHOREHAM



ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL, CHICHESTER



RODMELL



EASTBOURNE

EARLY SCREENS

chancel at Arundel (restored) belongs to the close of the same century. The Alfriston, Bosham, Broadwater, East Lavant, Mayfield, Poynings, Rye, West Tarring, and West Wittering stall-work all dates from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. A carved misericorde remains at Hardham church.

There is an oak lectern of late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date in Old Shoreham church.

Two stone pulpits of the late fourteenth century remain—at Arundel (with good carved canopy) and Climping—and oak pulpits are found at Goring (*c.* 1540), Rye (*c.* 1550), Newtimber (late sixteenth century), Worth (1577), Arlington, Botolphs, Buxted, West Chiltington, Eastdean (East Sussex—1624), Lamberhurst (1630), Poynings, Rotherfield, Southwick, Tortington, Twineham, and Wilmington (early seventeenth century).

Ancient oak seating is found at Slindon (early fourteenth century), Felpham (*c.* 1370), Climping (*c.* 1380), Hardham, Tortington, Singleton, and Sutton (*c.* 1420). Kirdford, Didling, and Burpham also have fifteenth-century seats, while those at Burton, Coldwaltham, Rogate, and East Preston belong to the sixteenth century. There were formerly seats dating from the fourteenth century in Ford and Rustington churches, but they have been destroyed, or replaced by modern copies. Seventeenth-century pewing still remains in a few churches, such as Botolphs, Mayfield, and Sedlescombe; and there are some quaint deal 'Gothic' seats of the latter part of the eighteenth century in Warminghurst church.

There is a good seventeenth-century western gallery at Worth, and one in the tower at Singleton. Slinfold had one, richly carved, dated 1660.

Sussex possesses an unrivalled series of early thirteenth-century church chests—part of a group found in the southern and eastern counties, some at least of which are probably to be identified with the Crusaders' alms-chests ordered to be placed in all churches by Pope Innocent III in 1199. The Sussex examples are found at South Bersted, Bosham, Chichester Cathedral (chapter-house), Climping, Felpham, Horsham, Rogate, and Midhurst; within the last half-century there were others at Arundel and Rustington. They vary in size and details, but all have a central body and broad end-standards; the lids, in one slab, open upon the 'pin-hinge'; the ends have an applied framework in front of the panel, and nearly all have roundels on the front, filled with shallow geometrical carving of 'whorl,' star (or flower), and prism patterns, the feet being also ornamented in some cases. They have a slit in the lid, an internal hutch, with a separate lid, to receive money, and, in most cases, three locks, generally original. All the woodwork appears to have been adzed or cleft, and finished with a chisel. Other and later thirteenth-century chests occur in Chichester Cathedral (one small and another long chest, both portable), Buxted (richly ornamented) and Ditchling churches. The last two are evidently (like the early group) by the same guild of craftsmen. Later mediaeval chests are to be found in West Tarring (iron-bound), Lyminster (*c.* 1530), and other churches; and within living memory there were two fine 'Flanders' chests—at Guestling and Sidlesham. The cathedral retains a handsome chest, made to the order of Bishop Sherborn. There is a very remarkable chest bearing the inscription: *ſΑΥΝΤ · ΟΛΑΥΕ · CHYCHESTERE ·*, in the church of that name, richly carved with the Annunciation, mitres, pastoral staves, keys, swords, the open Bible, chalices, and the

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Dove, &c. On the lid is a carving of the arms of the see—our Lord, with the two-edged sword in His mouth. It bears the date XLV · E · R, i.e. 1603. Seventeenth-century chests occur at Rusper, Lurgashall, Arundel, &c.

The sepulchral monuments of Sussex may be classed under :—

1. Coffin-slabs.—The oldest of these is the child's coffin-slab in Bexhill church, with Celtic interlaced patterns, 'battle-axe' crosses, &c.—an important example, dating probably from the eighth century. Next in date is a priest's slab from Arundel Castle, bearing a representation of a pectoral cross (c. A.D. 1000). At Stedham, Chithurst, Elsted, Cocking, Aldingbourne, Fittleworth, and Steyning numerous coffin-slabs have been discovered built into the foundations and structure of eleventh and twelfth century walls. These bear rude crosses and other designs, such as a Y figure at Stedham and Chithurst, and are in many cases of pre-Conquest date. Others, perhaps of the twelfth century, are built upright inside the chancel walls at Elsted. The richly carved slab of black 'touch' that formed the gravestone of Earl William de Warenne and Gundrada in Lewes Priory church (now in St. John's Southover Lewes), is a most important example of twelfth-century art ; so also are the coffin-slab of Bishop Ralph (died 1123) in Chichester Cathedral, and that bearing the beautiful design of doves drinking, an Agnus Dei, and a cross in Bishopstone church. Lyminster has a slab with a curious herring-bone fluting and a central ridge : and others of the twelfth century have been found in the Infirmary chapel at Lewes. Early stone coffins are preserved at Walberton and Sullington. A slab marking a heart burial and many other thirteenth-century coffin-slabs are to be seen in Chichester Cathedral, and at Aldingbourne, Arlington, Barnham, Battle, Boxgrove, Eastdean, Little Horsted, Icklesham, Isfield, Lewes (St. John-sub-Castro), Lyminster, East Lavant, Yapton, &c. Fourteenth-century examples occur at Arlington, Alfriston, Poynings, Rogate, Trotton, &c. Head-stone crosses of this period have been preserved at Trotton and West Wittering ; and ledgers of a much later date are found in many churches having heraldic and emblematical designs in low relief, as e.g. one with a skull and palm branches at Rustington.

2. Connected with the foregoing is the peculiarly Sussex group of cast-iron grave-slabs. The oldest of these is perhaps the slab at Burwash to Ihone Coline, probably of the fourteenth century. Others of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century date are found at Rotherfield (ornamented with a sword or double cross) and Playden (with Flemish inscription), and sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century examples occur at Burwash, All Saints' Hastings, Lamberhurst, Mayfield, Mountfield, Penhurst, Salehurst, Sedlescombe, Wadhurst, and Withyham.

3. The monumental brasses of Sussex, considered as a series, have not as yet received the attention that they merit at the hands of experts. It is impossible here to name every brass, but it may be said that the best examples are as follows :—Trotton : to Margaret de Camoys, c. 1300 (the second oldest brass of a lady in England) ; Thomas, Baron Camoys, and lady, 1419, under canopy and super-canopy ; Bodiam : a knight, 1360 ; Rusper : John Kyggesforde and wife, c. 1373 ; Etchingham : Sir William de Etchingham, 1387, Sir William the younger, his wife and son, under triple canopy, 1444, and other members of this family ; Fletching : a knight of the ? Dalyngruge

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family and his wife, 1380, &c. ; Ore : civilian and wife, 1400 ; Herstmonceux : Sir William Fienes, 1402 ; Amberley : John de Wantele, 1424, in a tabard ; Arundel : several priests, fifteenth century ; Poling : a priest's half effigy, *c.* 1460 ; Wiston : Sir John de Braose, 1426 ; Ardingly : Richard Wakehurst and wife, 1457 ; Cowfold : Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes, 1433—a particularly fine brass, having a canopy with clustered pinnacles, flying buttresses, and imagery ; Buxted : John de Lewes, 1330, and Britell Avenell, priest, 1408, in the head of a floriated cross ; Horsham : a priest in a cope, 1411 ; Warbleton : Dean Prestwick, 1436 ; Pulborough, 1423, 1452 (good canopies) ; Broadwater : a good brass of a priest, 1432, and a Calvary cross, 1445.

4. External tomb recesses occur (in the south wall of the chancel) at Warbleton and Sutton. Internal wall-tombs, generally with canopies, sometimes containing a coffin-slab or an effigy, and ranging in date from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century, are found at Ardingly, Arlington, Bepton, Berwick, Bosham (2), Boxgrove, Chichester Cathedral, and Greyfriars' church, Cocking, Westdean (East Sussex), Denton, Eastbourne, Little Horsted, Lancing, St. Anne's Lewes.

Effigies on detached altar-tombs, or tombs alone (sometimes with brasses), of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, remain at Ardingly, Arundel, Burton, Chichester Cathedral, Easebourne, Horsham, Herstmonceux, Hurstpierpoint, Southover church Lewes, Mundham, Singleton, Slindon, Slinfold, Sullington, Thakeham, Trotton, and Wiston. The most noteworthy are the tombs of an unknown lady and Bishop Stratford at Chichester, the sumptuous Fitzalan monuments at Chichester and Arundel, and the effigies at Slinfold (a lady), Slindon (a knight, in oak), Southover (Sir John de Braose, 1232), Horsham (Thomas Lord Braose, 1396), Hurstpierpoint (early mailed figures), and Herstmonceux (late plate armour).

5. A later group of canopied altar-tombs possesses features almost peculiar to Sussex. Beginning with a series of Sussex marble canopied wall-tombs as at Chichester Cathedral (Bishop Sherborn, &c.), Singleton, Burton, Horsham (Lord Hoo, 1453), Thakeham, and Trotton (3), it concludes with a remarkable series, in which the use of Caen stone and mixed Gothic and Renaissance detail are the chief features, combined with a wealth of delicate figure-sculpture and much fanciful ornamentation. These tombs are found at Arundel (Fitzalan tombs), Boxgrove (Lord de la Warr's sumptuous chantry, *c.* 1530), Broadwater (de la Warr monuments, *c.* 1525 and *c.* 1554), Clapham (Shelley tomb), Kingston-by-Sea, North Mundham (fragments), Petworth (1527), Racton, Rustington (Dawtre family ?), Selmeston, Selsey (1537), Slaugham (Coverts), Sompting (Burré tomb), Warminghurst (Shelleys, 1554), Wiston (Shirleys, 1540) and West Wittering (two Earnley tombs, with sculpture of the Annunciation, Resurrection, and patron saints, *c.* 1545). An altar-tomb of the Shelley family—now used as the altar—at Preston has much in common with these. It is covered with late panelled work and minute heraldic shields.

6. Later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century monuments of Renaissance design are found in many churches ; the following may be taken as representative :—Battle (Sir Anthony Browne and wife, 1548), Chiddingly (Sir John Jefferay), Ditchling (Poole monument, 1580), Easebourne

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

(first Viscount Montague, 1592), Firle (Gage tombs), Friston (Selwyns), Harting (Carylls, 1586), Shipley and Warnham (Carylls, 1613, 1616), Slaugham (Coverts, 1579, &c.), Isfield (Sir J. Shurley and two wives, 1631), Horsham (Elizabeth Delvey, 1654), and Withyham (Sackville monument, 1697).

Flaxman's masterpieces of monumental sculpture at Chichester Cathedral, Eartham, Withyham, &c., form a fitting pendant to the series.

The church bells of Sussex have been exhaustively described and illustrated in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi, 138–232. There are a large number of mediaeval examples, including the oldest *dated* bell in England—that at Duncton, 1389. Others, as at Yapton, Appledram, and Ford, probably date from the first half of the fourteenth century. There are fine brass candelabra of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dates at Chichester Cathedral, Rogate, and Mayfield.

The church plate of the county is now (1907) in process of being catalogued, under the auspices of the Sussex Archaeological Society. With vessels in actual use should be included the very valuable early examples found with interments at Rusper (twelfth century, see *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ix, 203) and Chichester Cathedral—preserved in the library. Chithurst church has a handsome alms-dish (seventeenth century), bearing figures of Adam and Eve.

PRE-CONQUEST REMAINS

Remains of pre-Conquest work are numerous and highly important; some of the most valuable examples of this period in England are to be found in Sussex, including the famous church of Bosham, the unique tower of Sompting, and the perfect plan of Worth. It must be borne in mind that this period in Sussex church architecture is one covering the greater part of four centuries, from the evangelization of the South Saxons by St. Wilfrid, A.D. 681, to the Norman Conquest of 1066, and that the missionary work began in Selsey, the south-western extremity of the county; also that almost the whole of the northern part of the county was then a dense forest, with small clearings. We should therefore expect that timber churches would be the rule, except near the coast, and that these would for the most part be maintained and rebuilt in the same material until towards the close of the eleventh century and later, only gradually giving way to a stone architecture. But allowing for all this, it is reasonable to expect that where Roman building materials existed in any quantity—as in the neighbourhood of Regnum (Chichester), in the military stations along the Roman roads traversing the county, and in the chain of Roman villas to the south of the great range of Downs—they would easily be made use of in church-building.

ARLINGTON.—South and west walls of nave, 'long and short' quoins, and double splayed window of Roman bricks.

ARUNDEL.—Coffin-slab from the castle (now at Walberton).

BEXHILL.—Child's coffin-slab—probably as early as the eighth century—of a northern stone (? from Whitby), covered with interlaced patterns, serpents, and battle-axe crosses.

BISHOPSTONE.—Nave walls and south porch—both lofty—(with sundial); long and short quoins.

BOSHAM.—The chancel arch (horse-shoed and moulded) stands upon two enormous bases of Roman columns, possibly the triumphal arch of Vespasian's basilica. The capitals were copied from these bases by the later builders, whose mouldings are curious and well worthy of study. There is a window (blocked) of this first period. The tower is probably later—

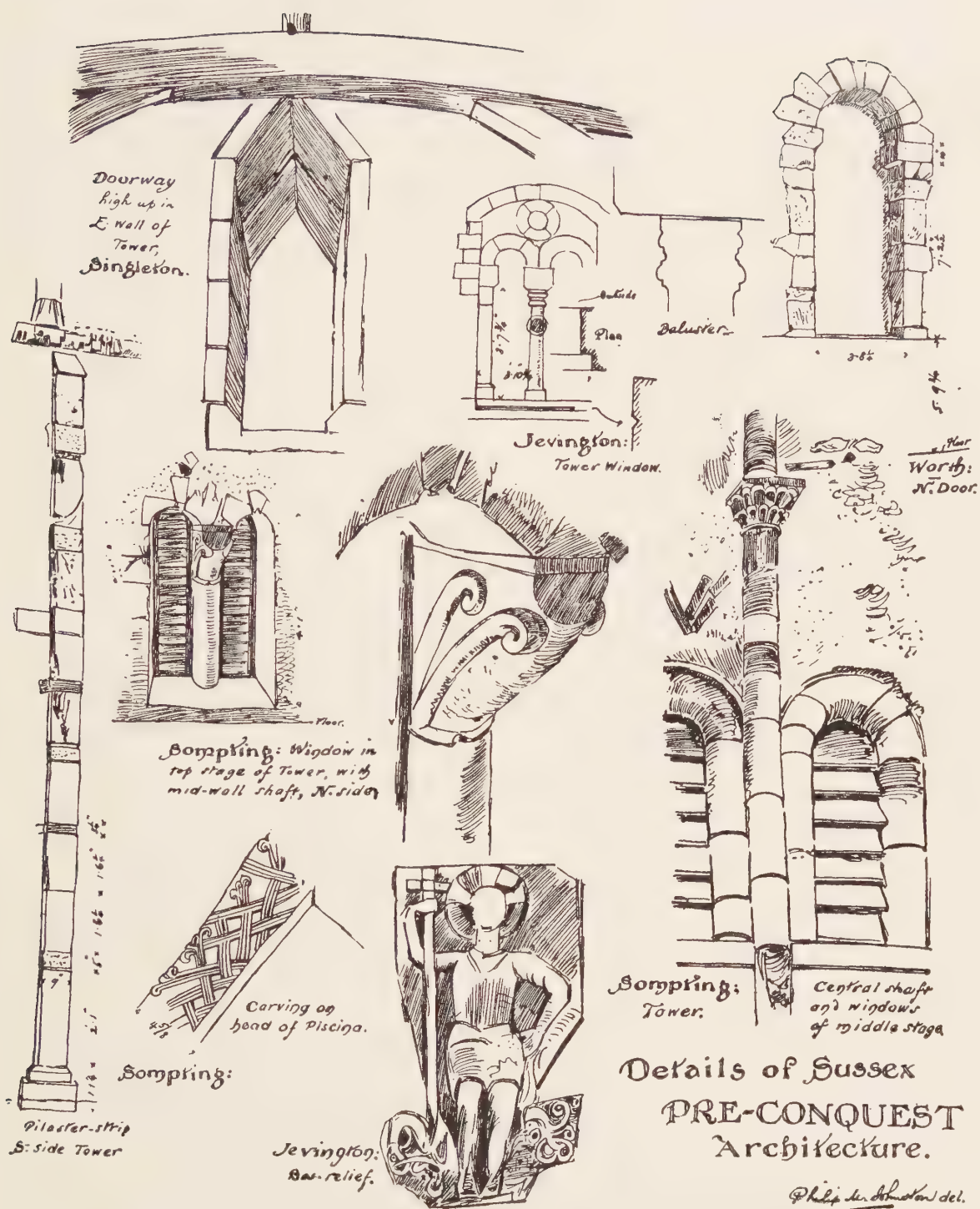
tenth or eleventh-century work, and is itself of two or more dates. The tower arch construction, a triangular-headed door, and the windows with mid-wall shafts are specially noteworthy.

BOTOLPHS.—Chancel arch (cf. Sompting tower arch), south wall of nave, with windows.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Bas-reliefs, brought from Selsey (two scenes in the Raising of Lazarus). These are very fine pieces of sculpture, with much vigour and expression in the attitudes and faces. They probably date from the commencement of the eleventh century. Cf. fragments at Jevington.

CLAYTON.—Walls of nave, with long and short quoins, and chancel arch. The rude capitals somewhat resemble those of the Bosham chancel arch.

EASTERGATE.—Chancel, with a narrow window opening in the north wall. The lower part of the south wall is largely composed of Roman bricks in



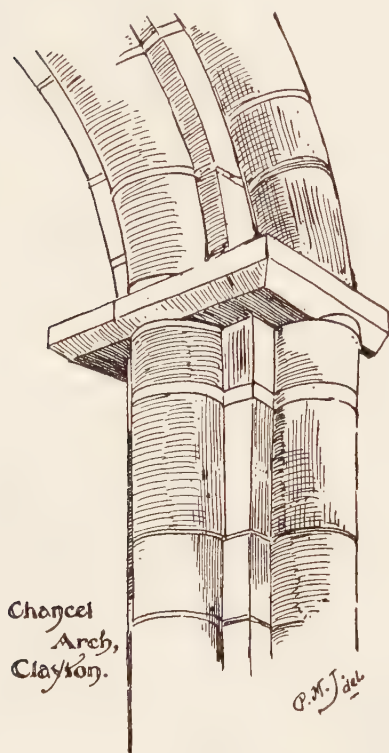
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herring-bone work. Remains of painting of very early date occur on the north wall inside.

FORD.—North wall of nave, with two windows and a stone bearing an interlaced pattern. The nave work is quite different in character from that of the chancel, which dates *c.* 1100, and has thicker walls.

FRISTON.—Nave walls, with blocked window and door. A late eleventh-century door stands in close proximity to the latter.

HAMPNETT, WEST.—At the restoration the chancel arch (destroyed) was found to be built with Roman bricks and flue tiles, and the south wall still shows a quantity of the former in herring-bone work, and one window of pre-Conquest date; another—opposite to it—has more recently been taken out. Both were of the rudest character, with a single



Chancel
Arch,
Clayton.

stone for the head, and plastered jambs inclining upwards.

JEVINGTON.—Tower and tower arch, with baluster shafted windows and sound holes in bell-chamber; and remarkable early sculptured fragments—Christ bruising the serpent's head, and the emblems of the Evangelists.

LEWES.—A doorway preserved from the rebuilt church, with surface strip-work. Cf. that at Old Shoreham (*post*).

LURGASHALL.—North wall of nave, with narrow and lofty door and herring-bone rubble.

RUMBOLDSWYKE.—Built of Roman bricks and large pick-dressed stones. Later windows inserted, but chancel arch is original, and possibly also a very early piscina.

SELHAM.—The plan of this church and the north door and chancel arch are pre-Conquest. The former is a narrow unrehabbed opening, of large, roughly-dressed stones. The latter is moulded and stands upon very remarkable abaci and capitals.

SINGLETON.—The exceptionally spacious western tower, parts of nave walls, and a two-light window in east gable of nave. There was probably a roof-chamber over the nave, with which a tall and narrow triangular-headed door in the middle stage of the tower communicated. The quoin stones are doubled, as at Ford and Lyminster, and there are double-splayed windows in the lower stages.

OLD SHOREHAM.—The nave represents that of the pre-Conquest church with the addition of a western *porticus*, the long and short quoins of both are plainly visible on the north side; together with a tall and narrow doorway, having remains of strip-work round it, and a triangular-headed window in west gable.

SOMPTING.—Tower, with four-gabled termination, and spire; perhaps parts of nave and chancel walls, with carved work built into same. The tower has long and short work, pilaster strips, ornamental string-course, vertical circular shaft, with capitals and bases, in the centre of each face. The windows are in pairs, round-headed and triangular-headed, and those north and south of the uppermost stage have mid-wall shafts with corbel-capitals of peculiar design. The tower arch has a half-round member upon the flat soffit and Corinthianesque capitals, flanked by Classical-looking cornuacopiae. The spire timbers appear to be of the same early date (*c.* A.D. 1000) as the tower.

STOPHAM.—Nave, with north and south doors, the latter having mouldings to the arch, and angle shafts with capitals of a serrated section.

SROUGHTON.—There is a double-splayed window, high up in the south wall of the nave, closely resembling those at Singleton a few miles away.

WOOLBEDING.—The south wall of the nave, in particular, is pre-Conquest, as is evidenced by a number of pilaster strips. The blocked south door is of the same period, and perhaps the bowl of a pillar piscina.

WORTH.—The apsidal and cruciform plan, the chancel arch of bold proportions and wide span, the massive transeptal arches, the lofty north and south doors, the windows in pairs with mid-wall baluster, the external string-course and pilaster strips, are the most noteworthy features in this remarkable church.

The following churches contain work of very early character, but the evidence in favour of a pre-Conquest date, although weighty, is not conclusive. In most cases they probably represent the period of building activity which set in with the Confessor's reign—the quarter of a century preceding the Conquest, when Norman influence was strong.

ALDINGBOURNE.—Parts of walls of nave, and perhaps blocked windows in south wall.

BEXHILL.—The western part of nave walls pierced by a later arcade; herring-bone work.

BIGNOR.—Chancel arch, built of ponderous stones of Roman character, pick-dressed.

BOLNEY.—South door of nave, nearly 9 ft. high, of two orders, rudely moulded, on chamfered abaci

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

- and plain jambs ; chancel walls, with two windows (originally more windows and a north door).
- BURPHAM.**—North wall nave, with small blocked window of very primitive character.
- BURTON.**—Nave, north wall, &c., with much herring-bone work.
- CHICHESTER, ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH.**—Nave walls, with narrow south doorway. The chancel (rebuilt) incorporated part of a Roman building. Note the dedication to a Danish saint.
- DEAN, WEST (WEST SUSSEX).**—Nave, north wall, with tall and narrow doorway.
- EASTDEAN.**—(East Sussex). Tower on north side of nave. This stands on the borderland of the period. The window-jambs incline inwards, and there are other marks of pre-Conquest date. It would seem to have been a semi-defensive tower, with an oratory-apse on its east face.
- ELSTED.**—Nave walls. The piercing of an arcade of late eleventh-century character in the north wall is presumptive evidence of older work in the fabric. Much herring-bone work. The lofty chancel arch is horse-shoed.
- FELPHAM.**—Nave walls? Early Norman or Saxon. These have been tunnelled through to form arcades in the twelfth century. They are enormously thick.
- FERRING.**—Blocked window south wall. A very small and rude aperture, resembling that at Burpham.
- FITTLEWORTH.**—Tower? Very plain early-looking work, without, however, any distinctive features.
- HANGLETON.**—Nave, with north and south doorways, and the heads of blocked windows. This may be of post-Conquest date. The walls are built of herring-bone flints.
- HARDHAM.**—Largely built of Roman materials. The square-headed north door quoins and narrow splayed windows in the nave are of very early character. The dedication is to St. Botolph, a Saxon saint.
- KINGSTON-BY-SEA.**—The quoins have an early appearance.
- LYMINSTER.**—The lofty nave and chancel, with a tall south doorway, pierced through the wall without a rebate, and the singular chancel arch are probably pre-Conquest. There was a nunnery here from the ninth or tenth century, and this was the nuns' church.
- MARDEN, UP.**—Chancel arch, triangular head, square jambs, and rude masonry.
- NORTHAM.**—Some of the masonry in the tower resembles that at Appledore (Kent), an admitted pre-Conquest example.
- OVINGDEAN.**—Nave and chancel, with several original windows, the north doorway, chancel arch, and a triangular headed recess in east wall, formed of Roman bricks.
- ROTTINGDEAN.**—Parts of west and north walls, nave, including many fragments (? of baluster shafts), built in as old material. The lower courses of the north door quoins and the west quoin of nave, north side, are in large blocks of sandstone.
- SLAUGHAM.**—The north wall of the nave, with its early doorway, resembling those at Wivelsfield and Bolney.
- STEDHAM.**—Fragments of rude coffin-slabs, &c., found in and beneath the walls of the twelfth-century church. Spiral shell-like ornaments of very unusual character are carved upon some fragments.
- STOKE, SOUTH.**—North wall of nave, &c.
- TANGMERE.**—One of the very primitive windows has a rude bas-relief of (?) the Decollation of St. John the Baptist.
- WALBERTON.**—The nave, recently almost rebuilt, had arches of late eleventh-century date pierced through its walls, and the walls were found to be largely composed of Roman bricks. A rude gable-cross of (probably) pre-Conquest date was found in the west wall.
- WESTDEAN.**—Window, north wall, nave. A very rude blocked opening. The circle of the head has an upward scoop (as at Ovingdean) for the freer admission of light.
- WIVELSFIELD.**—In the north nave wall (rebuilt) is the original narrow and tall door, with square jambs, chamfered abaci and rudely moulded arch of two orders, so precisely similar to the south door of Bolney Church that it is evident they are the work of the same hands.
- YAPTON.**—Parts of west and south walls of nave, against which a tower of late twelfth-century date has been built without bonding in, showing the nave walls to be earlier. The remarkable font, with sword-shaped crosses under circular arches, and herring-bone ornamentation, is probably pre-Conquest.

FROM c. 1070 TO c. 1120

The work of this period is plain and rude in character. At first sight there is but little to distinguish some of these examples from those at the end of the last list—the 'Saxon over-lap.'

The stonework is tooled broadly with the axe ; masonry joints are wide, square-edged arches are the rule, and the only exceptions are a coarse three-quarter round moulding, as at Chichester Cathedral, Steyning, and Amberley, or the various forms of billet and simple zigzag, as at Lewes Priory, Chichester, Lancing, and Wilmington. Windows are usually narrow, but sometimes broad and square, as at Barnham and Tangmere. At Amberley, Chichester Cathedral, and New Shoreham church, they are wider and much more architectural in treatment, having shafts and mouldings. Plain cushion capitals or the earlier form of scalloping are usually found, but sometimes they are voluted (e.g. Chichester Cathedral and Amberley), or very rudely carved. Doors, chancel arches, and the rare instances of nave arcades (Elsted, Aldingbourne, and Walberton) are very plain, with simply chamfered abaci. Walls, as a rule, are thicker, and not so well built as in the

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

pre-Conquest period. Early in the twelfth century shallow buttresses came into use, as at New Shoreham (transepts), and Newhaven (apse).

ALBOURNE.—Chancel walls, with a window (blocked) and chancel arch, of good chevron work on square piers with chamfered abaci; also arches from the nave, built into churchyard wall.

ALDINGBOURNE.—A blocked arcade in north wall of nave, including coeval painting on one of the soffits, *c.* 1080–1100.

ALCISTON.—Parts of fabric, with window in north wall of chancel.

AMBERLEY.—Valuable example. Nave, with several original windows, blocked north doorway and chancel arch. Note the capitals, &c., of window nook-shafts, coeval painted consecration crosses, and the very fine chancel arch, of rich zigzag work with voluted capitals. Amberley belonged to the bishops of Chichester, and this work should be compared with Bishop Ralph's in the cathedral. Date, *c.* 1090.

APPLEDRAM.—A window head and parts of north wall of nave, *c.* 1080.

ATHERINGTON CHAPEL.—Masonry of this period in the walls, 26 ft. 3 in. by 14 ft. 4 in. internally.

BALSDEAN CHAPEL.—Two windows of this date remain and part of a doorway, together with much of the walling. Window splays run out to a feather-edge.

BARNHAM.—Small windows, broad and squat, high up in south wall of nave, outer cases in Pulborough stone; inner dressings in a hard white stone. Cf. the Tangmere windows hard by.

BATTLE.—1107–24 (fragments). Both in the abbey buildings (e.g. an arch with billet moulding in the refectory) and parish church some small remains of the period exist.

BEDDINGHAM.—Windows in north wall of nave, &c.

BISHOPSTONE.—Tower of four recessed stages, with double windows in bell-chamber, and a good corbel table. Narrow windows and circular light in lower stages. Round moulding on angle of quoins. Archway under pediment built out from pre-Conquest porch, *c.* 1120.

BOSHAM.—Pillar piscina, north aisle. Large window in north wall of chancel. Top stage of tower, with corbel-table of unusual design.

BRAMBER.—Tower arch, with curious sculptured voluted capitals, door, &c., *c.* 1080.

BUNTON.—The nave with early windows and door and chancel arch (carving of two periods), *c.* 1070. This may belong to the previous period.

BURWASH.—Tower, with two-light shafted windows in bell-chamber.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Nave, transepts, parts of western towers, and quire. Note the clearstory windows (outside), nave arcades, scale ornament in triforia, cable and prism mouldings of tower arches. Note the remains of original windows and corbel table on south side of quire, the frequent occurrence of the billet moulding, the carved and cushion capitals of the triforia, and the parti-coloured *opus reticulatum* of the tympana, 1091–1123.

CHITHURST.—A small church of nave and chancel, retaining its original windows and chancel arch.

CLAPHAM.—North wall nave, pierced by later arcade. One original window, *c.* 1080.

COATES.—Nave and chancel, including a wide chancel arch, an original window and font.

COCKING.—Original windows in nave and chancel and chancel arch. Font.

COOMBES.—The nave and chancel, with some of the original windows, priest's door, and chancel arch.

EARTHAM.—Chancel arch and walls. Note voluted capitals, with carving of man's face, *c.* 1070.

EASEBOURNE.—Parts of nave, south walls, &c., with original south door and quoin, *c.* 1080.

ELSTED.—North arcade of two arches pierced through an earlier wall; cf. Aldingbourne and Walberton, *c.* 1100.

FINDON.—Arch in south transept, horseshoed, with unusual mouldings, *c.* 1120.

FLETCHING.—Tower, with two-light shafted windows, parts of nave walls, and remains of windows, *c.* 1120.

FORD.—Chancel arch (the abaci have star-pattern ornamentation) and chancel (one window), and parts of others built in. The chancel, though smaller and lower, has much thicker walls than the pre-Conquest nave. *c.* 1100.

FRISTON.—Doors, &c., side by side with similar pre-Conquest features, *c.* 1120.

GRINSTEAD, WEST.—North wall nave herring-bone masonry, with window and two doors. Recess in east wall and lower part of tower, *c.* 1080.

GUESTLING.—Tower, with single and double windows, the latter having good shafts and an original stair turret—a rare feature in this period, *c.* 1120.

HAMSEY.—Parts of nave, &c., including plain chancel arch.

HORSTED KEYNES.—Parts of fabric, including an arch on north side of nave.

HORSTED, LITTLE.—Chancel, with curious external arcade, pierced for one window. [This is unique in Sussex, and reminiscent of the Saxon chapel at Bradford-on-Avon.] *c.* 1080.

ICKLESHAM.—Parts of nave walls (west end, &c.) pierced for later arcades, *c.* 1080.

ITCHINGFIELD.—Walls and windows of nave and chancel, *c.* 1100.

KEYMER.—Apsidal chancel (rebuilt), *c.* 1100.

KIRDFOUR.—Parts of fabric, windows, &c., *c.* 1100.

LANCING.—Walls of chancel, with double-billet string-course, *c.* 1120.

LAVANT, EAST.—West door, with billet and other ornaments, *c.* 1100.

LAVANT, MID.—One small window in nave, and parts of walls, *c.* 1100.

LEWES, ST. MICHAEL.—Round tower, *c.* 1100.

LEWES, ST. JOHN'S, SOUTHOVER.—Plain piers and arches (altered), *c.* 1120.

LINCHMERE.—West wall with door, and head of window (detached), *c.* 1080.

LYMINSTER.—West door of nave, with two square-edged orders, chamfered hood and abaci, *c.* 1100.

MARDEN, NORTH.—Church, with apse, *c.* 1100.

MARESFIELD.—South wall of nave, with one window; others have been found and destroyed, *c.* 1100.

NEWHAVEN.—Apse and tower, *c.* 1120. The corbel-table and two-light windows of tower, the arch, windows, and buttresses of apse, are noteworthy.

NEWICK.—South wall, nave, and one window, *c.* 1100.

PATCHAM.—Nave and chancel (chancel arch and north door), *c.* 1080.

PEASMARSH.—Chancel arch, horseshoed, with curious bas-reliefs of (?) lions, *c.* 1080.

PETWORTH.—Windows on north of nave, *c.* 1120.



QUIRE TRIFORIUM, CHICHESTER



FROM LEWES PRIORY



YAFTON



NEW SHOREHAM

TWELFTH-CENTURY CAPITALS

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

PIDDINGHOE.—Round tower, with well-preserved windows, *c.* 1120.
PYECOMBE.—Chancel arch, plain and lofty, and parts of walls, *c.* 1080.
SEAFORD.—Lower part of tower, with curious arrangement of arches, *c.* 1120.
SHIPLEY.—Nave, axial tower, and chancel, with richly moulded arches, *c.* 1120. This church retains an enamelled reliquary of twelfth-century date.
SHOREHAM, NEW.—Begun 1103. The fine arches of central tower, walls, and windows of transepts, arch of ruined nave arcade, and font belong to this period, *c.* 1103–20.
SOUTHEASE.—Round tower and parts of walls, *c.* 1100.
SOUTHWICK.—Lower stage of tower and arch in chancel. Note early voluted capitals of tower arch, rude Ionic in character, *c.* 1080.
STEYNING.—Arches in quire, and east end of aisles, chancel arch, and part of walls. Note scalloped and carved capitals, earlier than the remarkable arcades of the nave, *c.* 1120.

STOKE, SOUTH.—Plain south door, *c.* 1120.
TERWICK.—West wall, with door and window. Door retains its original hinges, *c.* 1100.
TREYFORD.—Door in north wall of nave.
WALBERTON.—Arches of two dates in nave, window in west gable, insertions in older walls, partly destroyed in recent rebuilding, *c.* 1070 to 1110.
WALTHAM, UP.—Apsidal chancel and nave; pillar piscina with voluted cap.
WESTFIELD.—Chancel arch, parts of walls, and a window, *c.* 1100.
WESTMESTON.—Chancel arch (destroyed in restoration), doors, and walls.
WHATLINGTON.—Chancel arch, &c., with the main walls, *c.* 1080.
WILMINGTON.—Chancel, with good windows and semi-octagonal string-course, bearing a zigzag moulding, *c.* 1120.
WISBOROUGH GREEN.—Walling and some windows in nave, *c.* 1080.

FROM *c.* 1120 TO *c.* 1160

The work in this period is much richer in treatment, and the mason-craft more skilful. Towards its close 'pen-knife' joints are common, and there is a good deal of finely axed Caen stone-work in buttresses and wall faces, as at New Shoreham and Southwick. The billet is found at Old Shoreham and Steyning. Rich chevron work occurs at East Wittering, Tortington, Burpham, Old Shoreham, Bishopstone, &c.; and varieties of the chevron at Shipley, Burpham, Steyning, Broadwater, Rodmell, and Iford. Two instances only of the use of beak-heads as an enrichment are found—at Tortington (chancel arch) and New Shoreham (west door). Some of the most typical work is at Steyning and Old Shoreham, where the student will find almost every form of enrichment in use in this period. Scalloped or pleated capitals here and elsewhere are common, the scallops being sometimes (as at Burpham) concave and serrated. These are varied by grotesque forms (human and animal faces and figures), and early attempts at foliage. Roses, limpet shells, bunches of grapes, &c., occur as enrichments at Old Shoreham, Tortington, and Buncton. The pointed arch is found towards the close of this period, as at Shipley and New Shoreham (doors), and Buncton (arcading). The windows are mostly longer, while preserving their narrowness, as at Hellingly and Litlington, but sometimes—e.g. Steyning nave and Rye transepts—they are of considerable breadth. Banded shafts occur in the later work, as at Hellingly, Rye, &c. Flat buttresses are used, and roofs of moderately steep pitch are the rule. The earliest instances of vaulting in Sussex occur towards the close of the period. Good examples of nave arcades are found at Steyning (some of the richest in England), New Shoreham, Bexhill, and Icklesham. A very early instance of the use of dog-tooth moulding occurs in the arches at Steyning (aisle side), where also an extraordinary variety will be found in the capitals (of circular form), arch-mouldings, and string-courses. There is a touch of Saracenic art—the result of the Crusades—in many of the details—as e.g. in some of the capitals at Steyning.

BEXHILL.—Arches in nave (capitals with enriched scalloping and rudimentary foliage), arch in tower, *c.* 1150.

BINSTED.—The small church, built by the monks of Tortington, belongs entirely to *c.* 1140, saving inserted features. Note coeval windows, piscina, tabernacle (?), font, and mural paintings.

BISHOPSTONE.—The low north aisle, with its small windows, *c.* 1160.

BLATCHINGTON, EAST.—Fabric—a good deal altered, *c.* 1160.

BLATCHINGTON, WEST.—Walls and some windows, *c.* 1150.

BOXGROVE.—Transepts, and east bays of nave, with early vaulting, arcaded entrance to chapter-house (a rich piece of work), &c., *c.* 1130.

BULVERHYTHE.—The plan and some fragments of this ruined church. Some of the latter resemble

the capitals of nave arcade at Icklesham (*post*), *c.* 1150.

BUNCTON.—External wall arcades of chancel, *c.* 1160. Acutely pointed arches, with fruit and strap ornaments. Cf. Tortington, *post*.

BURPHAM.—Arch in south transept, *c.* 1150. Very rich example. Note the varieties of scalloped capitals, the fine base-spurs, and the different patterns of chevron mouldings. The north transept has a plain arch and a chevron-bordered window of the same date. Note cap with palm-leaf ornamentation (detached). See illustration on p. 369.

CHILTINGTON, WEST.—Arcades of nave having pointed arches and enriched scallop capitals (cf. Rustington), north and south doors, and arch to south chapel, window in chancel, &c., *c.* 1150.

HELLINGLY.—*c.* 1150–60. Respond in nave, and windows in chancel, with early foliated capitals

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

and banded shafts above a string-course enriched with the Greek honeysuckle. Cf. Rye, *post*.
HORSHAM.—North aisle, with door and windows, *c.* 1140, tower *c.* 1150–60.
ICKLESHAM.—*c.* 1150. Arcades of nave with enriched scallop capitals, and others of Saracenic character. Cf. Steyning. Arches at end of aisles and aisle windows. Tower vault with enriched capitals, &c. *c.* 1150–60.
IFORD.—*c.* 1140. Chancel, axial tower, &c. Note windows in east wall and enriched chevron to tower arch.
LITLINGTON.—North and east walls of chancel, with window, *c.* 1150.
PORTSLADE.—Arcade, &c., nave, *c.* 1160. Cf. Rustington and West Chiltington in next list.
PRESTON, EAST.—North door, *c.* 1150. A south door, destroyed, was of this period.
RODMELL.—Chancel arch, enriched with varieties of the chevron moulding, squint with pillar in centre, *c.* 1150. Arches to aisle with peculiar capitals.
RYE.—Transepts, *c.* 1130–50. Note the wall arcades and clearstory windows, having banded shafts and foliated capitals. Cf. Hellingly.
SHIPLEY.—West door (pointed arch), *c.* 1150.
SHOREHAM, NEW.—Upper stages of central tower, with good windows of two and three openings under inclosing arches, and corbelled parapet, sound-holes, &c. Font—*c.* 1130–60.
SHOREHAM, OLD.—Central tower, transepts, &c.—a

most important example. The tower has an external arcade, partly pierced in the upper story, and circular sound-holes (cf. Southwick, New Shoreham, and Jevington); and retains a coeval stair-turret. The arches upon which it stands are richly ornamented, as is also the door in south transept.

SOUTHWICK.—Tower of stone and flints, *c.* 1150 (lower part earlier) with blind arches in middle story, having pleated, scalloped, and other ornamented capitals, zigzag string-course, coupled windows with pointed heads, upper story sound-holes (cf. Old Shoreham and Jevington), and a corbel-table under eaves of spire, originally crowned by a parapet. The work is of peculiar character, and resembles that in transepts at Sompington.

STEYNING.—The nave—a work of great size and beauty, richly ornamented—is of this period (*c.* 1150). One of the capitals is by the same hand as those to the south door at Winchfield, Hants; another is very similar to one at Icklesham. The rich clearstory windows and pilaster buttress are other notable features.

TELSCOMBE.—Nave.

TORTINGTON.—Church generally—a diminutive building, retaining several of the original windows, the south door, chancel arch (with beak-head ornament), and arcaded font.

UDIMORE.—Door in north of nave, &c., *c.* 1120.

WITTERING, EAST.—South door, walls, and windows of nave, *c.* 1120.

FROM *c.* 1160 TO *c.* 1200

The pointed arch is used with greater frequency, side by side with the round (as in Rustington tower and south arcades, and Seffrid's work, Chichester Cathedral). Stiff-leaf foliage of the most beautiful type was slowly evolved. Windows were larger as a rule, and usually rebated for glazing. The zigzag moulding is still occasionally found, as at the cathedral (vault over library), Climping (tower doorway, together with dog-tooth work), Eastbourne, and Guestling (arches).

ALDINGBOURNE.—South nave, arcade and font, *c.* 1185, south chapel, *c.* 1190.

ANGMERING.—Chancel arch. The piers have the same unusual undulating section as some in New Shoreham quire, and the capitals are similarly carved, *c.* 1185.

ARLINGTON.—North chapel; circular-headed windows, dog-tooth moulding, &c., *c.* 1180.

ASHURST.—Tower and arcade, *c.* 1200. Cf. Clapham, &c.

BARLAVINGTON.—Arcade, blocked.

BARNHAM.—Font. Blocked arches in north wall, *c.* 1190.

BATTLE.—Nave arcades and chancel arch, *c.* 1180; parts of chancel, *c.* 1190.

BEDDINGHAM.—South aisle (curious cap, cf. St. Anne's Lewes, &c.), *c.* 1190.

BERSTED, SOUTH.—Tower, with large buttresses.

BILLINGSHURST.—Tower.

BISHOPSTONE.—Arch from nave to chancel, and sanctuary arch (with early and elaborate dog-tooth work), wall arcades, &c., coffin-slab, and font, *c.* 1160–80.

BOXGROVE.—Piers, &c., of central tower, with the 'keel' moulding and late scalloping to capitals, *c.* 1165. Cf. Chichester Cathedral, Lady Chapel, Ruins of nave, with good scalloped capitals.

BURPHAM.—Arcade in chalk to south aisle, with scalloped and foliated capitals in chalk; also a capital lying loose, *c.* 1160–70; vaulted chancel, *c.* 1190.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—1. Western part of Lady Chapel, with richly carved capitals to the triple vault-shafts; stonework, finely axed, *c.* 1165. 2. The works of remodelling and rebuilding under Bishop Seffrid II, 1189–1200. Note the much-detached shafts of piers and the union of circular and pointed arches in the eastern bays of the quire, also the fine stiff-leaf foliage and square abaci. Cf. the corbels to arch in south transept with those over quire arcades, New Shoreham.

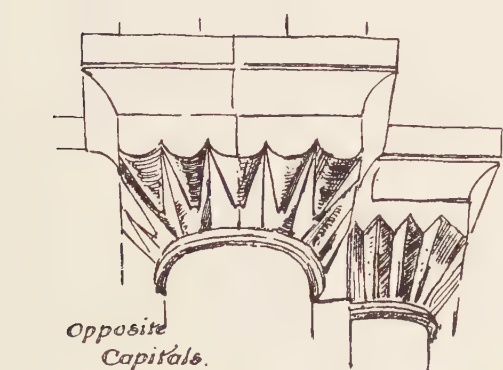
CLIMPING.—Tower, *c.* 1160–70, of very massive construction, with much fine-jointed masonry and a singularly beautiful doorway having a trefoiled head within a circular arch, on which are dog-tooth and chevron mouldings. The buttresses pierced by windows and the corbelled parapet are other original features. Cf. remains of similar parapet at Yapton.

COMPTON.—Pillar and arches (blocked) in north wall of nave, and chancel arch, *c.* 1190.

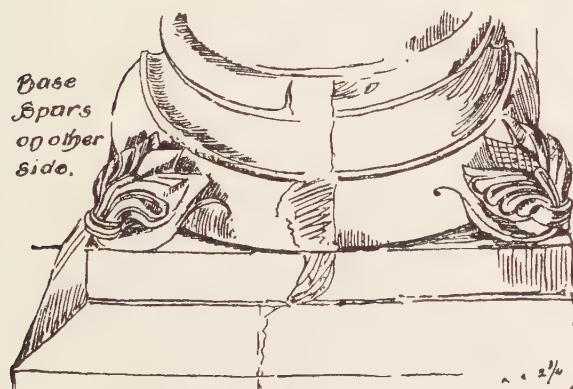
EASEBOURNE.—Arcades, font, &c., *c.* 1170. Late examples of scalloped capitals.

EASTBOURNE.—Chancel arch, *c.* 1160. North and south arcade, chancel, *c.* 1175. North and south arcades of nave and clearstory windows, *c.* 1190.

Details of Mid-12th Century Architecture in West Sussex.



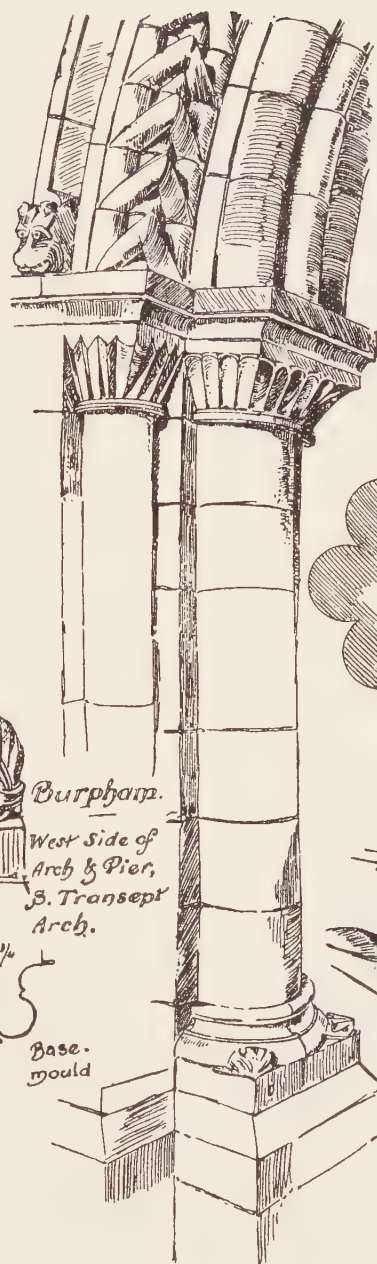
Opposite
Capitals.



Base
Spars
on other
side.



Palm-leaf Capital
(detached), Burpham.

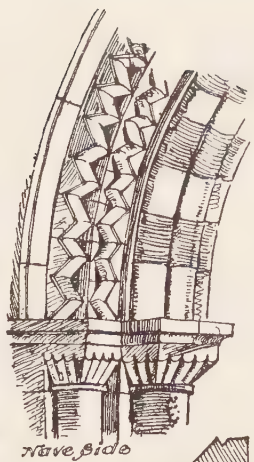


Burpham.

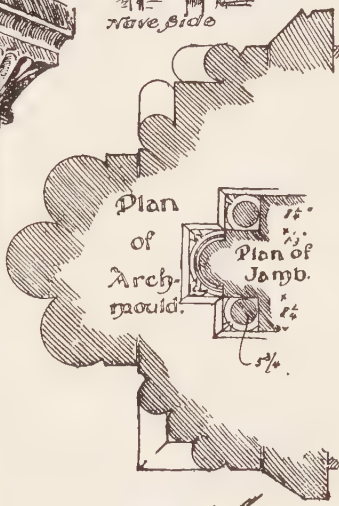
West Side of
Arch & Pier,
S. Transept
Arch.

Base-
mould

Base-
spur.



Nave Side



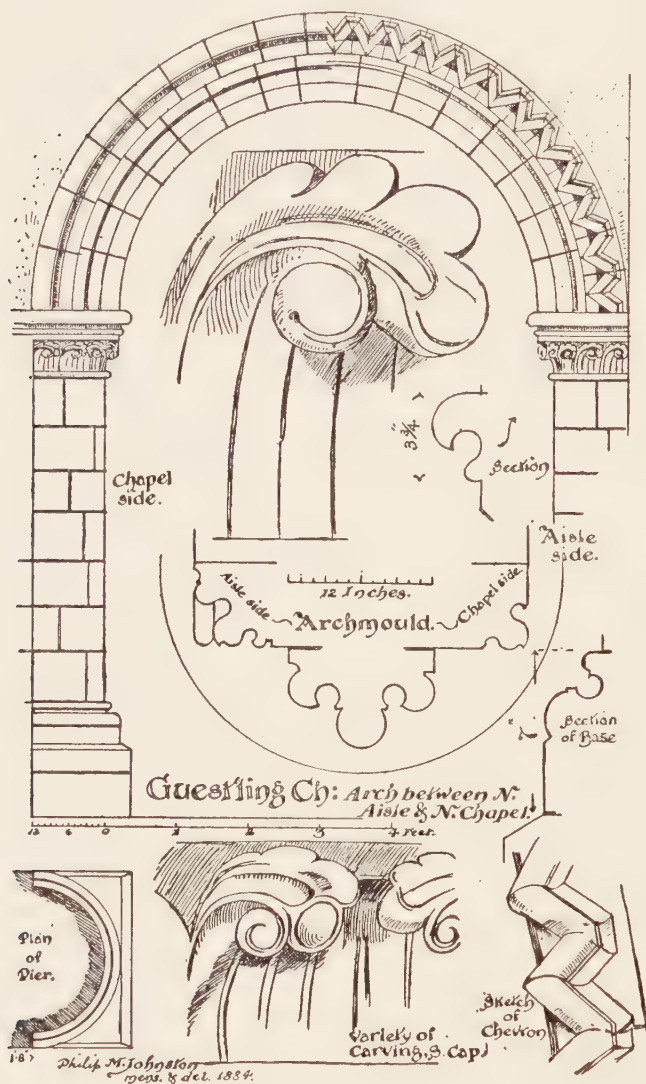
Plan
of
Arch-
mould:
Plan of
Jamb.



P.M. Johnston del.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

EASTDEAN (EAST SUSSEX).—Chancel, with windows, some having banded shafts, *c.* 1170.
EDBURTON.—Leaden font, *c.* 1160. The design is almost identical with that at Pyecombe.
EWHURST.—Arcade pillars of nave and font, *c.* 1180. Part of tower.
FELPHAM.—Cf. Burpham chancel and Pagham. North arcade (square capitals) and font; curious corbels, *c.* 1180. South arcade, *c.* 1190.
FERRING.—Chancel, east and north walls, lancets and piscina, *c.* 1190.
FINDON.—Parts of nave (pillars, &c.), *c.* 1190.



FORD.—Two long lancets in north wall of nave, with round internal arches, altar recess on south side of chancel arch and piscina, remains of blocked arcade south wall, *c.* 1180–90.
GORING.—Pillars of nave arcades; cf. Rustington (former south-west tower, &c., same date), *c.* 1165.
GRAFFHAM.—Arcades, pointed arches and scalloped capitals, *c.* 1180.
GRINSTEAD, WEST.—Parts of building and font, *c.* 1180.
GUESTLING.—Arch to north chapel, arches between same and chancel, piscina, tabernacle or aumbry,

sedilia, squint, long narrow round-headed window at west end north aisle, lancet windows in chancel and chapel, *c.* 1180–90. The arches are circular, and have chevron moulding in one case, with very beautiful early foliage to the capitals and corbels.
HALNAKER CHAPEL.—West door (cf. Portslade and Cuckfield), lancets, &c., *c.* 1195.
HAMPNETT, WEST.—South arcade, south tower and chapel under. Capitals a variety of the scallop and early mouldings, *c.* 1185.
HASTINGS.—Chancel arch of castle chapel, with early foliage, and pillar piscina, *c.* 1180.

HERSTMENCEUX.—Tower, nave arcades with palm-leaf caps, *c.* 1180 (cf. Battle).

HORSHAM.—Tower, west door, &c., *c.* 1170. The tower arch (pointed) retains some coeval colour decoration. It has square orders and a carved head of a priest at the apex.

HOVE.—Arcades, much spoilt, *c.* 1170.

ICKLESHAM.—Chancel arch with carved corbels, pointed, and the two chapel arcades, *c.* 1180–90. The detail of these is very good.

LANCING.—South porch, important example, *c.* 1180. Body of tower.

LEWES.—St. Anne's; nave, chancel, south chapel, and tower. Note the local type of capital to nave arcade, having a pendant or corbel connecting the square upper part with the round column, and carved with stiff-leaf foliage. Cf. Rodmell, Telscombe, and Beddingham, *c.* 1180. The arches are circular.

LYMINSTER.—Arcade to north aisle, *c.* 1170. Pointed arches, having square soffits, with scalloped and foliated capitals. Cf. Rustington and Yapton.

MARESFIELD.—Window in chancel.

MIDHURST.—Tower, *c.* 1200.

PAGHAM.—(St. Thomas of Canterbury). Nave arcade *c.* 1185, and chancel *c.* 1200. Fine work, on a large scale.

PEASMARSH.—Nave arcades, &c., *c.* 1190.

PLAYDEN.—Nave and aisles, *c.* 1170–80. Note the peculiar shape of the arches. Two are elliptical, and have a small circular clearstory window over them.

POLING.—Aisle and arcade, *c.* 1190.

RODMELL.—Nave arcade, &c., *c.* 1180.

RUSTINGTON.—Tower and south arcade, *c.* 1165. The tower has good flat buttresses and belfry windows, having pointed arches on shafts, inclosing circular sub-arches with central shaft. Scalloped and foliated capitals. The tower arch and south arcade are pointed, and have similar details.

RYE.—Nave and aisles, south door, *c.* 1180–90. Pointed arches, well moulded, on columns with circular moulded caps. Dog-tooth and other ornaments. The lofty arches on north side of the quire and the windows of north chancel date from *c.* 1190 to 1200. Note the wall-passage through window splays and the good mouldings.

SEAFORD.—Arcades and clearstory windows, with interesting bas-reliefs, *c.* 1190.

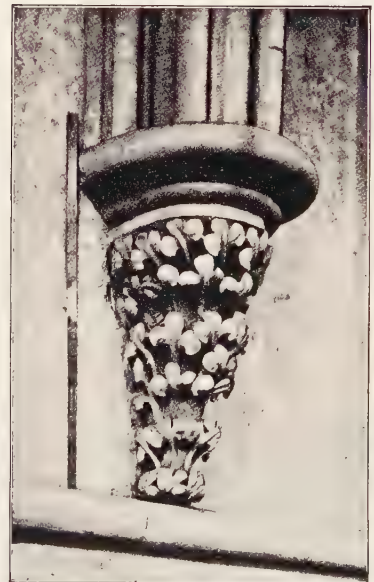
SHOREHAM, NEW.—Quire and aisles, *c.* 1170–1200—a work of great importance. The aisle walls are



ST. ANNE'S, LEWES



RODMELL



PALACE CHAPEL, CHICHESTER

LATE TWELFTH AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY CAPITALS AND CORBELS

G. C. Druce and P. M. Johnston, Photo.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

probably the oldest part in this period; then the north arcade. The clearstory and vaulting are the latest. The early stiff-leaf carving of the capitals and arches is among the finest of its period in England. Cf. the 'hook'-corbels with those at Broadwater. Note the enriched chevron of wall arcades and the palm-branch border to main arches. Cf. Reigate, Surrey, and a destroyed door, Southwark Cathedral. All these were built by the de Braoses.

SHULBRED PRIORY.—Some windows and a vaulted chamber, *c.* 1190.

SLINDON.—South aisle, *c.* 1170, north chapel, *c.* 1190, and windows of chancel—narrow lancets. The arch to north chapel has the first in a remarkable group of corbels, of which examples are named in the two following periods from the best-known church, 'Climping corbels.' (See illustration.) They consist of a bunch of flutings—convex or concave—bound into one under a circular abacus.

SOMPTING.—Transepts and chapels, *c.* 1170. Very curious and unusual details. Cf. Southwick tower.

SOUTHEASE.—Parts of nave and chancel.

STOPHAM.—Tower.

STOUGHTON.—Transept arches, chancel, &c., *c.* 1160–80. Banded shafts and inclined jambs to the single lancet in east wall.

SUTTON.—Pillars in nave, unusually thin and tall, with square abaci and foliated knops at angles. Cf. Lyminster, *c.* 1180.

TARRING NEVILLE.—Nave.

TELSCOMBE.—Chancel and tower. Caps of chancel arcade as at Rodmell, *c.* 1180.

THAKEHAM.—Parts of chancel and north transept, *c.* 1190.

THORNEY, WEST.—North and south doors, tower, blocked arches, small lancets in chancel, &c., *c.* 1170–90.

TILLINGTON.—Arcades, *c.* 1180. Font.

UDIMORE.—Parts of nave, including blocked arcade, *c.* 1190.

WISBOROUGH GREEN.—Chancel arcade, nave arcade.

WITTERING, WEST.—Arches on south of chancel, *c.* 1200. Arcade in nave, *c.* 1180.

YAPTON.—North and south arcades of nave, and south-west tower. Interesting early foliage in capitals. Tower has two-light belfry windows, with pointed inclosing and sub-arches, and central shaft. Cf. Rustington.

FROM *c.* 1200 TO *c.* 1220

Pointed arches are now the rule. Windows are usually narrow lancets with plain splays radiating equally round head. There is more work of this and the succeeding period (1220–60)—covering what is commonly called the Early English style—than of any other in Sussex. Some churches, such as Chidham, Clapham, and Appledram in this list, and a number in the succeeding, are entirely in this style, with simple lancet windows, the effect of which, inside and out, is solemn and stately. Some of the best work in Chichester Cathedral belongs to this period.

The type of corbel to arches found at Slindon in the last list occurs also in churches included in this and the succeeding list.

They are found at Slindon, North Bersted, Yapton, West Wittering, Patching, Climping, Oving, and Tangmere. Several of them are churches belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury.

ALCISTON.—Chancel windows, &c.

ALDINGBOURNE.—Tower on north, *c.* 1200.

AMBERLEY.—Tower, *c.* 1210.

APPLEDRAM.—Chancel, south aisle of nave, &c.

ARLINGTON.—Tower, &c.

BARNHAM.—Chancel, &c., *c.* 1220.

BATTLE.—Parts of abbey buildings. Turrets and other features of parish church chancel: west door, *c.* 1220—a fine example.

BAYHAM ABBEY.—Parts of nave and transepts, and buildings of abbey.

BEDDINGHAM.—North aisle.

BERSTED, SOUTH.—Entire building, with arches of wide span, and well-moulded capitals and corbels: *c.* 1200–20. Cf. Climping. Fine coeval church chest.

BERWICK.—Tower, &c.

BILLINGSHURST.—South aisle of chancel, &c.

BISHOPSTONE.—North arcade; some windows—one with 'shouldered' arch in west wall of south porch. Cf. Arlington, East Sussex, and Chichester Cathedral, Singleton, Midhurst, West Hampnett, West Wittering, and East Dean, West Sussex, *c.* 1220.

BLATCHINGTON, EAST.—Chancel (sedilia, &c.).

BODIAM.—Chancel, &c.

BOSHAM.—Eastern part of church, with fine quintuplet of lancets in east wall and double lancets in side walls, having marble shafts, caps and bases; double

piscina. A remarkably fine piece of work. Good church chest of this period, *c.* 1210.

BOTOLPHS.—Blocked arcade, north wall of nave and tower, *c.* 1200.

BOXGROVE.—Quire and its aisles, *c.* 1200. The stately work of this period in Sussex. Caen stone and Purbeck marble are used, and the arcades have circular arches inclosing two pointed ones with a sunk quatrefoil in the solid tympanum. Note the carved corbel-heads, the piers—circular, octagonal, and grouped shafts—and the fine vaulting of quire and aisles. Cf. quire of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Portsmouth, and West Wittering.

BREDE.—Parts of nave and aisles.

CATSFIELD.—Tower.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—North and south porches, parts of clearstories in nave and quire, south-west tower, upper stages and buttresses, sacristy, south transept, chapels, parts of quire arches, vaulting, parts of buildings abutting on south walk of cloisters. All these furnish noteworthy examples of the period. Two wooden chests in chapter house.

CHICHESTER, ALL SAINTS' CHURCH.—The whole church.

CHICHESTER, BISHOP'S PALACE CHAPEL.—A small vaulted building, quite a gem, with singularly beautiful mouldings and carved vault corbels, and a remarkable coeval painting. The door has a richly moulded circular head, *c.* 1200.

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- CHIDHAM.—The whole church, except north chapel, which is slightly later, *c.* 1210.
- CLAPHAM.—North and south arcades, aisles, chancel, and north-west tower. Cf. Ashurst, Findon, West Grinstead, &c. The north arcade has good foliated capitals, *c.* 1200.
- CLAYTON.—Chancel, *c.* 1220.
- DEAN, EAST (West Sussex).—South doorway of nave, with early crochet capitals and good mouldings (cf. door of Palace Chapel, Chichester), *c.* 1200.
- FELPHAM.—Trefoil-headed lancets in clearstory and south aisles, *c.* 1220.
- FINDON.—Tower, chancel, &c.
- HALNAKER.—Chapel, *c.* 1200. Good west door and east triplet.
- HARDHAM.—Vesica window, west wall: east window, cf. Barnham. Lancet in nave, *c.* 1220.
- HARDHAM PRIORY.—Arcaded entrance to chapter house, *c.* 1210. An extremely beautiful piece of work, with much dog-tooth moulding.
- HARTING.—Dog-tooth arch to chancel, blocked, and lancets, east wall, *c.* 1220.
- HENFIELD.—Nave arcades and chancel arch, &c., *c.* 1200–20.
- HEYSHOTT.—Nave pillars, very squat. Cf. Wivelsfield. *c.* 1210.
- IFIELD.—Tower and some lancets, font, piers, and piscina.
- ITCHENOR, WEST.—Walls, lancets, font, &c., *c.* 1210.
- KINGSTON-BY-SEA.—Central tower, nave and chancel: note good crossing arches and vault, *c.* 1210.
- KIRDFORD.—Nave arches, *c.* 1220, some lancets, &c.
- LAVANT, MID.—Chancel, and lancets in nave, *c.* 1230.
- LEWES.—Arch from priory, *c.* 1210 (now rebuilt in Pelham Crescent).
- LULLINGTON.—Lancets (altered later), and fabric of church, *c.* 1220.
- LURGASHALL.—Chancel, with lancet windows, chancel arch, &c., *c.* 1210.
- LYMINSTER.—Lower part of tower, with fine buttresses. Lancet and door, north wall chancel. Font, *c.* 1200.
- MIDHURST.—Tower, *c.* 1200.
- MUNDHAM, NORTH.—North and south arcades and some lancets, *c.* 1210. Cf. Sidlesham, Climping, and Bersted.
- NYTIMBER.—Remains of chapel at Barton—with good lancets and trefoil-headed piscina, *c.* 1220.
- OVING.—Chancel arch (with corbels of the Climping type), chancel transepts and tower, font, &c., *c.* 1220. Good north door and priest's door.
- OVINGDEAN.—West tower, and blocked arches in south walls, nave and chancel, *c.* 1200.
- PATCHAM.—Tower, &c., *c.* 1220.
- PATCHING.—Entire church, with north tower and south porch, *c.* 1210. This has corbels of the Climping pattern.
- PIDDINGHOE.—Chancel arch, some windows, &c., *c.* 1210.
- PORTSLADE.—Tower, with good door. Chancel arch, with corbels somewhat resembling those at Yapton, sedilia, piscina, &c., *c.* 1200.
- ROBERTSBRIDGE.—Arches and columns, &c., of abbey.
- ROTTINGDEAN.—Central tower, south arcade, and some inserted lancets, buttresses of west wall, *c.* 1210. Font.
- RUDGWICK.—Tower with corbel table and parts of church, *c.* 1220.
- RUSTINGTON.—North transept, and arches from same to nave and north aisle, *c.* 1200. The lancets in lower part of transept are good typical examples, having the splays radiating round the head.
- SHOREHAM, NEW.—Parts of clearstory, triforium vaulting, flying buttresses, and some windows, *c.* 1200–20.
- SHULBRED PRIORY.—Parts, *c.* 1200–20.
- SIDLESHAM.—Blocked arches in transepts, font, &c., *c.* 1200.
- STOKE, NORTH.—Nave, with small lancets.
- STOKE, SOUTH.—Lancet, door, &c., in nave, *c.* 1200.
- TARRING NEVILLE.—Chancel, and building generally, with lancets, chancel arch, good double aumbry and piscina, *c.* 1200.
- TELSCOMBE.—Parts, including some lancet windows, *c.* 1220.
- TORTINGTON.—Arches to south aisle, and some windows, *c.* 1210.
- TORTINGTON PRIORY.—Vaulting and shafts, *c.* 1220.
- WALBERTON.—Chancel and north porch, *c.* 1200. The lancets of chancel are typical. The porch, originally longer, has peculiar trefoil-headed windows.
- WALTHAM, UP.—Chancel, arch, &c., *c.* 1210.
- WESTBOURNE.—Parts of fabric, blocked lancets in chancel; formerly a group of five in east wall, *c.* 1220.
- WESTFIELD.—Chancel, &c.
- WILLINGDON.—South door, &c., *c.* 1220. This is noteworthy for its elaborate and beautiful mouldings.
- WISBOURGH GREEN.—Chancel, nave, aisle, &c., altar recess, *c.* 1210.
- WITTERING, WEST.—Chancel arch, with corbels of the Climping type, *c.* 1220. Chancel, generally, with good lancets (two in east wall), priest's door, low side window with shouldered arch, &c.
- WIVELSFIELD.—Arches to south aisle. Note diminutive column (cf. Heyshott and Jevington), and south chapel (altar recess arch), *c.* 1200–10.
- YAPTON.—Chancel, with good early lancets and priest's door. The chancel arch (four centred, and perhaps originally built so) has corbels of the Climping type, *c.* 1210. See illustration, p. 345.

FROM *c.* 1220 TO *c.* 1260

A large proportion of the churches in this list are entirely in the period, e.g. Climping and Preston.

The lancet windows of this period are usually much longer in proportion to their width than in the preceding period. At Climping two are 10 ft. long, and at Fletching they actually measure about 12 feet, but these are exceptionally lengthy. 8 ft. by 1 ft. 2 in. would be a fair average for the larger churches. Instead of the plainly radiating splays to the heads, escoinson arches are used, and in some few cases, instead of being pointed, they are—as in Climping chancel and Sidlesham—segmental, or even elliptical, as at Tangmere. The openings are usually rebated (sometimes inter-

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nally for a shutter, as well as externally for glazing), but also grooved. Low side windows are common in this period.

The germ of tracery is found in two-light windows such as at Barnham and Hardham, where the lights are divided by a shallow mullion, and the tympanum above is pierced with a diamond-shaped opening; or at a later stage in the plain circle over two lancets—the whole inclosed with a moulded hood—at Linchmere. At the Greyfriars' church, Chichester, the quatrefoil tracery is fully developed. Lurgashall used to have, and Burham and North Stoke still possess, good examples of plate tracery.

ALDINGBOURNE.—Sedilia (note good mouldings and carved bust) and lancet in chancel, *c.* 1220–30.

AMBERLEY.—Chancel, with good lancets, built by Bishop Ralph Neville, in 1233. South aisle to nave probably of same date. Cf. Rustington chancel arch.

BATTLE ABBEY.—Cloisters, rich panelled work, *c.* 1250; undercrofts, *c.* 1220.

BIGNOR.—Chancel, &c., *c.* 1230.

BOSHAM.—Nave arcades, clearstory of circular windows, chancel-house, font, *c.* 1230.

BURHAM.—Plate tracery window, east wall of north transept, *c.* 1240.

BUXTED.—North and south arcades, *c.* 1260, nave.

CHAILEY.—Nave, chancel, tower, &c., *c.* 1260.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Outer aisles (or chapels) of nave, buttresses, &c., south transept of nave, central tower (rebuilt), west porch. The internal west door has very good mouldings, and the quatrefoil panelling in the inside of the porch is of great beauty.

CHICHESTER, GREYFRIARS' CHURCH.—With grand group of five lancets in east wall, *c.* 1260. Note the early tracery of side windows, and the range of fine buttresses.

CLIMPING.—Entire church (cruciform, with a south aisle), except earlier tower at end of south transept, and later porch, *c.* 1230. Note the peculiar corbels to transept and other arches. (See p. 345.) The twenty-six original lancets and three circular windows in gables all remain, as also a good priest's door, aumbries and piscina, and a coeval chest richly ornamented. The arcade to aisle is well proportioned and of great beauty, as are also the chancel and transept arches. For plan see p. 341.

COOMBES.—Trefoil-headed lancets, and low side window in nave, *c.* 1250.

CUCKFIELD.—Upper part of tower, with fine trifoliated corbel-table of Chichester Cathedral type (Bishop R. Neville), *c.* 1245; also Preston by Brighton, western bays of nave. Font, *c.* 1220 (cf. Rottingdean and Iford).

DITCHLING.—Chancel, chancel aisle, and central tower, *c.* 1250–60. Very good work, with rich mouldings, corbel heads, and foliated capitals. Cf. Atherington chapel.

DONNINGTON.—Chancel, chancel arch, &c., *c.* 1230.

DURRINGTON CHAPEL.—In ruins.

EARTHAM.—Parts, including south aisle arcade, *c.* 1220.

EDBURTON.—Chancel and part of nave, *c.* 1250. Cf. Preston. The wave moulding and other details in both are identical.

ELSTED.—Chancel, *c.* 1230. Note graceful pair of lancets in east wall. Cf. Tangmere and West Wittering for this unusual arrangement.

FISHBOURNE.—Parts of fabric and some windows.

FITTLEWORTH.—Chancel, *c.* 1220–30. Good windows, piscina, string-course, &c.

FLETCHING.—Chancel and parts of nave. Note long lancets, two western prolonged to form low side openings, *c.* 1230.

FUNTINGTON.—Arcade in nave, tower, &c., *c.* 1230.

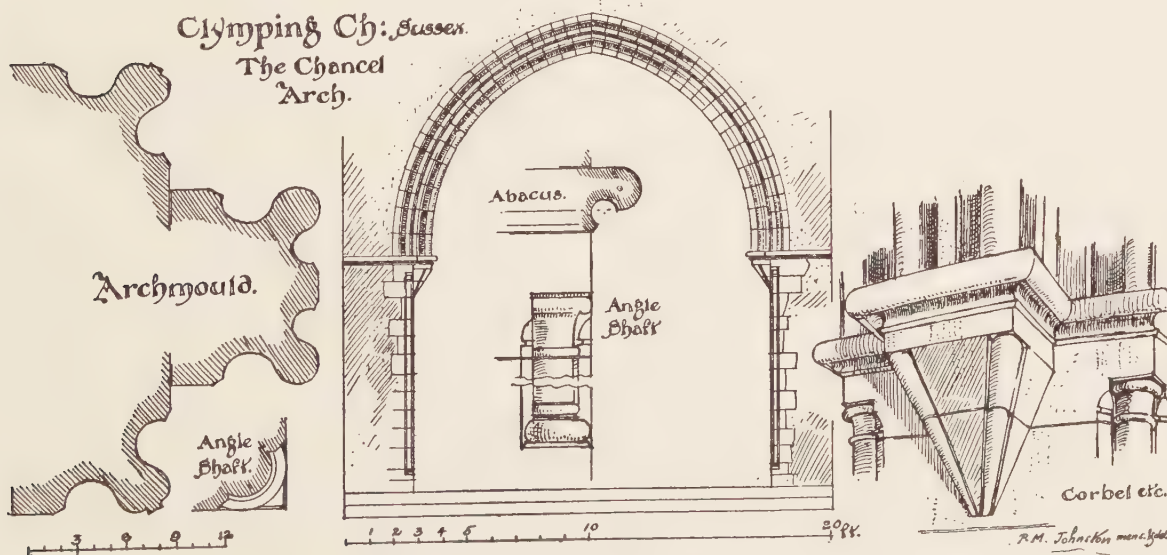
GREATHAM.—The whole church, with lancet windows.

GRINSTEAD, WEST.—Nave pillars and arches, and some lancets, one a low side window, *c.* 1220.

HARDHAM.—Lancet and two-light east window; chancel roof with dog-tooth on beam.

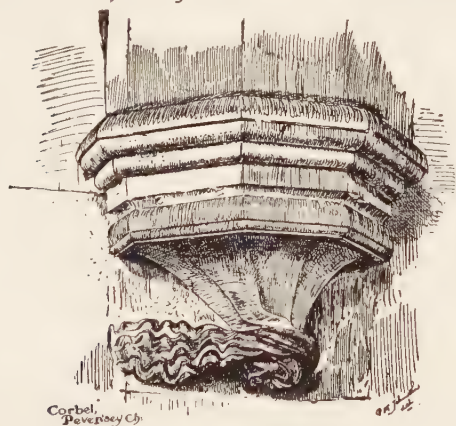
HARTING.—Arcades of nave without caps, *c.* 1260. Cf. Rustington, Slindon, and Coldwaltham; also Fetcham and Alfold (Surrey). The piers at Cocking have similar stops, &c.

HEATHFIELD.—Tower, nave with clearstory, aisles and chancel (altered), *c.* 1250–60.



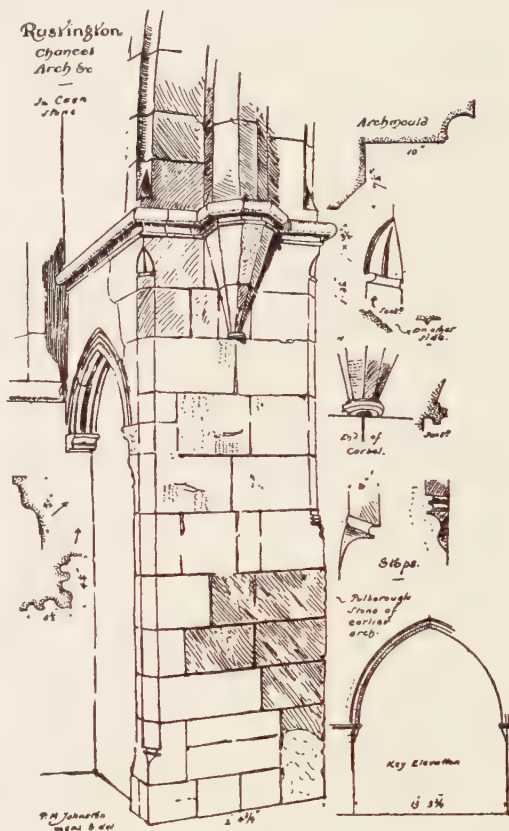
A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

HELLINGLY.—Chancel, east windows and windows south wall, and north transeptal chapel, *c.* 1250.
 HOATHLY, West.—Arcades of nave, piscina, and sedilia, &c., 1260.
 HORSHAM.—Arcades of nave and chancel, and clear-stories, turrets of east gable, *c.* 1230–40. This work is large and spacious, with good details.
 HORSTED KEYNES.—Parts of nave and chancel, tower, and spire; lancet triplet east wall, *c.* 1220.
 HORSTED, LITTLE.—Trefoil-headed lancet north wall of chancel (cf. Coombes), and curious plate tracery windows of nave, *c.* 1260.
 HOUGHTON.—Characteristic east triplet, with mullions separating the lancets under one internal arch. This type of east window is found at Preston, Merston, and many other West Sussex churches, *c.* 1250.
 JEVINGTON.—Nave, chancel arch, &c. Note curious cross arch of north aisle, arcade, &c., *c.* 1220.
 LINDFIELD.—Tower.
 LURGASHALL.—Good plate-tracery window on north of nave, with cinque-foiled circle above two trefoil-headed lights, *c.* 1250.
 LYMINSTER.—Lancets inserted in older nave and chancel south walls, *c.* 1230.
 LINCHMERE.—Chancel and some windows in nave, with plate-tracery east window, knee-stones, and coping of east wall, moulded beam, piscina, &c. Note broad squat form of lancets, *c.* 1250.
 MAYFIELD.—Tower and one lancet, *c.* 1230.
 MICHELHAM PRIORY.—Parts, *c.* 1220–60.
 MOUNTFIELD.—Lancets, &c., piscina.
 NORTHAM.—Nave and chancel, *c.* 1240.
 PEASMARSH.—Chancel and other parts, low side windows, &c., *c.* 1230.
 PETWORTH.—Arches in nave.
 PEVENSEY.—Nave arcades and tower, some windows, &c., of nave, chancel, and west tower, chancel, chancel roof, *c.* 1250–60. Note clustered columns.



PORTSLADE.—A trefoil-headed lancet is found here, and in several other churches of the neighbourhood, such as Bury and Felpham, *c.* 1240.
 PRESTON.—Entire church (all lancet windows). See plan, p. 339. Note narrow lancets and mask corbel-table of tower, good chancel arch, sedilia and piscinae, *c.* 1250.
 PULBOROUGH.—Chancel and chancel arch, *c.* 1220.
 ROTHERFIELD.—Main structure, arcades, tower, &c. *c.* 1250.
 RUSTINGTON.—Chancel, with chancel arch, low side window, *c.* 1230; window in transept gable, and clearstory windows of nave, *c.* 1250.
 RYE.—Windows in south wall of south chancel—two

lancets with a circle over, under separate hood mouldings, *c.* 1240.
 SALEHURST.—Church generally, *c.* 1240.
 SELSEY.—Chancel of old church.
 SHOREHAM, OLD.—Chancel roof, with dog-tooth and carved paterae on beams; low side window, &c.



SIDLESHAM.—Nave and aisles, with five arches of wide span. Cf. Climping and North Mundham, *c.* 1230. Good corbels to arches between aisles and transepts. Cf. Rustington and Amberley.
 STOKE, NORTH.—Chancel, with sedilia and piscina and curiously moulded chancel arch, in hard chalk.
 STREET.—Tower, &c.
 TANGMERE.—Chancel and inserted lancets of nave. Remarkable chancel arch, with corbels of the Climping type; two lancets east wall, *c.* 1230.
 TARRING, WEST.—Nave, aisles, and base of west tower (chancel reconstructed in fifteenth century), good arcades, buttresses, single and double piscinae, &c., *c.* 1230.
 THORNEY, WEST.—Lancets in chancel, two with transoms forming low side windows, *c.* 1240.
 UDIMORE.—Chancel: good lancets, low side window, priest's door, and chancel arch. This is in the extreme east of the county, but is evidently by the same hand as several West Sussex churches. Cf. the chancel arch corbels with that to the sedilia in Aldingbourne church.
 WARBLETON.—Chancel with lancets, and wall tomb on outside, *c.* 1220.
 WHATLINGTON.—Chancel and other parts (low side window), *c.* 1220–40.
 YAPTON.—South aisle rebuilt *c.* 1230. Note rare quatrefoil and circular windows in south wall. This is perhaps the best illustration remaining of how these thirteenth-century low-walled aisles were lighted.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

FROM c. 1260 TO c. 1300

Window tracery in this period develops from mere piercings into connected geometrical designs, with slender mullions, and although there is comparatively little work within these dates in Sussex, it is of the best. The Cathedral Lady chapel, the chancel of St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, and the churches of Trotton and Chalvington (entirely of this period) are all excellent. The doorway at Amberley is quite a little gem, and the window tracery at Isfield and Harting is both original and excellent in design.

AMBERLEY.—South door, one of the best examples of this period in Sussex. Note the finely carved natural foliage of the caps and the beautiful mouldings of arch and jambs. Cf. the Lady chapel, Chichester Cathedral, c. 1290–1300.

ATHERINGTON CHAPEL.—Cf. Ditchling, Chailey, &c., in last list. The beautiful windows, with capitals of natural foliage, date from c. 1270.

BOTOLPHS.—Tower and chancel windows. Low side windows, one with a good ogee-trefoiled head. East window has early interesting tracery, c. 1290–1300.

BOXGROVE.—Windows of quire aisles, square-headed, with early tracery.

BUXTED.—Chancel. Very rich work. Sedilia, piscina, and windows. It has been suggested, from the likeness, that this is by the same architect as Solihull Church, Warw.

CHALVINGTON.—Entire church, with good tracery windows. Note flat heads of chancel north and south windows, and coeval glass, c. 1290.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Lady chapel, c. 1290–1300. Beautiful windows (geometrical tracery) and delicate natural foliage carving. Cf. the fine series of carved misericordes and canopies to quire with those at St. Mary's Hospital; the dates are close together, c. 1290–1300.

CHICHESTER, ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL.—Quire with windows, piscina, sedilia, screen, and stalls, c. 1290–1300. The screen is a magnificent piece of early woodwork—the finest of its kind in the south of England. The misericordes are also among the best of this date remaining. (Note elaborate geometrical tracery.)

COCKING.—South aisle and chancel windows. Cf. similar work at Coldwaltham, c. 1290.

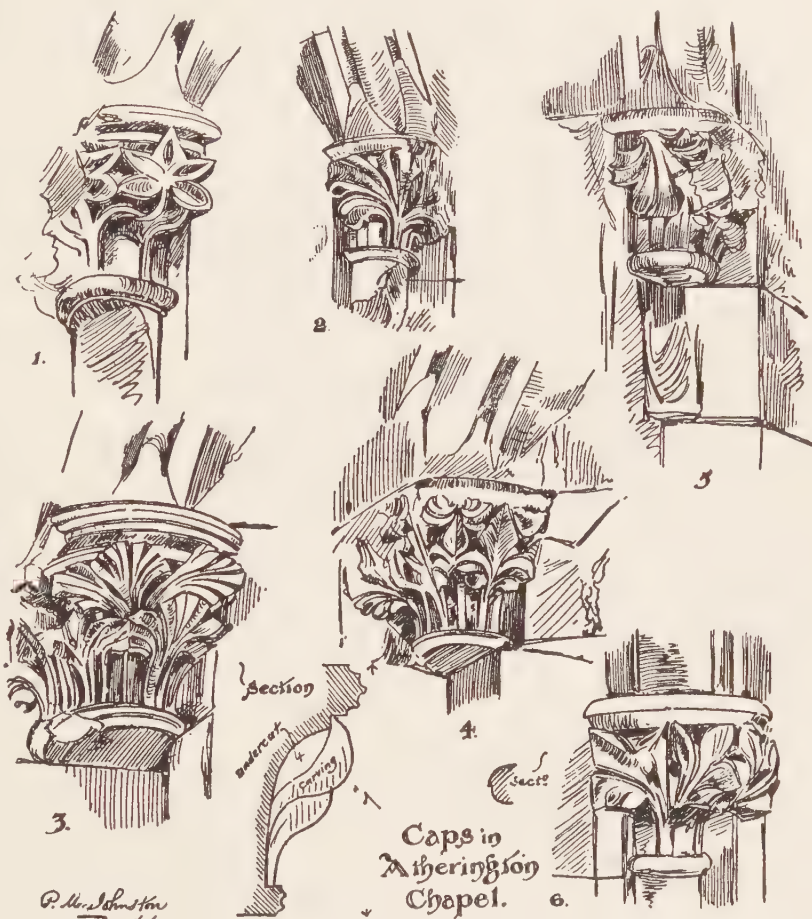
FELPHAM.—Side window of chancel, and priest's door: tall ogee trefoiled lights with quatrefoils over. Cf. Old Shoreham, c. 1290.

FLETCHING.—East window, transept windows and piscina, c. 1280

FRAMFIELD.—North chapel, with a good early tracery window, c. 1290.

GUESTLING.—Windows in north and south walls of chancel, with trefoiled tracery, c. 1280.

HARTING.—Good tracery windows in north transept,



priest's door, sacristy, &c.; nave arcades without caps. Cf. south arcade, Cocking, c. 1290.

HEATHFIELD.—South door and some windows, c. 1270.

HELLINGLY.—Nave arcades, c. 1270.

HOATHLY, WEST.—A good series of geometrical tracery windows, c. 1290–1300.

HORSHAM.—Chapel on north of nave, c. 1280. Plate tracery windows, piscina, &c.

HORSTED, LITTLE.—Windows in nave with early tracery of peculiar design (restored), c. 1290.

IFIELD.—Nave arcades.

ISFIELD.—Chancel, with unusual tracery to windows (one a low side window), priest's door, and good buttresses, c. 1290–1300.

JEVINGTON.—Chancel, with ogee-trefoiled lancets. Cf. Lullington, c. 1280.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

- LANCING.—Central tower, trefoiled lancets, and early traceried windows, 1270.
- LAUGHTON.—Two-light windows with mask . . . corbels, square heads and trefoiled, *c.* 1270.
- LURGASHALL.—Plate-tracery window, north wall of chancel, *c.* 1270. (Good example.)
- NEWICK.—Chancel windows and font, *c.* 1300.
- ORE.—Parts of desecrated chapel, *c.* 1270.
- OTHAM.—Desecrated chapel, windows, piscina, sedilia, *c.* 1290. Very graceful work.
- RODMELL.—Screen between south aisle and south chapel, *c.* 1290. A rare piece of early woodwork.
- RUSPER.—Windows in rebuilt chancel, *c.* 1280.
- RUSTINGTON.—North arcade of nave (wave mouldings dying on to a splay, without caps), and font, *c.* 1260.
- SHOREHAM, OLD.—Geometrical traceried windows of chancel (beautiful design and proportions), chancel screen, a very fine piece of early woodwork, *c.* 1280.
- SOMPTING.—Piscina and arch (blocked) between tower and north chapel, *c.* 1260. Cf. work in Preston church.
- STOKE, NORTH.—Windows of transepts, *c.* 1270. That in north transept east wall is elaborate for tracery, with three trefoil-headed lights, and cinquefoil over, the interstices pierced to form a complete design. One in south transept has interesting tracery.
- TROTTON.—Church generally, with good windows and doors (old ironwork, see p. 357), piscina, &c., the 'wave' and 'beaded scroll' mouldings occur throughout, and the windows have quatrefoils of unequal lobes, *c.* 1290.
- WALDRON.—North aisle (plate tracery and arcade), *c.* 1280.
- WINCHELSEA.—Greyfriars' Church, *c.* 1290. Note straight-sided apse, window tracery, and wide chancel arch of peculiar graceful proportion and details.

FROM *c.* 1300 TO *c.* 1350.

The tracery of windows is now at its best, and in the earlier part of the period furnishes some extremely beautiful examples such as Winchelsea—where also is a series of magnificent tombs, all within the early part of the fourteenth century—Warbleton and Sutton. It soon becomes coarser and more commonplace, as in the churches of Etchingham and Lindfield, which are almost entirely in the one style.

- ARDINGLY.—Fabric generally, doors, windows (low side window), tomb, &c., *c.* 1300. Some of the chancel windows have hood mouldings of oak.
- ARLINGTON.—Chancel, with east and south windows, low side window, buttresses, gable, coping, &c., *c.* 1310. Piscina, arches to south chapel, east window north chapel (reticulated), *c.* 1320. Font, *c.* 1340, &c.
- BECKLEY.—Fabric of church, doors, windows, sedilia, piscina.
- BEDDINGHAM.—Chancel and nave clearstory windows, *c.* 1300.
- BEPTON.—Fine canopied tomb. Cf. Berwick and Westdean (East Sussex), *c.* 1300. The finials and crockets are of a local type.
- BERWICK.—Chancel and south aisle, &c., with fine window tracery and tomb canopies.
- BEXHILL.—Windows and door north aisle wall, *c.* 1300.
- BIGNOR.—Chancel screen, *c.* 1310. A very beautiful piece of early woodwork.
- BIRDHAM.—Tower, *c.* 1330.
- BILSHAM CHAPEL.—(Yapton). A small building with one or two original features, *c.* 1340.
- BOSHAM.—Walls of north and south aisles, with battlementing and windows (restored), wall tomb, &c., *c.* 1300–50.
- BOXGROVE.—East windows of quire aisles, reticulated south porch, with stoup and curious marble recess, *c.* 1320.
- BRIGHTLING.—Parts of fabric and many good windows, some square-headed, others with reticulated tracery, *c.* 1330.
- BRIGHTON.—Nave arcades (cf. arcade St. Michael's Lewes), some windows (square headed) and parts of south chapel, *c.* 1350 (all much 'restored').
- BROADWATER.—North porch, and windows in aisles, *c.* 1320.
- BUNCTON.—East window, of two lights with ogee-quatrefoil over, *c.* 1300. A very beautiful example. The whole gable and buttresses are of the same date.
- BURPHAM.—Windows inserted in chancel, *c.* 1340. A window of nave (north wall), *c.* 1350.
- BURWASH.—Inserted windows.
- BURY.—Chancel and window in nave, *c.* 1320–40.
- CATSFIELD.—Nave windows, *c.* 1340.
- CHICHESTER.—Window of south transept (of great size), *c.* 1330; window, chapel of St. Pantaleon, *c.* 1350; tombs of several dates.
- CHICHESTER, ST. OLAVE'S CHURCH.—Elaborately carved piscina in nave, *c.* 1300. Cf. work in Cathedral Lady chapel.
- COMPTON.—Reticulated east window.
- DENTON.—Chancel, with five windows, sedilia, &c., *c.* 1310.
- DITCHLING.—Windows in north wall of nave and transepts
- EARNLEY.—Windows, piscina with credence shelf, &c. in chancel, *c.* 1330.
- EASTBOURNE.—South porch, south aisle, windows in south chapel and screen-work in same and chancel, *c.* 1310; east window, north chapel and window in north aisle, north porch, west bays nave, font, doors, corbels, *c.* 1340; the font is typical of a group in the locality.
- ETCHINGHAM.—Entire church, *c.* 1340–50; a very noteworthy example. The east window has tracery of the 'flamboyant' type. Note coeval copper vane.
- EWHURST.—Inserted windows (good tracery in side and east windows), piscina, priest's door, &c., *c.* 1300.
- FINDON.—East window (reticulated) and others in chancel, *c.* 1300.
- FIRLE.—Local type of window tracery in south chapel, *c.* 1340. Cf. Eastbourne.
- FORD.—East window of reticulated tracery and single light window in south wall of nave, *c.* 1330. Cf. Littlehampton, now destroyed.
- FRISTON.—Windows and roof of chancel.

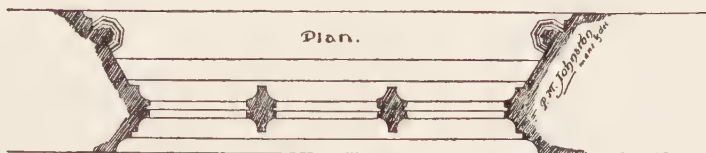
ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

GRINSTEAD, WEST.—North wooden porch, *c.* 1340.
 HARTFIELD.—Windows in nave, *c.* 1340. Cf. Hooe.
 HOOE.—Windows in chancel and nave, *c.* 1340; a local type of square-headed window, of which there are numerous examples.
 KINGSTON (near Lewes).—The entire church, with good tracery, *c.* 1300.
 LEWES, ST. MICHAEL'S.—Nave arcade, *c.* 1350.
 LINDFIELD.—Fabric generally, except tower, &c., fine east window, *c.* 1330–50.
 MARESFIELD.—Nave windows, &c., *c.* 1350.
 MUNDHAM, NORTH.—Upper part of tower and some ogee-headed windows of aisles, *c.* 1330.
 NUTHURST.—East window (reticulated), &c. *c.* 1330; fabric generally.
 PATCHAM.—Windows in nave and chancel.
 PYECOMBE.—Double piscina and windows of nave and tower, *c.* 1340.
 RUDGWICK.—Parts of nave and chancel windows, piscina, &c., *c.* 1300.
 RYE.—Some windows, &c.
 RYE, AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY.—A fine range of 'flamboyant' windows, south wall and other features, *c.* 1350. Windows of a small monastic building near parish church, *c.* 1310.
 SELMESTON.—Timber arcade and some windows, *c.* 1320.
 SUTTON.—Chancel with good east window, outside sepulchral recess and fine coeval roof, *c.* 1330.
 SWANBOROUGH.—Roof and windows.
 TANGMERE.—South door (beautiful mouldings).
 THORNEY.—Screens (now at west end), having 'flamboyant' tracery, *c.* 1340.
 WARBLETON.—Window, south wall of chancel, *c.* 1310. Windows of nave, *c.* 1340.

WESTDEAN (East Sussex).—Windows and fine tomb canopies.
 WINCHELSEA.—The entire church (chancel and aisles and transepts), beautiful windows, tombs, piscina, sedilia (2), &c., *c.* 1300–10; note open tracery parapets and flying buttress.
 WORTH.—West window. Cf. others in Chichester Cathedral, Ardingly, Eastbourne, Firle, &c. of the same design, 'flamboyant' in character, *c.* 1350.

S: MARS · EASTBOURNE:

East Window of Gilbert's Chancel



FROM *c.* 1350 TO *c.* 1400

The window tracery now begins to stiffen into straight lines; nevertheless there is much beauty in the larger churches, such as Alfriston, Poynings, Arundel, and Pulborough, rebuilt during this period. Occasionally traces of the older style of flowing and geometrical forms are found, as in the remarkable group of east windows at Alfriston, Poynings, and West Tarring, and in smaller windows at Eastergate, Arundel, and Waldron. The scroll and wave mouldings, usually associated with earlier periods, continued to be used during this time in windows and other features, because of their suitability to the coarse sandstones of East Sussex.

ALFRISTON.—The fine cruciform church, *c.* 1360. Cf. the east windows of Poynings and West Tarring.
 ARUNDEL.—The entire church, with some coeval paintings. The Fitzalan chancel is probably the oldest part, 1380, but the rest is only a few years

later. The windows are an interesting series. The canopied stone pulpit is an especially fine feature.

CHICHESTER.—Window in close. Bishop Stratford's tomb and *sacellum* of St. Richard, *c.* 1350.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

DENTON.—Rood turret, *c.* 1360.
 EASTERGATE.—Two-light window, south wall of nave, with coeval heraldic glass, *c.* 1350.
 EASTBOURNE.—Tower, Easter sepulchre, piscina, sedilia and stone tabernacle and image-niche in east wall and niche in nave pier, *c.* 1350–70.
 HAILSHAM.—Some windows and parts of fabric, *c.* 1380–90.
 MAYFIELD.—Church rebuilt after fire in 1389; two-storied porch, stalls, &c.
 POYNINGS.—Fine cruciform church, with excellent squared and coursed black flint-work, and good window tracery, &c. in local sandstone. Cf. east

windows of Alfriston and West Tarring. All have sexfoil figures in the head, *c.* 1360–70.
 PULBOROUGH.—A fine west tower, nave and aisles, built in local sandstone and flints. Note lofty arcades and the recurrence of a local type of segmental headed window. Cf. Arundel, *c.* 1380–90.
 RUSTINGTON.—Window in transept and west door, *c.* 1390.
 SOMPTING.—Large and handsome windows in chancel, *c.* 1380.
 TARRING, WEST.—Chancel; cf. Alfriston and Poynings; with screen and returned stalls, *c.* 1360–70.
 THAKEHAM.—Tower of the Pulborough type, *c.* 1390.

FROM *c.* 1400 TO *c.* 1500

Most Sussex churches show inserted windows, doors, tombs, or other features in this period. Some few were practically rebuilt therein, and a large number had towers added towards the close of the century. Of the last, a group in East Sussex is identified with the Pelham family, whose cognizance—the Buckle—is carved in the stonework or worked into the window tracery. It is difficult to date these exactly, and possibly some belong to the succeeding period. Ancient seating, stalls, and screen-work of this period remain in a few churches.

BATTLE.—West tower, aisle windows, south porch &c., *c.* 1400.
 BATTLE ABBEY.—Parts of cloisters.
 BEDDINGHAM.—Tower and font.
 BREDE.—Tower, font, &c.
 BRIGHTON.—South chapel, some windows. Fine rood screen, all ‘restored.’
 BURPHAM.—Fine tower (with curious termination to stair-turret), *c.* 1460.
 CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.—North transept window and other inserted windows, chiefly in the north quire aisle, bell tower, cloisters, chapter-house (wide newel stair, wooden seat and secret panel, covering Treasury), tomb of Bishop Arundel (died 1478). The Arundel screen, now in bell tower. Tomb of Bishop de Moleyns (died 1449).
 CROWHURST.—Tower, *c.* 1490. Pelham buckle in tracery of west window.
 CUCKFIELD.—Greater part of church, including windows, south porch, and roofs (cf. Horsham).
 DALLINGTON.—Tower and spire (with Pelham buckle), *c.* 1470.
 FIRLE.—Tower and some windows, &c.
 GULDEFORD.—Fabric, with some windows.
 HARTFIELD.—Tower and nave, with several windows, *c.* 1450.
 HASTINGS, ALL SAINTS'.—*c.* 1480–1500. Note the tower vaulting, the four-centred arches of nave, windows, doors, stoup, and font.
 HASTINGS, ST. CLEMENT'S.—*c.* 1400. Fine western tower, with good windows, door, stoup, and vaulting. The nave, arcades, windows, doors, piscinae, sedilia, and font are excellent of their date.
 HENFIELD.—Tower, *c.* 1500.
 HOATHLY, EAST.—Tower (Pelham buckle), *c.* 1500
 HORSHAM.—Great east window of seven lights, font, roof (cf. Cuckfield), south chantry, *c.* 1420. Sacristy, *c.* 1460. Tomb of Lord Hoo (*c.* 1403) and of Thomas Lord Braose (died *c.* 1396).
 HORSTED, LITTLE.—Tower, *c.* 1500.
 LEWES, ST. THOMAS AT CLIFFE.—Tower and other parts.

LEWES.—ST. JOHN'S, SOUTHOVER.—A good door in tower, *c.* 1500.
 LEWES.—Remains of ST. JAMES'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL, *c.* 1400.
 MIDHURST.—Church generally, except tower.
 MUNDHAM, NORTH.—West window, tower, *c.* 1420.
 NEWICK.—Tower, *c.* 1420.
 PARHAM.—Tower, &c.
 RINGMER.—Church generally, of various dates.
 RIPE.—Tower, of graceful design, and some inserted windows.
 ROTHERFIELD.—Chancel arch, east window, and parts of tower, fine-moulded roof to nave, inserted windows, *c.* 1400.
 RUSPER.—Tower, *c.* 1500.
 RYE.—Inserted windows, arches in quire, east window, transept windows, &c., screens, central tower, *c.* 1420 to 1500.
 SEDLEScombe.—Tower, *c.* 1500.
 SINGLETON.—Windows and roofs, north porch, font, canopied tombs, rood stair, seating, &c., *c.* 1400. Note.—The thirteenth-century arcades were rebuilt and heightened and new bases added in this period.
 SOMPTING.—Square-headed windows in nave, and S. transept—a local type, found also at Clapham and East Preston, *c.* 1430.
 STEYNING.—Windows in aisles, south porch, with good doorway, &c., *c.* 1440.
 STORRINGTON.—Arcades, with lofty columns, *c.* 1500.
 WALDRON.—Tower, *c.* 1500.
 WARBLETON.—Tower and inserted windows of nave, *c.* 1400.
 WARNHAM.—Tower, east window, &c.
 WASHINGTON.—Tower, a fine well-proportioned structure, with pierced stone shutters to bell-chamber windows, *c.* 1500.
 WESTBOURNE.—Tower and inserted windows, *c.* 1400
 WESTHAM.—Chancel, east window, with coeval glass roofs (wide span), north porch, &c. Some remains of old screen-work.
 WIVELSFIELD.—A good south door, stoup, and some windows.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

FROM c. 1500 TO c. 1560

Besides some interesting towers, this period gives us a series of late altar-tombs of Sussex marble and Caen stone, many of them curiously carved with a singular blending of Gothic and Renaissance detail. As a series they are unrivalled in England. See above, p. 361.

ANGMERING.—Tower, with dated inscription, showing that it was built by the monastery of Sion (Middlesex), in 1507.

ASHBURNHAM.—Tower.

BARNHAM.—West window and door, rich work of c. 1500.

BEEDING.—Chancel reconstructed, c. 1535, of older materials.

BOLNEY.—The fine massive western tower is exactly dated by entries in the churchwardens' accounts. It was built at the cost of one John Bolney in 1536-7-8.¹⁷

BOXGROVE.—la Warr chantry chapel, c. 1530. A truly gorgeous piece of work, with a profusion of panelled work, niches, cherubs, grotesques, &c.

BREDE.—Oxenbridge chantry chapel.

BURY.—South porch and stoup, c. 1500.

FRAMFIELD.—Church rebuilt, except north chapel, after fire in 1500.

MILLAND CHAPEL.—c. 1500, with earlier features.

RINGMER.—Parts of chapels.

STEYNING.—Tower, in flint and stone chequer work, c. 1555.

TWINEHAM.—Entire church rebuilt in brick, c. 1540. It has perhaps the latest instance of a low side window, with four-centred head, in brick.

WINCHELSEA.—West porch, c. 1500.

WITTERING, WEST.—Chapel in Cakeham (Bishop's Palace—built by Bishop Sherborn), c. 1510. The tombs in the parish church are remarkable for the bas-reliefs and images of patron saints that have escaped destruction.

FROM c. 1560 TO c. 1700

In a number of churches additions to existing buildings, or rebuildings after fires, took place in this period, and in most cases a very creditable imitation of mediaeval work resulted. This is notably so at Slaugham, Ashburnham, and Withyham.

ASHBURNHAM.—Rebuilt (except tower), 1660.

BERWICK.—Tower and spire, 1603.

COOMBES.—East window, c. 1600.

COWDRAY.—Chapel—sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

EGDEAN.—Rebuilt 1623.

ELSTED.—Porch, dated 1622.

FORD.—South porch (brick), c. 1635.

HARTING, SOUTH.—Chancel roof, &c., c. 1598.

LINCHMERE.—Tower, 1656.

MALLING.—Erected between 1626 and 1628, and consecrated 1632.

SIDLESHAM.—East window, c. 1630.

SLAUGHAM.—The south chapel, dated 1613, was erected by the Covert family. Its style is singularly good 'Gothic' for the date.

STEDHAM.—Upper part of tower rebuilt in 1670. Elliptical-headed windows. Goblet-shaped font of same date.

TROTTON.—Porch, 1612. Altar ('dog') rails and font cover, c. 1630.

WARNHAM.—Screen (gallery), &c., c. 1625.

WITHYHAM.—Chancel, chapels, and nave, rebuilt after a fire, 1666.

WOOLBEDING.—Tower, c. 1680.

WORTH.—Pulpit and gallery, &c., 1663-72.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

GRINSTEAD, EAST.—Rebuilt in 1785, after a fire.

GLYNDE.—Rebuilt 1760.

LAUGHTON.—Chancel, c. 1760—a curious piece of 'Strawberry Hill' Gothic.

LEWES.—St. Michael's, south wall rebuilt, 1748.

¹⁷ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vi, 244.

CIVIL AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Under this heading are comprised not only the old houses of every degree, but the few ancient public buildings of secular character which Sussex can boast, and of which some collective notice is required. The remarks as to materials and construction found under the heading of Ecclesiastical Architecture have a general application to this section. The material readiest to hand was used: oak timber and clay plaster (or 'wattle and daub') for the lesser houses and cottages, except where flints, chalk, and sandstone could be easily obtained. Horsham slabs were used for the 'healing' of roofs, equally with reed thatch, in Western Sussex. Tiles were mostly of later introduction. Caen stone was a luxury reserved for the churches and a few of the larger houses near the sea or the rivers. Bricks were strangely little used, as compared with other counties. Down to the sixteenth century window glass was seldom employed, except in the great houses.

Sussex is fortunate in possessing a very early example of a manor-house, now called Barton or Manor Farm, Nytimber, in Pagham parish.¹ This rare survival has only lately been made known through some extensive alterations having been carried out in the group of farm buildings in which the primitive *aula* of the manor and a later chapel were buried. The tiny *aula* was found to be a small rectangular building, lying north and south, with walls 2 ft. 10 in. thick, and measuring internally 18 ft. 10½ in. by 17 ft. 6 in. The walls are built of water-worn pieces of milliolute limestone from the Mixen rocks at Selsey Bill, used in their natural state and regularly disposed in herring-bone work. It still retains a doorway in the north and another in the south wall, and the latter opening has a circular arch, very regularly built of neatly dressed and accurately gauged voussoirs, in a fresh-water Chara Limestone, probably brought from the Isle of Wight. A few of these stones appear in most of the old buildings in this district of south-west Sussex (notably in such undisputed pre-Conquest churches as Bosham, Singleton, Sompting, &c.), where their position and character give reasons for supposing that they had been employed in yet older buildings. The fact of the doorways being pierced straight through without a rebate suggests possibly a pre-Conquest date.² The foundations of a larger building abutting upon the northern end of this were lately uncovered, and at the same time the remains of an early thirteenth-century chapel (46 ft. by 20 ft. 3 in. internally), lying to the west, were disinterred from the farmhouse of which they formed a part.

At South Malling, near Lewes, a wall of the manor-house belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, now a garden wall, remains, and is probably of eleventh-century date. Old Erringham, a manor-house near Coombes and

¹ See the detailed account of this discovery, by the writer and Mr. H. L. F. Guernonprez, A.R.I.B.A., in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvii, 145-54, where the possibility is discussed of this building actually dating from the granting of Pagham to Wilfrid in A.D. 687.

² Cf. south door at Lyminster church and north door at Selham.

CIVIL AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Old Shoreham, has parts of early twelfth-century dates, including a building that was probably a chapel, which still retains some of its original windows and other features. In several cases near the sea-coast, such as at Preston Portslade, Ferring, and Goring, the remains of early stone and flint manor-houses abut upon the churchyards. The former, a manor of the bishop of Chichester, probably had a stone house, dating from at least the middle of the thirteenth century : large quantities of Caen stone ashlar appear in the out-buildings of the present manor-house, and the stump of a tower or other building adjoins the churchyard on the north-east. At Portslade the ruins of a tower and other walls occupy a similar position, and a perfect two-light window of the late twelfth century and other features of mediaeval date in and around this building are still to be seen. At Goring are the remains of a mediaeval manor-house of early date abutting upon the south-east corner of the churchyard. One narrow window and some foundations give an indication of its character and extent.

Much more complete than the foregoing is the very interesting house at Charleston in the parish of Westdean, near Seaford. This is on the estate granted by William the Conqueror to Alured, cupbearer to the count of Mortain, and the house must have been built by one of his immediate descendants. It contains a handsome circular-headed window of two lights, divided by an octagonal shaft, with capital and base of late twelfth-century character, and there is a small single opening in one of the gable-ends. Hindall, near Buxted, has on its east side a circular arch of about the same date as the last.

The manor-house at Hangleton shows a lancet window in the stable, and other indications of thirteenth-century date, together with a chapel, now the kitchen. The priory buildings at Shulbred contain, in the prior's lodging, work that is virtually domestic in character, the date of which cannot be after c.1190, with later additions. This includes a hooded stone fireplace, in a vaulted apartment on the ground floor, having an external buttress projection of good ashlar work, and one or two original windows and doors. The windows are square-headed oblongs, in pairs, bordered by a good moulding, which continues down the narrow centre pier—the whole of unusual character for so early a date.

Bailie's Court, Atherington—a moated house on the sea-coast, near Littlehampton, has much twelfth- and thirteenth-century stonework in its walls, besides the interesting chapel noticed elsewhere.

Swanborough, a grange of Lewes Priory, has slight remains of late twelfth-century date (chiefly richly carved and moulded fragments), and a good deal more of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, including several lancet windows, a circular one, and others with traceried heads, some doors, and a beautiful roof of arched timbers and moulded purlins, with battlemented wall-plates of late fourteenth-century character. The spaces between the arched ribs were filled with thin curved boards.

The palace of the archbishops of Canterbury at West Tarring (now used as a school) contains a great deal of interesting mediaeval work, including some very good large windows, with later tracery inserted, and one or two doors of late thirteenth-century date. The moulded and carved capitals, escoinson arches, &c., are of excellent design. Parts of the walls of this group of buildings are probably even older.

A HISTORY OF SUSSEX

Halnaker House, near Goodwood, now a ruin, has an early thirteenth-century chapel, with good plain details, and parts of the house and its offices are of that and the three succeeding centuries. Plates in Rouse's *Beauties and Antiquities of Sussex*, and Grose's *Antiquities of Sussex*, give a good idea of its many interesting features before dismantlement.³ A gateway, some doors, &c., remain fairly perfect.

At Crowhurst, near Hastings, there is the shell of a late thirteenth-century manor-house, with its chapel; and a good traceried window still remains in the east gable of the hall—a fine room 40 ft. by 23 ft. This window, which must have been singularly beautiful, is now bereft of its centre mullion and most of the early geometrical tracery, but the shafted and moulded jambs are nearly perfect and very richly treated. To the south and the east of the hall (which was vaulted at its eastern end below the before-mentioned window) was a vaulted porch having a well-moulded inner arch, and above this again was apparently a small oratory approached by a corbelled-out wall-passage from the vaulted gallery of the hall. Other buildings exist in a fragmentary state or are indicated by foundations; and the whole, even in ruin, forms a valuable example of the small stone manor-house of this early period.⁴

Birling, a hamlet near Eastdean (East Sussex), has a group of ancient buildings, much modernized—the remains of the mediaeval manor-house and its offices. One of these, now used as a barn, has walls of considerable height, with lofty windows, having stone seats; this may have been the hall, and it would appear to have been of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Westdean, in the same locality, possesses some traces of a similar range of buildings, including a ruined stone pigeon-cote.

These stone pigeon-cotes, or culver-houses, abound, both in East and West Sussex, in connexion with the great house of the parish, and are a visible token of Norman influence: some are doubtless of very early date, possibly twelfth or thirteenth century, such as those at South Mundham (circular, to the south of the church), and the East Sussex group. They occur, *inter alia*, at Trimmings, near Pax Hill, Pett, Berwick, Alciston, Westdean, and Charleston, East Sussex; and Treyford (with a good ogee-arched door), and Trotton (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), Mundham, Burton Mill, Petworth (wooden), Patcham, Clapham, Yapton, Walberton, and Atherington—octagonal—the last three flint and brick rebuildings of the Georgian period), West Sussex. Lewes Priory had a large transeptal pigeon-house, now destroyed, and Swanborough has the remains of one of ordinary size.

Battle Abbey has a great deal of work remaining in its various buildings of domestic character, and of all dates, from fragments of the original foundation (late eleventh century) to the post-suppression period—some gaunt brick octagonal turrets being a relic of the middle sixteenth century.

The refectory at Boxgrove, a two-storied gabled building, has many features in common with the houses of the period—the early fourteenth century.

The Knights Hospitallers' house at Poling has parts dating between late twelfth and late fourteenth century, in stone and flint work and half-timber,

³ See a paper in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 201, by the late J. Lewis André, F.S.A. Parts of the stonework and some handsome oak panelling of the reign of Hen. VIII now adorn houses in Chichester.

⁴ See an illustrated paper in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vii, 44.

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with two very perfect early windows, the chapel forming the eastern block, with a fine roof of curved ribs, a good doorway, and a piscina of the latter period. A building, traditionally called 'the Knights' Stables,' lies about a quarter of a mile to the south, and some timber and flint cottages may have served for the servitors or tenants.

Michelham Priory has considerable remains of buildings of a domestic type, dating from the latter part of the thirteenth century (in which period are included two fine vaulted apartments and a good hooded stone fireplace) to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it was transformed into a dwelling-house. The fine early fifteenth-century gatehouse contains a good fireplace in its upper story.

The hall at the Vicars' College at Chichester (thirteenth century) is noteworthy as retaining some of its original features.

Besides West Tarring and South Malling, the archbishops of Canterbury had a house at Slindon (which shows a few traces of fourteenth-century work underneath an Elizabethan remodelling),⁵ and a palace at Mayfield, one of the most important examples of its class and period in England. It is famous for the great hall or refectory (now used as a nunnery chapel), which has a remarkable roof, with stone-arched principals of early fourteenth-century date, some fine traceried windows and doors, and a stone seat with diapered back.⁶

Sussex possesses a great rarity in the late thirteenth-century town-hall, or court house, at Winchelsea. It was probably one of the first buildings to be erected in the new town. Among its curious features are a fine fireplace, a panelled chimney, a 'lock-up,' and traces of an external wooden gallery.

In a building attached to the Plough Inn, Seaford, is, or was, a fine hooded stone fireplace, of late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century date, the hood projecting and carried on corbels, and having angle brackets to support a candlestick or vessel. This resembles a fireplace at Michelham Priory.

There are several exceptionally perfect mediaeval parsonages or clergy houses in Sussex. That at Westdean, near Seaford, is a valuable example, dating from *c.* 1280, built of stone, chalk, and flints. It is double storied, with a 'jakes' at the south-west corner, and a newel stair turret at the north-east angle of the simple parallelogram plan, the interior measurements being about 30 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in., with walls 2 ft. 6 in. thick. There is a stone fireplace on both floors, with one original chimney rising from the northern gable end, and on both floors the original doorways, doors, and windows remain in very perfect condition. Two of the windows consist of two lights with trefoiled heads, and these retain the original oak hinged shutters. There are also several single-light openings with a peculiar shoulder-arched head, in which the 'shoulder' is convex, instead of concave. Under one corner is a small crypt, perhaps intended as an oratory.

Remains of another stone parsonage of about the same date are to be found at Denton, in the same neighbourhood, and on the north side of the church at Eastbourne is a long building, of stone, divided into cottages, which was, in all probability, the mediaeval clergy house. It appears to date from

⁵ A beautiful little window which came from this house, exhibiting tracery of *c.* 1350, is now built into a school.

⁶ Grose's *Antiquities of Sussex* has an engraving of the interior. For drawings of the beautiful details, see Dolman's *Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture in Great Britain*, vol. i.

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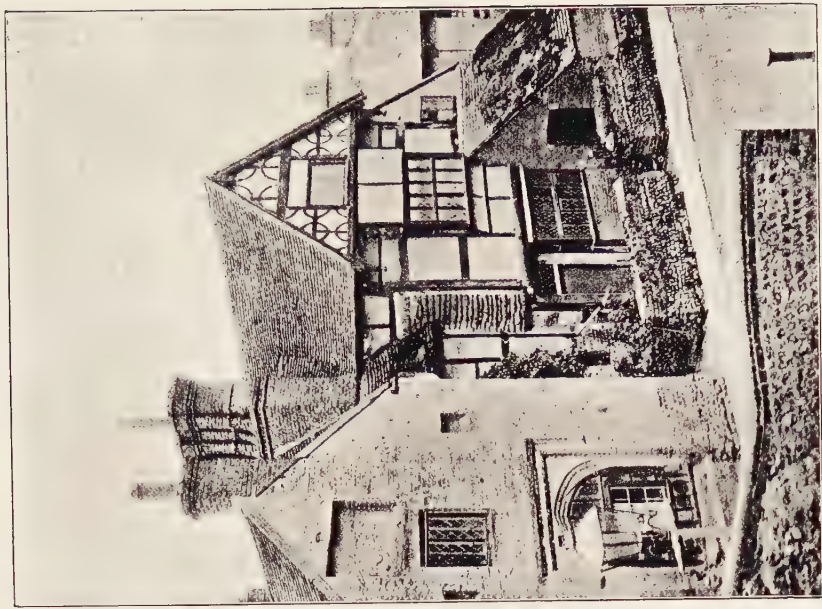
about 1530, and has many original and interesting features. Near to it is a good half-timber building of about the same date. Parts of Bury Vicarage, near Amberley, are mediaeval.

A peculiarly interesting example of a timber-built and thatched clergy-house, dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century, still survives at Alfriston, in which there is a central hall with a fine open-timbered roof and a hooded fireplace, having end wings of two stories, in which were the parlour, buttery hatch, and sleeping rooms. Several original windows, and some very pretty doorways with ogee-curved and pointed heads, remain. Another timber house, known as the old parsonage, and probably of fifteenth-century date at least, is to be seen at Coombes, now divided up into cottages.

The ancient stone-vaulted crypts of Seaford, Eastbourne, Winchelsea, and Rye, form a numerous group by themselves, ranging in date between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Those at the two last-named towns were mostly intended as merchants' cellars. The crypt under the Lamb Inn, Eastbourne, is a work of the thirteenth century; its purpose is not clearly proved. It has good vaulting and a carved central boss. The Seaford crypt, in the garden of the 'Folly,' a house in Church Street, also has its vault ribs gathered to a central boss: the date is about 1300.

A gateway, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, and a beautiful piece of design, is the solitary relic of a great moated mansion at Ewhurst, in Shermanbury parish. Half-timber houses of fourteenth-century date remain here and there, as at Lewes, in a corner house, where the wooden tracery of a blocked window, a string-course, and corner-post in oak, are rare features. But as a rule these distinctive features are wanting, so that it is difficult to tell the age of the house with certainty.

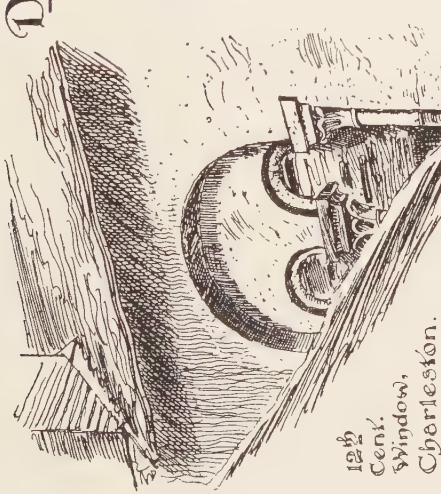
With the fifteenth century domestic buildings of all kinds become very numerous, both in stone and half-timber. As prominent examples the following may be cited. Stone houses:—Ryman's Tower, at Appledram, a good example of the smaller semi-fortified house of the early part of the century, with many original windows; Friston Place, with fine open roof and minstrels' gallery in the hall; Brede Place (parts); Horselunges, a house in Hellingly parish; Alciston Place, a grange of Battle Abbey; Glottingham; Ratton, in Willingdon, the gatehouse, some walls, and other fragments of a great mansion; Langney, in the same locality, retains its fifteenth-century chapel and parts of the domestic buildings; a small house in the hamlet of Toddington (Lyminster) has a good stone chimney; Buckhurst Tower, Withyham, almost a solitary relic, a battlemented tower of stately proportions and refined design, dating from the close of the century; near to it are some out-buildings of herring-bone brickwork and timber, coeval; Old Place, Pulborough, the remains of a handsome stone mansion, with good door and windows, *c.* 1450. Timber houses:—Of rural examples there are fine specimens at Udimore ('The Court House'), Bignor, Ditchling, and Stonehill Farm at Chiddingly; while in the towns we have equally good examples at Rye (The Old Flushing Inn—with good panelling, doors, and timber ceilings: houses in West Street—one, lately pulled down, having a carved door-head and other ornamental details); Hastings (a good gabled house, with an original piece of window tracery in wood); Lindfield; Steyning; West Tarring (with good traceried barge-boards; also a mediaeval shop, in



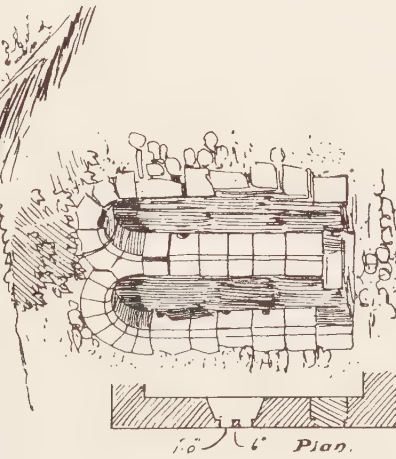
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TIMBER HOUSES AT DITCHLING

P. M. Johnston, Photo.

Details of Mediæval Domestic Work.

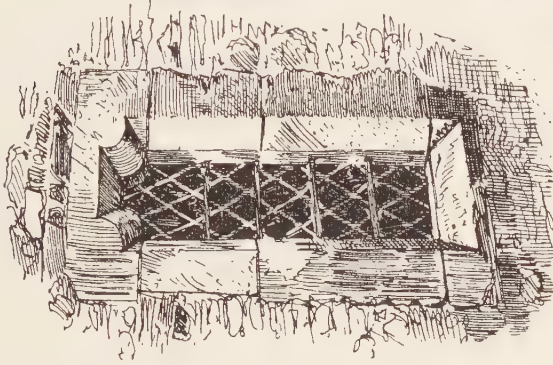


12th Cent.
Window,
Cherleston.

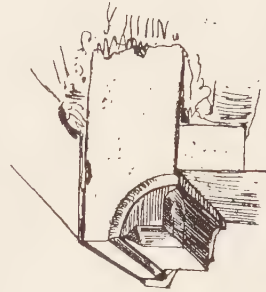


1:0 6 Plan.

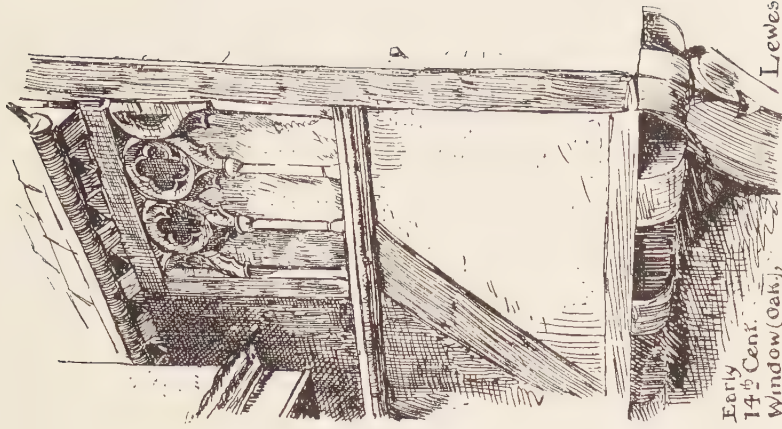
Two-light Window in ruined 12th Cent. House at Portslade.



Late 13th Cent. window,
Westdean Parsonage.



Kneestone of late 13th Cent.
Gable, Winchelsea.



Early 14th Cent.
Window (Oak),
Lewes.



15th Cent.
Gable,
West
Tarring.

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timber and flint); Horsham, near the church; and Midhurst, near the church. One or two of the Lewes houses are probably as old, such as 'Anne of Cleves's' house (the porch, dated 1599, is a later addition), a half-timber house hard by, and a gabled building in the High Street. Fifteenth-century inns remain at Alfriston (the 'Star'), Ticehurst, and the 'Mermaid,' Rye. Doubtless many others are as old, or older.

Houses of the larger type of early sixteenth-century date are well represented by such fine examples as,—Brede Place, a brick, stone, and half-timber house of very picturesque appearance, retaining its chapel and many original fittings, largely of early sixteenth-century date; Cakeham Tower, West Wittering, a lofty embattled structure of brick, built by Bishop Sherborn, *c.* 1510, for the sea view. A ground apartment is supposed to have been the chapel, otherwise the rest of the palace has disappeared; Laughton Place, the ancient seat of the Pelhams (built 1534), a fine piece of brickwork, with a rich machicolated cornice and other ornaments to the tower in terracotta; and another ancient building called the granary at an angle of the surrounding moat; Halland Park, in the same neighbourhood; Isfield Place, the house of the Shurleys, inclosed with a stone wall, having a tower at each end; Firle Place (rear portion); Frog Firle, near Alfriston; Chiddingly Place, of various dates in the sixteenth century; New Place, Pulborough; Hangleton Manor House; New Place, Angmering, the house of the Palmers (slight remains); Boreham Street, remains of a mansion of the Colbrands; Haremere, near Etchingham; and last, but by no means least, the famous Cowdray, half castle, half manor-house, originally the seat of the Bohuns, and rebuilt about 1530 by the earl of Southampton, who, however, probably incorporated parts of the late fifteenth-century house (such as the kitchen tower) in his scheme. The semi-fortified gate-tower (the house is moated), the double-storied bay window of sixty lights in the banqueting hall, and the traceried windows adjoining (of similar character to those in the octagon-ended chapel), the chimneys, and the porch, with its elaborately carved fan-vaulting, are some of the most noteworthy features. A detached building called the guard-house has a fine piece of brick vaulting with stone ribs.

Of half-timbered houses of the early part of the sixteenth century a good number remain in the towns and dotted about the country lanes and villages, as at Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Cuckfield, Lindfield, Ditchling, Horsham ('North Chapel' and other examples), Steyning, Bramber, Midhurst, Byworth, and Petworth. Hartfield has a church-house, with a lych-gate under it, dated 1520. Dallington has a typical timber-framed cottage, having wattle and daub filling between the timbers, with a good corner post, overhanging upper story, and thatched roof. Sedlescombe, Shoyswell, near Ticehurst, Robertsbridge, Lancing, Easebourne, Albourne (with herring-bone brickwork), Wannock, near Eastbourne, Goring, Climping, Poling, Burpham, Amberley, Thakeham, Pulborough, and Hardham, all present good manor-houses, farm-houses, and cottages of this period and character. An interesting feature of the last half-dozen is that they display a flint and timber construction of a distinctly local character. Fine brick chimneys are found at East Grinstead.

Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century stone architecture is well represented in the eastern part of the county in houses of all sizes. It may suffice here to mention Wakehurst Place, in Ardingly parish, the seat of the

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Wakehursts and Colepepers. It was rebuilt on a large scale by Sir E. Colepeper in 1590, and is, although shorn of its original proportions, the best example of its period in Sussex. Its most noteworthy features are the many gables and dormers, bristling with pinnacles, of the south front, the double-storied bay windows with canted angles, the elaborate system of stone-vaulted drains, a fine chimney-piece, richly carved in chalk (like one at Loseley, Surrey), a handsome staircase, some good ceilings, a plaster frieze with mermaids, and some carved panelling. The work has, externally, a very Gothic look for so late a date. Gravetye, West Hoathly, has a much smaller stone house, bearing considerable resemblance to Wakehurst Place, which is explained by the fact that it was built (about the end of the sixteenth century) by Richard Infield, who married Catherine Colepeper, of Wakehurst. In the hall is a richly ornamented plaster ceiling. The ruins of the great house of the Coverts at Slaugham show, among other things, a richly ornamented open arcade, of late sixteenth-century date, on the north front. The ruined house at Brambletye retains a picturesque brick tower with a lead cupola.

The following great houses, most of them much modernized, are valuable examples of this class and period :—Parham (with a long gallery and double-storied bay windows), Wiston, Newtimber (with moat and bridges), Danny, 1595, Glynde, built 1567, Plumpton Place, Cuckfield Place, the adjoining picturesque turreted ‘Gatehouse’ in brick, and Ockenden House and Borde Hill, Cuckfield, Southover House, Lewes, 1572 (with good brick chimneys, stone gables, and mullioned windows). The fine carved oak staircases at Lewes Town-hall (brought from Slaugham) and Racton House, Lordington (with monsters on the newels) should be mentioned here as perhaps the best of their class in the county. The latter house is of plain early seventeenth-century character, and has the remains of a fine gateway. Houses of a smaller type, and generally less altered, are found at Brickwall near Northiam (largely half timber), Carter’s Corner in Hellingly, Chiddingly Place, Penhurst manor-house, Streat Place, Up Park, near Harting, Bolebrook, near Hartfield (a fine brick gabled house, with a massive turreted gateway, very ‘early’ in character for its date, *c.* 1600), and an interesting group in the neighbourhood of Waldron and Burwash comprising Bateman’s (1634), Tanners, Possingworth, Heringdales (with fine chimney), Shoemiths, Friths, and Horeham, and Homestall, near Ashurst Wood. They are mostly built of the pleasant-toned sandstone dug in the hills of this wealden county, with brick chimneys and stone-healed roofs, and have many gables and mullioned windows, handsome stone fireplaces, panelling, massive doors, and solidly-built oak staircases. One (Possingworth) bears the late date of 1657. The Feldwickes’ mansion at West Hoathly, Halland House in East Hoathly, Boarzell (moated), Shortridges and Pashley in Ticehurst, Hog House, Buxted, 1581, and Wigzell, a stone-gabled house, with many chimneys, in Salehurst, all belong to the same type ; as do the picturesque Deanery at Battle, of stone, battlemented, Sackville College, East Grinstead, *c.* 1619, and other buildings in the town ; to which group also Hammond’s Place, Clayton (dated 1566), and Hangleton House, near Portslade, the home of the Bellinghams, may be added. The latter, which bears date 1594, has some good mullioned windows ; and Benfield, in the same parish, a small house of the Covert family, built of flint, brick, and stone, also has many mullioned windows and a double-

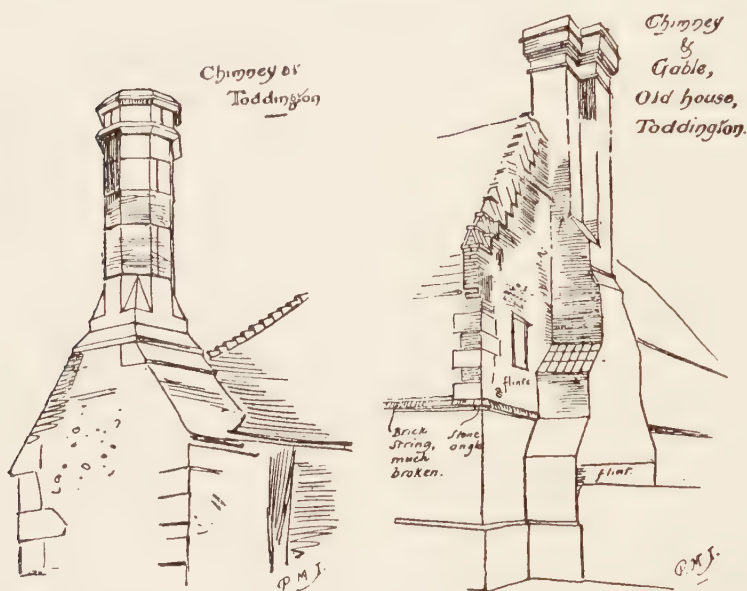
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storied porch, with a number of shields of arms, a good panelled door, and the date 1611.

In western Sussex a similar type of small stone house is found, usually the manor-house, in the neighbourhood of Petworth and Horsham, and along the Arun, as at Tillington, Bean Lodge, Petworth, Coates, and Chithurst (mullioned windows, gables, and brick chimneys). The almshouses at Petworth, a particularly picturesque building, and some of the Midhurst houses are of the same date and character. The Eagle Inn, Midhurst, has good seventeenth-century stone details.

In the sea-coast villages, as at Westergate, Eastergate, Climping, Toddington, Rustington, Warningcamp, Poling, and East Preston, an interesting local brick and flint style was evolved in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both for the smaller manor-house or farm-house and the cottage. Brick-mullioned windows, crow-stepped gables, and well-designed chimneys, as e.g. at Rustington, Toddington, East Preston, Moor Farm, near Petworth,


Thakeham, and Ewhurst, are among their interesting features. Brick stringcourses, gable copings, and four-centred arches to doors, with excellent squared flint-work, are found, as at Climping and Toddington. This style of house continued in use throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only with a plainer treatment, and often a date-tablet gives the year of erection, as



on a Rustington farmhouse (1696). These date-tablets are common, even on cottages. A small house at Crossbush, Arundel, has a pretty plaster shellhood over the porch. Chalk was in general use as a walling material, but usually faced with flints or sandstone. The old house called Nineveh, in Arundel, was so constructed, and even Parham House is of chalk, faced with stone. In the north-west of the county chalk-rag is used as a facing with brick dressings, for houses of this period. There is a good example of this treatment in the manor-house of the Aylwyns, at Treyford, dated 1612, the cut brickwork in which is very well executed. At Barnham Court there is a good brick house, having curved gables, of about the middle of the seventeenth century. Another of simpler character is found at Rogate. Many of the smaller houses near Midhurst (as at Stedham) are of coursed local sandstone, 'galleted' with flint chips.


Half-timber work continued to be used throughout the county during the latter part of the sixteenth and the early half of the seventeenth centuries, and numerous farmhouses and cottages, as well as a few mansions, remain.

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The following are exceptionally good examples :—East Mascalls, near Lindfield, rebuilt c. 1580, with very rich details ; Broadhurst, in the same neighbourhood ; Otehall, Wivelsfield ; Pax Hill, near Lindfield, a large house, dated 1595 ; Horseshoe Farm, Beckley ; Shoyswell, near Ticehurst ; ‘The Well House,’ ‘Little Dixter,’ ‘Brickwall’—all in Northiam, of various dates, but chiefly late sixteenth century, the last a very fine large timber house, with an ancient garden of clipped yews ; Strawberry Hole, Northiam ; Yew Tree Farm, Beckley ; Walshes, near Rotherfield ; Mayfield village—especially the ‘Middle House,’ dated 1575, with a highly ornamented gabled front and richly carved barge boards ; Lye Green, Withyham, a good farmhouse ; Rye, a very architectural building known as ‘The Hospital,’ with good details in doors and windows, and other houses ; Hastings, houses in All Saints’ Street, &c. ; farmhouses in and near Sedlescombe, one dated 1604, with a fine brick chimney ; East Grinstead, the Judges house and others, with good gables, windows, chimneys, &c. ; Kenwards, near Lindfield, the residence of the Chaloners ; Horsham, North Street, and houses on the Causeway (note gable-ends purposely tilted out of the perpendicular) ; near Horsham, Hickstead (the manor-house of the Stapleys), and Chesworth, with moat and chapel ; Midhurst—the central streets have many fine old houses and shops of timber and brick of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dates, some of them dated ; a pent-roof to shelter the ground story shop is quite a local feature ; Moor Farm, near Petworth, 1580, with fine panelled rooms and fire-places ; Petworth, many old buildings. Besides these, a very interesting group around Warnham and Horsham deserve special mention :—Bailing Hill, Hill Farm, 1578 (with good oriel windows), Hookers, Randals, Stone Farm, End’s Place, Westons, Lenaways Farm, the Town House, Slinfold (with good early sixteenth-century mullioned windows), Friday Street, Warnham, and Groomhall, near Broadbridge Heath. These are all good examples of timber construction, with many interesting details. Hooker’s Farm retains the typical  shaped plan, having a central body or hall, and double-storied wings. The space in the centre is arched over with curved braces, so as to give deep overhanging eaves.

This plan of the smaller timber-built country-side house, which unites the picturesque with the practical, seems to have originated at an earlier date than any of the surviving examples. Perhaps the oldest instance we can point to in Sussex is the fourteenth-century clergy-house at Alfriston, referred to above, and the type continued in use throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Originally, and in most cases during the earlier part of this period, there was no wall fire-place and chimney, but a central open hearth in the body of the hall, which, it should be remembered, was open to the ridge of the roof ; the wood smoke finding its way out at the eaves, or through crevices in the roof. To facilitate its egress the windows were unglazed and shuttered openings. The floor was of lime, or stone slabs, covered with straw. Access to the upper stories of the flanking wings was at first obtained by a mere ladder. External staircases were also used, and still remain in a few instances, as at Friday Street, Rusper, and ‘The King’s Farm,’ Roffey, near Horsham. The floor of the upper story in the end wings was constructed of heavy oak joists, 6 in. or 7 in. wide, by about 4 in. in depth, with rounded ends externally, framed into a diagonal beam,

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which jutted out at the external angle and was supported by the curved corner post and bracket, worked out of the butt end of a large tree, as at Stonehill Farm, Chiddingly, the Star Inn, Alfriston, Stream Farm, Sedlescombe, &c. The upper story of one end wing, or both, was thus made to overhang the lower—an excellent arrangement constructionally and aesthetically, as, besides giving shelter and shade to the lower story, the floor and wall weights were nicely adjusted, on the principle of the cantilever, and additional space was obtained in the upper room. This construction produced the recessed centre part occupied by the hall or common room, and the roof being carried over in an even line with curved brackets, forming a sort of arch, a very picturesque effect was obtained, together with shelter from rain and sun. The tops of all walls were well protected by the deep overhanging eaves. Brackets, or 'jutting' pieces, were also used to support the overhanging floors, as at Rye. The earlier window openings were usually very narrow, 8 in. to a foot in width, and were commonly in groups of two, three, four or more, with slender moulded mullions. In the simplest form these mullions are merely square uprights set diagonally (the openings being, of course, unglazed), thus on plan—, as in a cottage at Poling. The width of opening in later work, when glazing began to be generally used, is often increased to 15 in. or 18 in., and the windows were often made to project as oriels on wooden brackets. These are occasionally found in the earlier houses, as in the clergy-house and the Star Inn at Alfriston. There are many excellent examples of later date in houses at or near Warnham, Horsham, Petworth, and Midhurst. Manor Farm, Lindfield, has a double-storied bay window. Iron casements, often with scrolled cockspur fastenings, were in use with the later windows, and the lead glazing, usually of diamond, but sometimes of square oblong pattern, was secured to iron stanchions, set diamond-wise. The older external doors of wood had arched heads (as at Alfriston clergy-house), each half of the arch out of a solid piece of tree-spur. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the flat four-centred arch was very commonly used, and lent itself well to the material. The ogee heads to internal doorways at Alfriston are a rare exception. The actual doors in most cases are of vertical planks nailed to broad ledges, and hung with strap-hinges to iron hooks let into the solid frames, but in later work (as at Rye Grammar School, Great Wigzell, Salehurst, and the Middle House, Mayfield), they are frequently—especially the outer doors—of panelled construction, or else of boarding laid upon a panelled frame and having moulded fillets superimposed to cover the joints of the boards, as at the hospital, Rye, the Brotherhood Hall, Steyning, &c.

The projecting ends of the upper story floor-joists were in some cases—especially in the earlier examples—covered with a thick moulded oak fascia, as in houses at Rye, Udimore, and West Tarring. Sometimes a moulding is tacked across a half-timber front. A wooden moulding, in section much like the stone string courses then in use, runs beneath the oak-traceried window of the early fourteenth-century timber house at Lewes. (See illustration, p. 385.)

In yet smaller houses and cottages the plan was usually a plain oblong, the middle portion of which was occupied by the chimney corner, flanked by the entrance lobby on one side and the stairs to the upper floor on the other. The stairs are generally planned to wind round the chimney, and are closed in

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by a door on the ground floor. In western Sussex, near the sea, such cottages often consist only of two timber-framed gable-ends, hipped, and dwarf front and back walls, so arranged as to afford the best shelter from the south-westerly rains. The long thatched roofs, as in Climping village, often run down to within 3 ft. of the ground.

The timbers forming the wall framing are usually horizontal and vertical: in the oldest work the uprights are very broad, and the plastered interspaces proportionately narrow, as at Stonehill Farm, Chiddingly; occasionally—but chiefly in later work—curved braces are introduced, and at East Mascalls these are treated in a very decorative fashion. Four small curved braces cutting off the corners of a square panel is an ornamental treatment found in half-timber houses at Rye, Sedlescombe, Lye Green, Withyham, Stonehill Farm, Chiddingly, Ditchling, the Brotherhood Hall, Steyning, and the Middle House, Mayfield—in the last this forms a pattern over most of the front.

The hipped end to roofs is very common in Sussex, probably for the practical reason of weather. Where gables are found they are occasionally furnished with plain or ornamental barge boards, and of the latter those at West Tarring, having elegant cusped tracery, are the oldest. Several of the Sedlescombe houses have later examples, while the very rich timber barge-boards of the Middle House at Mayfield are ornamented with scroll-work of Renaissance character.

The face of the plaster between the timbers was often ‘combed,’ or stamped with patterns while wet, and many instances of this treatment survive, as at Amberley, Hardham, Fittleworth, Pulborough, &c. Weatherboarding on houses is usually not very ancient. Good examples of its use are found at Hurst Green, Horsham, and the Queen’s Head Inn, Sedlescombe.

There are a number of fine brick or brick-and-flint houses of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century dates all over the county. With them may be included for architectural purposes the Moated House, Groombridge (on the Sussex border, but actually in Kent), a large brick house of the latter part of the seventeenth century, with high-pitched tiled roofs, a graceful stone portico, bridges, gate-piers, niches, and other details of great value to the student. This house has been ascribed to Sir Christopher Wren, who undoubtedly influenced its design.

Of the same period is some fine stabling, in brickwork with tiled roofs, near All Saints’ Church, Hastings, and there are several brick or brick-and-flint houses, later in date, in the older parts of the town, such as John Collier’s house. Burwash and neighbourhood are rich in stately old houses of this period—one with a finely designed canopied doorway; so also is the town of Rye, and most prominent among its architectural treasures of this class is the beautiful red-brick front of the Grammar School, dating from about 1660. All the cornices, pediments, pilasters, and elaborate doors and windows are in that material. There is also a house with a richly carved door canopy in West Street. Battle has some good but plain work of the early part of the eighteenth century. The manor-house at Eastbourne and the vicarage are other good examples of this date, chiefly brick built; and a stone-fronted house in the narrow street hard by, together with the *old* manor-house, also of stone, are excellent earlier examples (*c.* 1650–80). Compton Place, in the same neighbourhood, is of the early part of the eighteenth

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century. At Seaford and Lewes we have examples of stone and flint-cobble building, and others at Steyning and Horsham, well deserving careful study. The great house at Petworth has a long stone front of heavy and monotonous design, built in the early part of the eighteenth century, but retaining in its cellars and chapel some fourteenth-century features. Trotton Place has some good late seventeenth-century brickwork.

Arundel furnishes a good type of the simple brick house of this date (in red and blue bricks), with a well designed cornice, bay windows, and porch. In the same locality, at Ford, is a large brick-and-flint house, built by William Garway, M.P. (*c.* 1670). It has a good brick chimney, with recessed panels, much squared black flint-work (which contrasts admirably with the narrow red bricks), rooms panelled in cedar and oak, and a handsome staircase with dog-gates. The out-buildings and barns are in the same style. On a much larger scale are the two fine brick houses in Chichester—that in West Street erected (probably by Wren) in 1696, and ‘Swan House,’ in the Pallant, so called after the curious heraldic birds carved in stone and standing on the gate piers. Both houses show much first-class work, internally and externally, especially the former, which has a pedimented central bay, pilasters, and plinth of stone, a rich modillion cornice and very handsome gate-piers.⁷ Swan House has good iron gates and railings and a fine screen and staircase. Woolbeding, Bosham, West Hampnett (workhouse, formerly a mansion), Warminghurst (fine stabling), Steyning, and other West Sussex villages show good examples of this period; Hailsham vicarage is an excellent brick house, with a good portico; and Hellingly, also in the eastern division, has a good early eighteenth-century brick house called ‘The Broad.’

Quite excellent work continued to be done throughout the county during the latter half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, and many of the unpretentious village and small town houses of this period are well worthy of study. Red and blue-grey or black-glazed bricks were used, together with cobble-flints in places near the sea, and there is often a quiet bit of design in a door-head or cornice. The older parts of Chichester, Brighton, Lewes, and Hastings, and villages such as Felpham, Yapton, and Slindon, are storehouses for this kind of work. Lewes has one or two good shop-fronts and house doors of this period.

Besides thatch, which is used for roofs all over the county, Horsham slabs are employed in West Sussex in houses of every class, together with ordinary tiles. Tiles, plain and variously shaped, were also a good deal used as a hanging for walls, and many old timber-framed houses have been so covered at a date subsequent to the original construction. The ruined rectory house at Treyford is a good example of this treatment.

The old thick greenish window glass made in the county is occasionally met with in the diamond-paned casements of cottages.

It remains to mention a few characteristic instances of internal decoration and fittings; and first the dining room of the bishop’s palace, Chichester, the panelled compartments of which were painted by one of the Bernardis. In the ‘Queen’s Room’ at Amberley Castle is some panelling, finely painted with the queens of antiquity by Theodore Bernardi, *c.* 1520.

Tempera paintings must have been fairly common in houses of the

⁷ Its sash-windows have unfortunately been replaced by modern mullioned ones.

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yeoman and merchant class, as well as in those belonging to the squire and parson. Many of these have come to light in recent years, of which the following may be instanced:—1. The remarkable painting in the house known as the Old Flushing Inn, Rye, date *c.* 1547, size about 17 ft. by 8 ft. This has the royal arms, and badges, and the *Magnificat* in English—black-letter type—on scrolls upheld by cherubs, as a frieze; the ‘filling’ being a sage-green ground, covered with foliage, birds and beasts in various colours, and intersected by three diagonal bands, bearing the motto SOLI DEO HONOR ET [GLORIA]—the last word, running along the plinth, being destroyed. A painting almost precisely similar exists in a house at Halifax, and both are evident imitations of the tapestries in use at the period. 2. In the ‘Mint’ House, Pevensey, is a running pattern of Tudor roses, with a motto or text in black letter. 3. A section of the wall of a half-timber house at South Harting, now in the museum at Lewes Castle, shows arabesque patterns in red, blue-grey, black, and white, dating from the early part of the sixteenth century. 4. In a house in the same village is a curious landscape, with a man in late seventeenth-century costume, rabbits, a stag and other animals, and chestnut-trees in blossom. 5. In what was the old rectory house at Cocking, texts in black letter were found painted upon the walls, taken from the Bishops’ Bible. In this connexion may be instanced Standard Hill, a fine old farmhouse, at Ninfield, which has scriptural mottoes carved upon the front, such as ‘God’s providence is mine inheritance,’ and ‘Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Here we have (1659) no abidance’; also Hangleton House, which has, in what is now the kitchen, an arched screen, over which are three oak panels having the Ten Commandments carved thereon, and beneath them the distich—a play upon the letter E—

Persevere ye perfect Men,
Ever keep these Precepts ten.

The dog-gates of the staircase at Ford House have been mentioned above: many other curious features remain in a group of farmhouses round Warnham, such as an elaborate door-bolt of wood at Westons, and nicely moulded spit-racks over the great chimney at Stone Farm, and at Mockfords, near Henfield. The key-plates, latches, and other door furniture are worthy of close study. There is a fine chiselled iron lock-plate in a house at Portslade. Throughout the eastern part of the county cast-iron fire-backs and andirons are commonly met with.⁸

A word is due to the picturesque farm-buildings of West Sussex especially. With thatched or tiled roofs, weather-boarded barns, and cobble-flint yard-walls coped with the picturesque Pulborough sandstone, they are well worth study. The barns are often excellently built, as at Ford Place, where they are constructed of narrow red bricks and squared black flints. At Eastergate is a very pretty granary of half-timber construction. The numerous wind-mills form quite a study by themselves. Many of them occupy very ancient sites; as do also the water-mills, most of which are mentioned in Domesday.

⁸ These and many other details of finishings and old domestic implements in use in Sussex farm-houses are described and illustrated in papers by the late J. Lewis André, F.S.A., in vols. xxxiv and xlii of the *Suss. Arch. Coll.* and in vol. xxxiv of *The Antiquary*; also in Mr. Charles Dawson’s paper in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vol. xlv.

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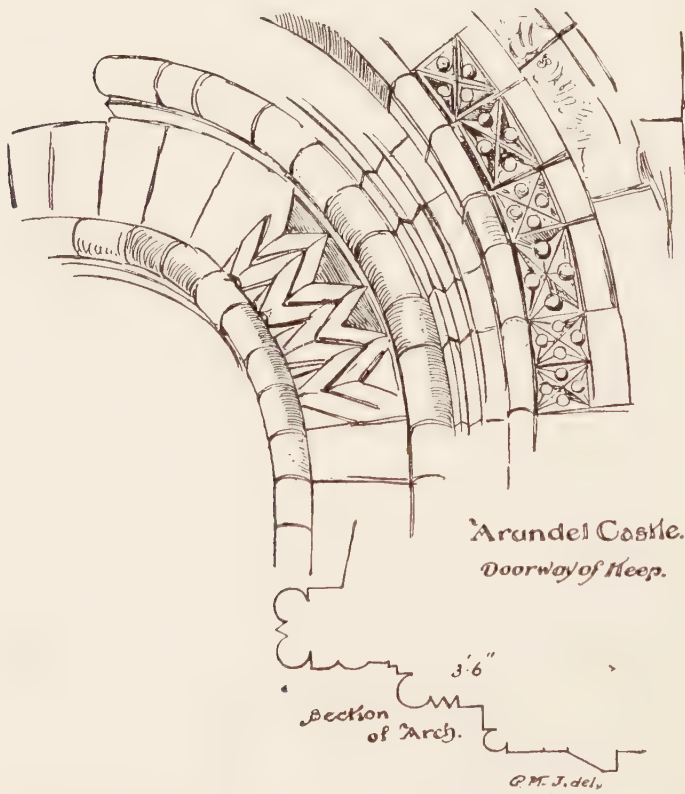
That at Wannock has a carved figure of a woman on it. Several water-mills of ancient date remain in Western Sussex, as at Bosham, Cocking, Stedham, Cowdray, and Iping.

There are many ancient stone bridges in the western part of the county such as at Stopham, Pulborough, Houghton, Fittleworth, Midhurst, Rogate, Iping, Woolbeding, and Trotton. The last named, a very good example, was built by Baron de Camoys early in the fifteenth century. A very long bridge, of which traces have been found, once existed at Bramber; as it gave a name to the neighbourhood in Domesday, a Roman origin has been ascribed to it.

Village- and market-crosses are scarce. The stump of one remains at Alfriston; and Chichester possesses in its large octagonal market-cross, built by Bishop Story *c.* 1510, the most important of a series which includes the crosses of Salisbury, Malmesbury, &c.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Few counties can show a more numerous and important series of castles and defensive works, proportionately to its area, than Sussex. Beginning with Roman Pevensey and ending with sixteenth-century Camber or Cowdray, we are furnished with examples representative of almost every period. There



are or were seventeen—or if we include the Ypres Tower, Rye, and the fortified house of the Bohuns at Ford on the Arun, nineteen—castles in Sussex; viz. those at Pevensey, Hastings, Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, and Chichester of the first rank, and Haben Bridge (the castle of the Camoys family on the western Rother), Verdley, Knepp, Amberley, Sedgwick, Burlow, Scotney, Bodiam, Herstmonceux, Camber, and the half castle, half manor-house, at Cowdray. Little but the sites of some of them is left to us, but sufficient still exists to show the plans and designs of the

majority, and these, with the historical details, will be given in the histories of the parishes in which they severally lie. The object of this article is to

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point out in the following list a few of the more remarkable architectural features.

PEVENSEY.—Roman brickwork and masonry in the outer walls and bastions—the bricks in lacing courses—in an exceptionally perfect state. Inner castle of twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, with some fine ashlar facing to one of the towers. Plan of chapel traceable, with font still in situ.¹

HASTINGS.—Square tower with window of eleventh or twelfth century. Pointed chancel arch of chapel, with good mouldings and carving of late twelfth century. Recess under a circular arch. Some early thirteenth-century windows and a door, and remarkable prison cells.

LEWES.—Inner gateway of Earl Warenne's original castle, with good plain circular arches. The keep has some late thirteenth-century masonry, loop-holes and remains of hooded fireplaces. The barbican (c. 1330) is a particularly fine piece of design. Note the facing of coursed flint-work, the dressings of Eastbourne Rock and the machicolations. The archways, 'pommée' loop-holes, and corbellings are very good.

BRAMBER.—Window in upper part of the barbican, early twelfth century.

ARUNDEL.—Clock tower, with good plain gateway, late eleventh century. Double-storied circular keep, with good ashlar facing in Caen stone, several windows, a hooded fireplace, and a fine doorway with ornamental mouldings (see illustration); double windows in curtain wall, richly moulded, all c. 1120–40. Note long stone stair of approach to keep, and later tower. The outer tower has a drawbridge and portcullis, flint and stone chequer-work and shoulder-arched windows of early fourteenth-century date. Bevis's Tower and Hiorne's Tower have later features.

CHICHESTER.—Mediaeval town walls. Early fourteenth-century gateway to bishop's palace—a well-proportioned design—and one of late fifteenth-century date to cathedral close. The materials of the demolished castle were re-used in the Greyfriars' church.

AMBERLEY.—Rebuilt and extended by Bishop Reade, 1379. Good curtain wall, towers, buttresses, garderobes, and machicolated gateway, with a handsome pointed segmental arch. Later house of Bishop Sherborn's within the castle, with a fine chimney stack.

SCOTNEY.—Circular tower, of ashlar work, rising from the moat, with a fine machicolated parapet.

BODIAM.—Valuable as dating entirely from 1386, and as a very complete example of the type of castle intermediate between those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the fortified manor houses of Herstmonceux and Cowdray. The points specially noteworthy are its plan and the fine entrance gateway, flanked by towers and grooved for three portcullises. The arrangements of the hall, kitchen, buttery, chapel and other offices are very perfect. Among details, the machicolations, battlementing, loopholes, and windows (some with mullions and transoms of very domestic character), doors, fireplaces, and handsome octagonal stone chimneys are specially noteworthy. The garderobes and spiral stairs are numerous.

HERSTMONCEUX.—A fine brick castle, built in 1440, on a large hollow square plan, with many octagonal towers, two united to inclose the stately gateways. Note the machicolations, battlements, heraldic panel, brick vaulting and pattern work, string-courses, windows, doors, fireplaces, chimneys, and other details. Stone is very sparingly used.²

CAMBER.—Built by Henry VIII, 1531, to defend the coast. An interesting reversion to the purely military type (cf. Deal, Walmer, and Sandown castles). Note the remarkable plan, in which defence with and against cannon has been provided for; also the conspicuous string-course, ornamented with shields and royal badges, round the circular keep, and the elliptical or four-centred arches.

COWDRAY belongs rather to domestic than military architecture. The moat, battlements, and the gateway with cross-bow oylets illustrate its defensive side.

Besides the castle gateways and those of Battle Abbey, Wilmington Priory, Michelham Priory, Ewhurst (Shermanbury), and the gateways of the cathedral precincts, Chichester, there are the three town gates of Winchelsea, of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century dates, and the very fine

¹ See for documentary evidence of dates of the later work a valuable paper by Mr. L. F. Salzman in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlix.

² See the paper on Herstmonceux and its lords, by the late Precentor Venables, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iv, 125–202.

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Landgate at Rye, dating from the latter half of the fourteenth century, which has a bold machicolated parapet and handsome arches. The Ypres Tower at Rye, a plain square building, dating originally from about the middle of the twelfth century, has some original doors and windows, and machicolation of a later period. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century gateways at Bolebrook, Cuckfield, and Racton form an interesting conclusion to the series.

The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. G. C. Druce for the photograph of a capital at Rodmell.

SCHOOLS

THE history of the schools in Sussex is a remarkable illustration of the truth that education and culture vary directly with the development of wealth and industry. While the land-locked ports on the coast were frequented by the small ships of early days, which conducted the carrying trade with Normandy and France and the Netherlands, and while inland the Sussex ironworks, supplied with fuel by the charcoal burners of the forests, were the great staple of the iron trade in England, population and industry flourished and the schools flourished with them.

Chichester, Hastings, Arundel, Shoreham, Lewes, Cuckfield, Horsham, Steyning, Billingshurst were all seats of ancient pre-Reformation grammar schools, most of which disappeared or fell into desuetude in the eighteenth century, and have left but scant traces of their history.

When in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commerce deserted the petty ports, silted up by the shingle banks and encroachments of the sea, and the ironworks followed the coal to the midlands and the north, the schools decayed with the decay of wealth and population. When from 1825 onwards the improvement of the means of locomotion began to make the coast of Sussex one large watering-place and health resort, and the Weald of Sussex became a suburb of London, the return of population and of wealth, without industry, threw up new schools, and Brighton and Eastbourne, Worthing and Hastings, flooded with private and preparatory schools for the upper classes, have also developed public schools for the resident population which caters for their wants and thrives on the spilt of the wealth of the metropolis.

Thus at Battle we find the schoolmaster appearing casually, not as a new creation, in the middle of the thirteenth century. Among the Battle Abbey charters¹ is one of 1 April, 1251, by which Richard, dean of Battle, in the presence of his son's wife conveyed a message in Battle to Nicholas de Sacrino (probably a misreading for Sacraria, meaning the sacristan of the monastery). The first witness was Henry, schoolmaster, born² in Cornwall (*Henrico, magistro scholarum, oriundo de Cornubia*). It is illustrative of the schoolmaster's position as a secular and not a monk of the abbey that he should be the first witness of the deed of the dean, the principal secular priest of the exempt jurisdiction of Battle. Henry, schoolmaster,³ witnesses another and undated deed of a little later date by which Reginald, abbot (1261-81), and the convent of Battle leased land to Denise Palmer. By 13 December, 1277,⁴ the master was dead, as on that day Gilbert Rudefin made a feoffment to Alice daughter of Henry, master of the school at Battle, of a croft of land lying near St. Mary's Church; and in 1279 Stephen Sprot of Hastings and Mary his wife concurred in a feoffment relating to the same land to the same Alice daughter of Henry, master of the school at Battle. It is difficult to refer to the originals to see whether 'school' is in the singular or the plural, or to ascertain from the contemporary and later almoners and other obedientiaries' accounts its exact relation, if any, to the abbey. But it is clear from schoolmaster Henry of Cornwall having a daughter that he was neither a monk nor a priest, but a secular clerk and, we may conjecture, appointed by the dean of Battle, as in a similar case in the eleventh century we find the dean of Thetford appointing the schoolmaster of Thetford.

Whether this school was endowed, and if so how long it went on, and what became of it, we do not know. But Battle still possessed in the reign of Elizabeth a school and a schoolmaster, who was a personage and had strong, if not wise, opinions.

There be schoolmasters who teach without licence and be not of a sound and good religion, as the schoolmaster in the town of Battell, the vicar of Findon, and the schoolmaster that teaches in the Lodge at Stansted who teacheth Mr. Stoughton's children, being comptroller of my Lord of Arundel's house.

In the town of Battell when a preacher doth come and speak anything against the Pope's doctrine they will not abide but get them out of the church. They say that they are of no jurisdiction but free from any bishop's authority. The Schoolmaster is the cause of their going out, who afterwards in corners among the people doth gainsay the preachers. It is the most popish town in all Sussex.

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of Battle Abbey Charters*, on sale by Robert Thorpe (London, 1835), 46.

² In the catalogue '*Oriundo de Cornubia*' is printed as if it was the name of a different witness.

³ Not as in the catalogue, p. 47, 'master of the Scholars,' but 'magister solar,' i.e. *scolarum*, or schoolmaster.

⁴ *Ibid.* 49.

⁵ S.P. Dom. Eliz. vol. 60, No. 71. Visitation of Chichester Diocese, 1569.

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At Arundel also, once a thriving port, now superseded by Littlehampton at the mouth of its river Arun, as on a greater scale Winchester has been by Southampton, there was, as might be expected, a very ancient school. In the thirteenth century we find a deed of covenant (*convencio*) between Denis, prior of Arundel, and Master William of Wedon, by which Master William seems to have surrendered his birthright as schoolmaster for something like a mess of pottage. The prior with the assent of the convent

conferred⁶ on Mr. William his table viz. the monks' table in eatables and drinkables as well when sound as when sick for the term of his life, and the Prior granted to the same William to find him a fitting inn (*hospicium*) to keep school in and a chamber in the Priory at the Prior's cost.

In return Master William of Wedon granted in perpetuity to the prior and monks of St. Nicholas of Arundel a messuage and appurtenances in the High Street (*magno vico*), which was Simon Cole's, with a courtyard under the castle extending along its whole front (?); and for nine years a messuage in the same street with a hand-mill and all its possessions held of the hospital of St. John the Baptist; with an acre in the [open] fields of Arundel and [the copy is here very corrupt] the tithe of all his temporal possessions, receiving, however, a mark of silver while he is able efficiently to teach the school (*dum idem Willelmus scolas regere possit sufficienter*).

There was clearly something irregular about this arrangement, as it was provided that if the prior should die before William, and his successor should refuse to ratify the deed, the premises should be dissolved from the priory and fully resumed by the said William. The deed is not dated, but is apparently of the reign of Henry III. It was witnessed by five monks.

Now it is quite clear that to that time the school had been independent of the priory, was not within its precinct, and was taught by a secular clerk, not a monk. Indeed the school was no doubt a great deal older than the priory. For it appears from a petition to the pope in 1380⁷ that Roger de Montgomery, called the founder of the priory, 'obtained the appropriation to it (the abbey of Sééz) of the said priory, in which were previously 12 secular canons of the English nation.' The priory, in fact, had been a large collegiate church before the Conquest, and as such had necessarily maintained the grammar school as an integral part of itself, as the collegiate church of Hastings did, and as York, Beverley, Warwick, and the rest of the pre-Norman collegiate churches did.

Now it is to be feared Mr. William of Wedon was giving up the ancient and independent possessions of the school in return for a new schoolhouse, no doubt more modern and commodious, to be found by the priory, and giving up his then independent position as the master to become the kept dependant of the priory. The monks, however, were not destined to endure. A hundred years later, as an alien priory, it was seized by the crown during the French wars. The alien monks were extruded, and had even to go a-begging, says the papal petition in 1380. The convent of Sééz obtained leave to sell it, as the earl of Arundel 'desired to bring it back to its pristine state and to institute anew and endow therein a chanter with 11 secular canons.' The collegiate church was after some difficulties refounded as a college of the Holy Trinity for a master, a warden, 12 canons, 7 deacons, sub-deacons, and acolytes, 7 choristers, and other officers. Among these was included no doubt the grammar schoolmaster. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 mentions, however, only 'a master of the choristers,' who was 'paid yearly for his teaching (*erudicione*) of the choristers according to the statutes of the foundation 20s. a year.' The college was dissolved by surrender on 12 December, 1544, and the school disappeared.

At Seaford again, in 1320,⁸ we find Mr. William, schoolmaster ('magistro Willelmo, magistro scolarum de Sefford'), witnessing a deed, and a casual reference to 'Richard le Scolemaister' of New Shoreham occurs in 1302.⁹ Many more such schools we may suspect to have existed, in Rye and Winchelsea, in Bosham and East Grinstead, and the like, and it is only the lack of documents and research, eyes to see them and note them when seen, that prevents our knowing of them.

Of a later development of school foundations was the school contemplated, if not founded, at Billingshurst in connexion with the gild there by John Hall 'of the parishe of Cullington,' who by will, 13 October, 1521, gave to his son Thomas all his 'morgage' lands and his leasehold farm held for thirty years called Strowde and Penysfold, 'except 6s. 8d. deducted out of the said morgage lands at Warnam, the which I bequeth to the brotherhede of Byllingshurst for the terme of 20 yeres, yf the said free Schole procede and be kept, or ells not.' The will was proved 29 January, 1522.

⁶ 'Prior . . . contulit dicto Willelmo mensam suam, viz. monachorum, in esculentis et poculentis, tam infirmo quam sano ad vite Willelmi terminum, et Prior dicto Willelmo fit competens hospicium ad scolas honeste regendas, et cameram in prioratu de sumptu proprio concessit invenire.' B.M. Add. MS. 5701, fol. 18. The deed only exists in a rather imperfect eighteenth-century copy in the Burrell Collection, with no indication of whence the copy was taken, or where the original is or was.

⁷ *Cal. Papal Let.* iv, 239.

⁸ For this, as for the references to the school in Battle charters, I am indebted to Mr. Salzmann.

⁹ Assize R. 1329, m. 31.

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We may suspect that a school was already being maintained by the brotherhood or the brotherhood priest, and that this gift was in furtherance of a design to establish it as an independent foundation, free of fees. But as we hear no more of it, perhaps the design failed. But like the foundations of Cuckfield and Horsham, it shows how the erection of schools was in the air then, very much as it is now.

CHICHESTER PREBENDAL SCHOOL

The oldest school of Sussex is found, as might have been safely predicted, in the seat of the greatest population and commerce, and therefore of the chief church, in the cathedral city of Chichester. When, in accordance with the decrees of the synod of London in 1075, that episcopal sees should be placed in the great towns and moved from deserted villages, the cathedral establishment was moved to Chichester, the grammar school, which must have formed an integral part of that establishment, was no doubt moved with it.

Chichester was organized like other cathedrals of the old foundation; that is the normal foundation, with a body or college of secular canons, ordinary secular priests like the clergy of to-day, as distinguished from the regular orders. Among its thirty canons were four principal persons, dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer. The dean performed the functions of a dean of the present day; the treasurer was not bursar, but sacrist, and had the care of the sacred vessels, the jewels, plate, and other treasures used in divine service. The chancellor and the precentor both had educational functions, and the chancellor was *par excellence* the minister of education of the cathedral church, the cathedral city, and the diocese.

In some other churches, e.g. York and St. Paul's, it is on record that the original title of the chancellor was schoolmaster. At Chichester, on the morrow of St. Mary Magdalen, 23 July, 1247, at a full chapter, all the ancient customs of the cathedral approved [by general usage] were ordered to be reduced into writing and published along with certain statutes then made.

The ancient and approved customs, which from the simplicity of their language and the terseness of their terms must date back to the earliest foundation of the cathedral in the eleventh century, are thus set out under the heading

Ancient customs of various offices

The Dean presides over all the canons and vicars [choral] as to cure of souls and correction of morals.

The Singer¹ (*Cantor*, i.e. Precentor) ought to rule [or teach] the choir as regards singing, and can raise or lower the chant; place readers and singers both for night and day on the table, admit the inferior clerks to the choir; when orders are being conferred read out the names of those admitted.

The Chancellor² ought to rule [or teach] school or present to it, to hear lessons and determine them; to keep, with the assistance of a faithful brother, the seal of the chapter, and compose letters and deeds.

Here, as elsewhere therefore, the precentor had charge of the choir, taught as well as 'ruled' it—the regent masters at Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages were those who actually taught in the schools—and managed the singers, including of course choristers. The chancellor, on the other hand, was the legal and educational officer of the chapter. It is a little difficult to say what exactly is meant by 'hearing and determining the lessons.' If the phrase was found in relation to a university functionary one would say that it exactly described the functions of the regent master, who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presided at the disputations between a candidate for the bachelor's degree and another student, and determined or summed it up; while the 'lectiones' or readings was the appropriate word for a lecture. Remembering that the universities really sprang out of the cathedral or collegiate schools, and that the chancellor of the University of Paris was originally the chancellor of Notre Dame, there can be little doubt that in 1114 the 'lectiones' which the chancellor had to hear and determine were lectures in grammar, logic, theology, or law. He was then really a schoolmaster. But the universities both of Paris and Oxford were fully developed in the twelfth century and the early part of the thirteenth, and that of Cambridge was something more than an embryo. Grammar had become a subordinate faculty and study, and with rhetoric and the beginning of logic was restricted to grammar schools, while philosophy and theology were the pursuits of grown men at the universities. Hence in statutes made for Chichester Cathedral by Bishop Ralph II, with the assent and consent of the dean and chapter, 26 October, 1232, we find

¹ 'Cantor debet chorum regere quoad cantum, et potest extollere atque deprimere; lectores et cantores nocturnos in tabula notare, inferiores clericos in chorum introducere; in celebracione ordinum clericorum admissorum nomina recitare.'

² 'Cancellarius debet scolos regere vel dare, lecciones auscultare et terminare, sigillum ecclesie, adhibito sibi fratre fideli, custodire, litteras et cartas componere.'

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the chancellor's duties defined. 'Since difficult questions have often arisen on the office and duties of the Chancellor and Treasurer we have sanctioned a statute (*constitucione*) to be perpetually binding that they may know that the underwritten duties (*onera*) belonged to them.'

Of the Office of Chancellor³

The Chancellor by the ancient custom of the church must hear the lessons assigned for the night services in person, or by a fit person of competent experience, well learned in the method of pronunciation customary in the church. This he must do immediately after vespers. He can, however, if he wishes to lighten his labours, call the juniors of the second form and the boys of the third form and hear their lessons before that office. But whoever is going to read must present himself to be heard at a convenient time, otherwise if through mispronunciation or absurdity or otherwise he offend against the rule of the church, let him incur the penalty decreed below⁴ against those who commit default in duties assigned to them by the daily table, which in the church are commonly called *marances*.

It is part of his office that he should properly maintain a notary and letter writer and otherwise fit person sworn not to reveal the secrets of the chapter, to write the letters of the Dean and chapter; and shall without grudging or waste of time supply him with all things necessary for writing.

Also he shall himself, or through some other fit corrector, *correct* the books of the church which need correction.

In these statutes it is the legal and literary duties of the chancellor that are insisted on. But his educational duties as regards seeing to the proper reading of what had to be read, as distinct from sung, in the services are still prominent. The 'lessons' here mentioned are undoubtedly the lessons in the modern ecclesiastical sense; the portions of the Bible and other books appointed to be read at services, which were three on ordinary days, six on feast days, and nine on the greater feasts. They were not as a rule anything like as long as those read in our reformed churches, being little more than scraps of Scripture, or short summaries or extracts from the 'legends' (another word for lessons) of the saint who was being commemorated; and they tended to become little more than tags on which to hang 'responds' or 'verses,' pious exclamations or comments, or echoes of the lesson itself elaborately sung by the choir, which played very much the part of the chorus in a Greek drama, as the ideal spectator giving vent to the reflections provoked by the incidents recited in the text. On the highest festivals the chancellor himself was bound to read the lessons. As the lessons were in Latin, it required of course a sound classical education to do justice to them. One would rather gather from this passage that there were local usages as to the pronunciation of the Latin; the southerner perhaps giving his without the burr which the northerner introduced, or it is even possible that the accent imported into the Sussex cathedral by the northern Wilfrid differed from that practised in Canterbury and Salisbury, or London, introduced from France and Normandy.

The statutes of 1232 further show us that the schoolmaster was now separate from the chancellor. For in a statute about the election of the choir boys we have the following:—

Of the boys of the Third Form⁵

We decree also that ten fit boys be elected from the third form by the Schoolmaster and the Precentor's vicar and their names written in the upper part of the Table near the margin, and when any one of them fails new ones are to be put in their place, and no one not in that number is to be entitled to any office in the inscriptions of the table, unless he is one of the household or family of a canon.

The schoolmaster is here clearly a person distinct from the chancellor and on a par with the precentor's deputy, the succentor, who was a vicar choral or canon's deputy, not a canon. He is in fact the grammar schoolmaster, the fit deputy learned in the proper pronunciation, who instead of the master is to hear the boys read and teach them, and also to beat them. From the statutes of Lincoln Cathedral we know that the grammar schoolmaster tested the candidates for choristership in grammar and reading, as the precentor's deputy, the succentor, did in singing. The table mentioned was the orders for the day which were inscribed on a tablet and hung up for every one to see what his part in the next day, or next week's, services was. It was this to which the onerous 'serving of tables' characteristic of an elaborate ritual, reprehended in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, refers.

³ *Arch.* xlv, 165. *Statutes and Constitutions of the Cathedral Church*, ed. by F. G. Bennett, R. H. Codrington, and C. Deedes (1904).

⁴ This penalty was, if a vicar, the loss of 1*d.* or 2*d.*; if not a vicar, chastisement by the precentor or his deputy; 'but if of the third form,' i.e. a boy, 'let him be turned out of the choir, or receive from his master or the precentor's deputy seven strokes, or if he has committed a grave offence, fourteen.'

⁵ 'De pueris de tercia forma. Statuimus eciam ut per magistrum scholarum et vicarium cantoris decem pueri eligantur ydonei in tercia forma, et eorum nomina in superiore parte tabule juxta marginem scribantur.' In the *Statutes* 'magistrum scholarum,' the regular title of 'schoolmaster,' is printed 'magistrum scolarium,' or master of the scholars. Canon Deedes kindly verified the original MS. for me and says it is undoubtedly 'scolarum.'

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In the absence of the chapter muniments there is little more to be found bearing on the early history of this grammar school. There are no episcopal registers before 1397, and no chapter act books before the sixteenth century. But from the will of one of the chancellors of the cathedral, John Bishopston, or Busshopeston as it is spelt, made 16 November, 1384,⁶ we get the name, and a very famous name it happens to be, of the grammar schoolmaster at that time. After giving 20s. to the church of Bishopstone, in which he was baptized, and from which he took his name, and handsome presents of 6s. 8d. to each canon, 6s. to each vicar choral being a priest, 1s. 8d. to each vicar of less rank, 1s. to each chorister, and 3d. to each holy water carrier (*aque bajulo*) present at his funeral, he gave to Master Richard le Scrope, dean, the prayer book he had lent him, to his vicar choral a long gown furred with beaver (*bevere*). 'Item to Master Thomas Romsey, rector of the Grammar School of Chichester, my green robe with taffity covered with moons to pray for me as above.' After providing for the saying of 1,000 masses and 1,000 psalters for his soul, his residue he gave to youths of the first tonsure, acolytes, sub-deacons, and deacons.

Now the bequest to Thomas Romsey is very interesting, in the first place because Bishopston uses the old term, still or lately prevalent in Scotland, of rector of the school for master; and in the second place, because this Thomas Romsey is almost certainly the person of the same name sometimes called Magister Thomas de Romsey, sometimes Romsey simply, who at Michaelmas, 1395, became the head master (*magister Informator*) of Winchester College,⁷ on the retirement of the master who had been teaching between the date of the charter, 1382, and the entry of the college into the existing buildings. Previously to the discovery of this will, the provenance of Romsey was unknown to the historians of Winchester College. Romsey held office for ten years, till Easter, 1407. Then, after an interval of seven years of another master, he returned to office again in 1414, and held until 1418, and frequently afterwards up to 1425 appeared as an honoured guest in hall at Winchester. The college library long preserved a grammatical work given by him,⁸ 'a certain treatise of grammar on phrases, called "Iron,"' a thirteenth-century production, so called because it began with saying that as iron rusted by disuse, so did learning without practice.

It is interesting to note that the master of the ancient Chichester Cathedral school thought it promotion to go to the mushroom school of Winchester College, as it must then have seemed, though undoubtedly a mushroom of a very fine growth, the appearance of which made no small stir in educational circles. But the next time we find a connexion between the two, it was a master of Winchester College who found it promotion to go to Chichester, which had then acquired a new and important endowment.

In 1402, at Bishop Robert Reade's visitation of Chichester Cathedral, among the complaints, *detecta et comperta*, things revealed and proved, was one that 'the Chancellor does not find a master diligent in teaching the choristers grammar' (*non invenit magistrum diligentem ad instruendum choristas in gramatica*). The chancellor, appearing in person, protests that he is prepared 'to do his duty in the premisses as he ought and is bound to do.' In other words, probably, he meant that he appointed a master, and if he did not teach the choristers grammar he ought to do so. But the teaching of choristers was always a difficulty, their choral duties preventing them from keeping the same hours as and doing work regularly with the other boys.

The next appearance of a schoolmaster does not suggest that the school was in a very high state of efficiency. Between 1460 and 1466 a petition was presented in Chancery by⁹ 'Thomas Gyldesburgh, parson of St. Olaves in Chechester, whyche hath be scole master there 30 yeres and more, beyng of the age of 80 yeres and more and now right corpolent and hathe a maladie in hys legge that he may neyther well ryde ne goe.' The petition throws no light on the school. The matter was purely personal. Gyldesburgh had gone bail for one John Stephens to William Stele, bailiff of Chichester, giving a bond for 20 marks for Stephens's appearance in the Exchequer. Stephens had failed to appear, and Stele was fined 6s. 8d. and had to pay costs. So he sued Gyldesburgh for 10 marks in the mayor's court at Chichester, and after Gyldesburgh had kept indoors for a long time to avoid process, he was told by his counsel he could go abroad. He went to say mass in his church, and was then arrested by the mayor's serjeant and put in prison. There he remained, and petitioned the chancellor for a 'supersedeas,' or a writ of 'corpus cum causa,' or a 'certiorari,' or 'other remede that your lordshipp shall think convenient.' What the boys did under 'a right corpolent' master of over eighty years, who had been master for over thirty years, and also held a living and was now in the mayor's prison, one shudders to think.

The next reference to the master shows one in better repute. Some twenty years later, 26 October, 1479, William Jacob, 'mair of the cite of Chichester,' who was apparently tenant of

⁶ P. C. C. Rouse, 5 d. In the text the will is dated 16 Nov. 1374, but it is said to have been proved 11 Dec. 1384, and as it was very unusual, if not unknown, for a will in those days to be made long before death, it is practically certain that the true date is 1384.

⁷ Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.* 153, 156, 197.

⁹ Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 29, No. 59.

⁸ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii, 283-4.

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the sub-deanery, or perhaps merely lived in the sub-dean's parish, as he gave 'to my curate the subdean 40s.,' made his will, proved on 15 November following, and made very elaborate arrangements for his funeral.¹⁰ The dean and every canon present was to have a shilling.

Also I will that the morrow masse preste and the Scoolemaster of the Gramer Scole, if it please them to be present at my dirge and say masses for me the day of my burying, that ayther of them have 6*d.* for their labour, and ayther of them to have 2*s.* for saying of Davied sauter, if it please them. Also I will that every vicary aforesaid, the morrowe masse preste and Scolemaister, beyng present at my dirige, at my monethe mynde, and att my masse at morrowe, have every of thaim 8*d.* and the Decon and every chanon 20*d.*

The morrow-mass priest was the priest who said mass at dawn, and in many places, as e.g. at Wotton under Edge in Gloucestershire, was himself the schoolmaster. We may perhaps conjecture that Mayor Jacob particularly invited the schoolmaster's presence, because he had himself been at the grammar school. At all events, he was regarded as an important person, whose assistance was worth paying for at a rate exceeding that of a canon.

A generation later the school received a new endowment and status which lifted it into a much greater position and formed a precedent for the new foundations of Henry VIII. There seems reason to believe that the old endowment of the school was only a sum of £2 a year or £2 13*s.* 4*d.*, an amount settled perhaps in the twelfth century, when it would have been a considerable endowment. In 1498 the bishop, Edward Story, a Cambridge man who had been fellow of Pembroke College there and afterwards master of Michaelhouse, soon to be swallowed up in Trinity College, appears to have been so much exercised either at the ignorance of the Chichester clergy or at the neglect of the school that he determined to put it on a new and better basis by following the precedent then established, and afterwards to be improved upon by Wolsey and Henry VIII and succeeding kings, of applying to education other endowments which were abused or not doing such useful work. It was quite a common proceeding to attach a chantry to a school as an endowment to a schoolmaster or even a vicar-choralship, and we have instances at York, Southwell, Lincoln, and Beverley. The attachment of a canonry for this purpose is quite exceptional and shows a remarkable zeal for education on the part of the learned Cantabrigian. By statutes made 18 February, 1497-8, he, with the assent and consent of the dean and chapter, converted into an endowment of the grammar school the prebend of Highley, getting the then canon or prebendary to resign, and appointing a new prebendary who, being expressly described as B.A., was no doubt a schoolmaster.

The bishop fulminates at considerable length on the causes which induced him to found the school, namely the wickedness of the clergy due to their ignorance, which he speaks of in almost as strong terms as did Alfred the Great in his day, showing that it was perhaps somewhat of a common form.

Having not seldom before our eyes the immeasurable ignorance of our subject priests, and the excessive promotion of wicked priests too often made heretofore in our diocese of Chichester through the scarcity of good ones, since daily many evils arise therefrom, because as the holy page bears witness (Luke vi) If the blind lead the blind both fall into the ditch; wherefore the Canon Law (*textus decreti*) under the heading Ignorance (Distinction 38) says 'Ignorance the mother of all errors is especially to be avoided in the priests of God who have taken on themselves the office of teaching among the people of God.' . . . Thinking how to meet the evils recited, since by the office imposed on us we are bound to provide for the health of our subjects as far as possible, at length we have come to the conclusion that an increase of the knowledge of grammar would be the best remedy for the evils aforesaid. For grammar, which hath but little flourished hitherto in these shores, as Peronius bears witness, is profitable for eternal salvation as in the Canon law 'If anyone grammar' (Distinction 37), where the text ends 'But the teaching of Grammarians is able also to profit for life eternal if it be taken up for the best purposes.' Therefore we have thought well for the purpose of constituting a perpetual Grammar School in this city of Chichester invoking first the name of Christ to proceed in manner following.

After this highly rhetorical preamble he goes on to make his statutes 'for us and our successors with the express assent and consent of the Dean and Chapter and of Sir Nicholas Taverner now canon and prebendary of Highley in our cathedral church of Chichester.'

Whenever after this our ordinance the canonry and prebend of Highley fall vacant . . . the Dean and Chapter or the majority of them shall nominate to us or our successors for the said canonry and prebend a priest well and sufficiently instructed in grammar and other good literature and fit to teach and experienced in fulfilling the duty of teaching; and on him shall without any inconvenient delay be conferred the canonry and prebend of Highley with the charge as aforesaid of teaching in our Grammar School of Chichester according to our ordinance and statutes hereunder written.

The bishop might refuse their nominee, but he was obliged to appoint some one named by them, and if any other appointment was made it was to be void. If the bishop failed to collate the

¹⁰ P. C. C. Logge, fol. 93.

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canonry to the chapter's nominee in sixty days he was to be fined £5 and the collation for that turn was to pass to the archbishop of Canterbury. If the canon of Highley fell ill or was absent with the dean's leave (which was not to be for more than thirty days in any year) he was to find a substitute 'who well and sufficiently and gratis shall instruct and inform the grammar scholars (*gramaticos*) and others coming to our school of Chichester for the sake of learning.' If the prebendary 'ceased to teach and inform boys and grammar scholars' for forty days he was to be fined £2, and if he ceased for three months the canonry and prebend were to become *ipso facto* vacant.

The prebendary was to celebrate the bishop's obit on the anniversary of his death, paying to the dean and chapter by 9 a.m. on that day 21s. 8d. to be distributed, 20d. to the dean, a shilling to every canon residentiary, a shilling to the prebendary himself, 8d. to each vicar of the higher grade, 6d. to each priest-vicar of the lower grade, and to other secular clerks in that grade 4d., a penny to each of the eight choristers, and so on, 'and for wax burning round the tomb 2s.' The prebendary was also to say a requiem mass for the bishop every Friday, unless it happened to be Good Friday or Christmas Day.

The school hours were severe.

Also we will decree and ordain that in summer time the grammar scholars and others coming to our Grammar School for the sake of learning be every week day (*diebus profestis*) in our Grammar School aforesaid at 5 o'clock or a little after, in winter before 6 o'clock, and afterwards when peal has gone for the morrow mass in St. George's chapel in the cathedral we will that all and singular the grammar and other scholars be present at the same morrow mass, or at least at the elevation of the body of Christ, and then quietly and orderly (*pacifice honesteque*) return to the Grammar School, and when they have all re-entered the school the canon and prebendary shall immediately begin and with all the scholars in turn fully say the Psalm 'God have mercy on us' with 'Glory be to the Father' 'Kyrie Eleison' 'Our Father' 'Hail Mary' 'And lead us not' etc. the scholars answering 'But deliver us from evil' 'Rise, Lord and help us' and the prayer 'Lord, holy father almighty, everlasting God' and 'Bless we the Lord.' Every night before the departure of the scholars from the school after singing an anthem of the most blessed Virgin Mary they shall say either side by turns the psalm 'De profundis' and the canon is to say 'And lead us not' with the prayer; and at the end, while we are alive, 'Direct we beseech thee Lord, thy servant' and when we have paid the debt of nature the prayer 'God who amongst the successors of the apostles' with our proper name inserted.

The scholars were to be present at his obit and requiem mass and 'those having knowledge for the purpose to say two and two the "exequias" for our soul and the souls of our father and mother and all our benefactors, and all the faithful departed, the rest saying the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation and the De Profundis.' When mass was finished the master was to enter the chapel and the scholars ranged in twos outside it on either side were to begin the De Profundis and finish the psalm with the prayers 'God who amongst the successors of the apostles' and 'God of the faithful.'

The school was to be a free grammar school.

The canon and prebendary on the days seasons and hours convenient opportune customary and fitting shall diligently sufficiently well and eloquently freely and gratis teach instruct inform and chastise grammarians and others whomsoever coming to our school for the sake of learning, on no account by reason thereof or in any other way taking from the same scholars or their parents or friends any sums of money or accepting gifts or other offerings, except thanks given and bestowed on him.

If he was negligent or took any gifts he was after a second warning by the dean and chapter to be fined 10s., and on a third warning to be deprived by the dean and chapter and another appointed in his place. The prebendary was to keep the school building in repair. He was on no account to let or set to farm or grant gratis 'our grammar school or any chambers or any part of the same to laymen or secular persons, except the great cellar if that can be done without scandal or inconvenience to the scholars of our grammar school.'

This last proviso is interesting, as it shows that the school then was the same as the school now, situate at the corner of the bishop's garden. It is a stone building with a great cellar underneath it, above which is the schoolhouse, with a fourteenth-century arch in it, showing that it was much older than Story's time, and was no doubt the schoolhouse in which Thomas Romsey taught.

About 1830 Prebendary Webber gutted the whole building, which originally consisted of the great cellar and one story over it. In carrying out this work the turret vaulting of the cellar was destroyed, and, by raising the roof, in place of one story three were made. All the northern part towards West Street was rebuilt, and this portion was cut off from the rest of the building by a brick wall which extends from the basement to the roof. The topmost story was used by Mr. Webber as the schoolroom, the next was a dormitory, and below this was a washing room. The great cellar was lengthened 20 ft. After Mr. Webber's resignation of the prebend in 1840, the next prebendary

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(Rev. P. Brown) ceased to use the topmost story, and turned the washing room into a schoolroom, as it still remains. Adjoining the school on the east is the prebendary's house, and east again the sub-dean's residence. Both houses were rebuilt in the latter part of the eighteenth century at the cost of the prebendary of Highley and the sub-dean respectively. The bequest of the sub-dean's tenant to the schoolmaster in 1479 therefore strongly supports the theory that the school was on the same spot before Story's gift.

Lastly, the bishop gave to the bishopric all the tenements and lands in the town of Amberley and in the fields of the episcopal manor of Amberley which he had bought of John and William Symonds. The grant was

on condition that every bishop will well and inviolably observe and keep as far as in them lies, and will cause to be observed and kept by others as far as possible, the ordinance and statutes concerning the canonry and prebend and our grammar school; and if our successors have not done or observed the premises but break or impugn or change or contravene them in part or in whole then

the lands were to go over to the dean and chapter to hold to themselves 'in pure and perpetual alms.'

It is difficult to see how in view of this clause Bishop Day in 1550 and Bishop Carr in 1828 or Bishop Durnford in 1880 could validly make any change, as they purported to do, in these statutes; especially in the direction of imposing restrictions on the openness of the school or in limiting the number of free scholars, confining them to churchmen or imposing fees on them. Nothing but an overriding power derived from an Act of Parliament could do it, or can do it now.

It was stated by Mackenzie Walcott, and has been repeated by Dr. Swainson and others, that the effect of the annexation of the prebend to the school was 'to relieve' the chancellor 'from his duty' of teaching. But it is quite clear from the facts quoted that already in 1232 the chancellor had relieved himself of this duty, by devolving it on a deputy, just as the precentor had relieved himself of the duty of teaching singing by devolving it on his deputy the master of the choristers. In the absence of documents we cannot ascertain what the chancellor paid his deputy the grammar schoolmaster; but no doubt it was a sum settled at the latter part of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth century which had become quite inadequate by lapse of time and change in the value of money. If a guess may be hazarded, it was somewhere about £2 a year. In other secular cathedrals and colleges, as Lincoln and York, Southwell and Beverley, the difficulty of lack of endowment was met by the grammar schoolmaster being also a chantry priest or vicar choral; while he also charged fees. Story met it more efficiently, and in a way more in accord with the dignity of the office of schoolmaster, not by making an inferior officer of the cathedral master *ad hoc*, but by permanently making the master one of its governing body, a canon and prebendary himself, and making the school free, forbidding him to take tuition fees. At St. Paul's, London, twelve years later, Colet took the more revolutionary course of severing the school from the cathedral body altogether, and with papal, episcopal, and capitular sanction giving it over with a new endowment to an outside body, the Mercers' Company. In the result that has proved the more excellent way. But Story's was probably the more effective at the time.

It has been questioned whether Bishop Story and his chapter had power to annex a prebend to the school, but there seems to be no doubt about it. Similar statutes so made by Bishop Ralph in 1224-44 had annexed the prebend of Wittering to a theological lectureship, directing that it should always be given to an actually teaching theologian (*theologo actualiter legenti*), and it was conferred on Mr. William Ruffus, theologian (i.e. D.D.), with the duty of lecturing (*cum onere legendi*), and these statutes were, on appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1259, confirmed as binding, and again by Pope Gregory XI in 1373. Story was a learned canonist, and no doubt was well acquainted with the canon of the Lateran Council in 1275, which directed that in every cathedral and collegiate church of sufficient means a prebend should be assigned to a grammar schoolmaster; and in this case he carried it out literally. At all events, for 400 years since that date it has been a school endowment in virtue of these statutes, and it is too late to say they were invalid.

The first schoolmaster-prebendary was Nicholas Wykley, B.A., whose nomination by the chapter on 14 December, 1497, is contained in the statutes. He may perhaps be identified with Master Wakle,¹¹ who paid 20*d.* on incepting in Arts at Cambridge in January, 1481-2, as the Cambridge bishop is pretty sure to have selected his first nominee from his own university. He does not seem to have stayed long. In 1500 John Holt was appointed. There is good reason to think that this John Holt was the well-known author of the first Latin grammar in English. The dates fit, as he was John Holt of the county of Sussex, B.A., admitted probationer fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 27 July, 1490, actual fellow 26 July, 1491. About 1494 he was usher of Magdalen College School, but he is said to have resigned about 1495. As a dis-

¹¹ Camb. Grace Bk. A. 162. He is printed Walle in the text, but starred in the index as being properly read Wakle.

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tinguished schoolmaster he might therefore have been asked in 1500 to his native county to teach the prebendal school. Possibly it was there he composed his book *Lac Puerorum; Mri. Holt Mylke for Children*, first published by Wynkyn de Worde (c. 1500), and then by Richard Pynson in 1520.

With so rare a name, William Hoone can hardly fail to be Mr. Hoone who paid 20*d.* on being incorporated at Cambridge in 1506–7.¹² By an amending statute 23 January, 1502, made under the power of amendment reserved by Story to himself during his life in the statutes of 1497–8, the schoolmaster-prebendary was relieved of the payment for the bishop's obit, and he was also allowed to

take and canonically hold one ecclesiastical benefice only, with or without cure of souls, on this condition: that the canon prebendary and master of the school . . . shall . . . provide and keep an usher fit to teach under him in our said Grammar School for the relief of and to share the anxiety of the master of the above mentioned school and for the benefit of the scholars flocking to the said school.

Of all the amending statutes which have been made to the statutes of 18 February, 1497–8, this is the only one which appears to have any validity.

Nicholas Bradbrigge, appointed in 1504, is a remarkable proof of the high status of this school, for he had been head master of Eton in 1494; John Goldyff, 1521, is not traceable. The reign of a Wykehamist bishop, Robert Sherborn, who had spent 6 years at Winchester and 14 at New College, Oxford, with 3 Wykehamist deans in succession from 1504 to 1546, was marked by the appointment in 1524 of William Freind, scholar of Winchester, 1495, whence he went to New College in 1501, being fellow there 1503–16, B.C.L. 26 April, 1510. On 13 May, 1530,^{12a} Sir Geoffrey Poole wrote 'To my hearty beloved Master Freynd, scolemaister at Chichester,' begging for a loan of £6 till Michaelmas, and tending a 'gage' as security by Anthony Bramshott. This man of substance was succeeded by another of the same school and college, John Tychenor, Tuechener, Touchenor, or Twychener, as he is variously called. He is a well-known person, having become head master at Winchester at Michaelmas, 1525,¹³ at the age of twenty-four, and having in that capacity put on record almost the only known pre-Reformation time table, after the 'use' of Winchester, for the benefit of Saffron Walden School, Essex, then being started. After six years he resigned the head-mastership of Winchester to become head master of Chichester Grammar School, and was admitted to the prebend of Highley on 5 October, 1531.

No doubt this was due to the pressure of the Wykehamist dean William Fleshmonger, and of Edward More, head master and then warden of Winchester, who was then archdeacon of Lewes and canon of Chichester. But still, it is rather amazing. Nominally the post was financially better, as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 taken while John Tychenour was master and prebendary of Highley shows that the prebend was worth £13 6*s.* 8*d.* after deducting £2 which the prebendary contributed 'for the yearly and perpetual stipend of the usher of the Grammar School of Chichester.' The same valuation shows the schoolmastership of Winchester as worth only £11 18*s.* 5*d.* a year, £10 salary and the rest apparently estimated value of allowances for gown and so forth. But as board was provided as well, worth 1*s.* a week, what little difference there was between the two was perhaps rather in favour of Winchester. The Elizabethan poet head master of Winchester, Christopher Johnson, seems to account for the change by saying

Grammaticam, Twichenere, licet docuisse feraris
Summa tamen studii pagina sacra fuit.

Tho' Twychener taught grammar as 'tis said,
Yet 'twas theology he chiefly read.

He may therefore have taken the prebend of Highley with the promise of the better canonry he afterwards obtained of Wittering, to which was attached the theological lectureship. Perhaps, too, as his brother Richard succeeded him in the head-mastership of Winchester, there may have been some family financial arrangement.

But it must be remembered also, and this is a salient instance of it, that there was not then the great difference in pay and prestige between the head-masterships of the so-called public schools and of the grammar schools that has since arisen. Each grammar school was the public school of its own district, to which the golden youth flocked instead of being accumulated in a few distant centres.

We may presume that the 'use' of Winchester transmitted to Saffron Walden was also brought to Chichester. Unfortunately the document at Saffron Walden has lost its beginning, and so the work of the VII and VI forms is unknown. But in the V and IV forms they read Sulpicius, a

¹² Camb. Grace Bk. B. 222.

^{12a} *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 6384.

¹³ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii, 296–300.

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Roman schoolmaster's grammatical works, published 1487-1506, Sallust, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, Cicero's *Letters*. They did Latin verses and wrote Latin epistles and Latin prose. Form III read *Aesop's Fables* and Lucian's *Dialogues* in Latin. Forms II and I did the *Babes' Book* or *Parvulorum*, and *Vocabula* or *Word Book* of John Stanbridge, a Wykehamist predecessor of Twychener's, head master first of Magdalen College School at Oxford and then of Banbury. The *Babes' Book* was a humane production, being a first Latin book in English, instead of in Latin, as had previously been the case.

Twychener gave up the school and prebend of Highley for the prebend of Wittering and its theological lectureship in 1538. The next master we hear of was Anthony Clarke, B.D., in 1541. Clarke in his Oxford days was a Cistercian monk at St. Bernard's College. At the dissolution of the monasteries he became a secular priest. The Certificate of the Chantry Commissioners in 1548 returned¹⁴

in the cathedrall church in Chichester, Anthony Clarke, scholemaister prebendarie in the said church of the prebend called Vyley improprid [i.e. impropriated] for a gramer schole for ever £13 whereof the said prebendary of his benevolens alloweth towarde the fyndyng of an usher yerely £4. Also the Deane and Chapter have graunted and paid syns Michaelmas 'anno primo Regis Edwardi Sexti' to the finding of the said usher 53s. 4d., and have graunted to continewe the same accordyngly out of the lyving of the said Deane and Chapter for ever.

For ever, however, is a long day; and the dean and chapter have not thought fit to make this payment for many years. In this, as in so many other cases, the deans and chapters of the Reformation era showed a zeal for higher education which their modern successors have by no means imitated. Anthony Clarke retired to the prebend of Firlie in 1550.

His successor, Thomas Garbard, admitted to the prebend 26 July, 1550, bore a name which had many variants at the hands of the scribes, occurring as Harbarde and Jarbarde. He was an Oxford man, B.A. 16 May, 1526, M.A. 26 March, 1533-4. It was, no doubt, in view of the approaching retirement of Anthony Clarke, and the intention to appoint Garbard, who was not a priest, as his successor, that on 26 July, 1550, the then bishop, George Day, in due form, with the consent of the dean and chapter and the then prebendary, made an amending statute abolishing the requirement of priesthood and mass-saying. 'We George the bishop aforesaid,' says the statute, in words which the governing bodies of the public schools would do well to ponder,

greatly desiring . . . that a devout honest and learned man should be from time to time preferred to the prebend with the duty of teaching the said school . . . considering that this duty can fitly enough belong not only to priests but also to other educated men (*litteratis*) sufficiently instructed and fit to teach, and that . . . a worthier and fitter person may be elected and the election can be from a larger number than if it was only from the order of the priesthood

and considering also that the masses specified are no longer performed, therefore the dean and chapter might nominate and present 'a priest or any other man whomsoever honest discreet and learned in grammar sufficiently instructed and fitted for teaching and willing to teach.'

This one and only lay prebendary, however, only held office for four years, when, probably because of the Marian reaction, he left to become head master of Guildford Grammar School, then lately¹⁵ re-established with a new endowment under a charter of Edward VI, 27 January, 1553, with £20 a year and a new school building, which he held for ten years.

One unfortunate result of the schoolmaster being a canon and a member of the chapter was that the chapter had nothing to do with paying him and nothing to do with the management of the school; as even in case of neglect of duty on his part it was hardly to be expected that they would interfere with their own colleague. Consequently the usual reservoir of the history of a cathedral grammar school, the Chapter Act Books, even when they begin to be extant, afford us no information.

The Chapter Accounts¹⁶ which begin in 1555 show us that here as elsewhere there is not the smallest foundation for the convenient theory advanced by deans and chapters and their advocates that the grammar school was a choristers' school. In 1554 the accountant credits himself with 'payment to Richard Basse, vicar choral but a layman, together with the rest of the sums usually allowed him every term, viz. for nine stalls and for the teaching of the choristers, for the anthem of Our Lady and for keeping the library, 23s. 5d. So in the whole to the same for the four quarters of this year £4 13s. 8d.' He also charges¹⁷ 'For the stipend of Richard Basse, master (*informatori*) of

¹⁴ A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 223, from Chant. Cert. 50, No. 2.

¹⁵ *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 166-7.

¹⁶ White Book, fol. 2b. I am indebted to Canon Deedes for these items.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 4.

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the choristers by decree of the dean and chapter in augmentation of his stipend yearly 20s., whereof paid for the term ended at Michaelmas last 5s.' In 1554-5 the anthem is explained by the item

and for the choristers' anthem now 21 nothing here, because it is allowed to the choristers' master in his stipend abovementioned with other allowances there; but he [the accountant] seeks allowance for shaving the choristers; and for their livery this year nothing; paid also 40s. to the same choristers by the gift of Dean Fleshmonger for mending their shoes and stockings, as above, 45s. 4d.

In the following year we find 'paid to the use of the choristers for saying their suffrages 24d. and paid to the choristers' teacher for his daily service 30s. 4d.'

The next year again Richard Basse received £5 13s. 8d. in all; £4 13s. 8d. statutable stipend and £1 as augmentation. Richard Basse must have acquired his name from his bass voice, and have started a musical family, for we find a generation later, in 1585, of the five lay vicars three were Owen Base, John Base, and Henry Base, receiving among them £20 3s. 4d. a year.

The same sums which Richard Basse had were still paid in 1560 to William Payne, then informant of the choristers, and in 1585, when the book ends, the augmentation is still expressed as being during the pleasure of the dean and chapter. It is clear that the choristers had their separate master, and that in no way was the grammar schoolmaster, the prebendary of Highley, their special master or responsible for them. It seems unlikely that they even went to the grammar school to learn grammar; but that they had any special claim on it is certainly not the case.

The head master of the grammar school meanwhile was Augustine Curteys, admitted 27 August, 1554. He was an Oxford man, M.A., May, 1540, and held for only two years. Robert Owing, LL.D., 4 November, 1556, who has not been traced, held for five years only till 1561, when he was perhaps dispossessed by the Protestant reaction. Matthew Myeres of Christ Church, Oxford, M.A., 1553, appointed 5 April, 1561, combined the office from 9 December, 1566, with the rectory of Chelsea. The years 1570, 1571, and 1572 saw each a different person, Henry Blackstone, who became residentiary in 1573, John Penven, who became vicar of Staines, John Beeching, who held until 1578. There seems to be nothing to record of George Buck, 10 December, 1578, John Sandford, 21 February, 1582. William Sale, who had been schoolmaster at Stafford, was appointed 21 June, 1591. In 1594 he was followed by Hugh Barker, scholar of Winchester, fellow of New College, 1585, M.A. and B.C.L., who finds a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, chiefly because after ten years' reign he became in 1605 a D.C.L. and practised in the ecclesiastical courts, becoming chancellor of Oxford diocese and Dean of the Arches. But he is also noteworthy as being the master who taught at Chichester School, as is alleged, those two celebrated contemporaries Archbishop Juxon and John Selden. It is by no means certain that Juxon was at Chichester School. He was born in Chichester, where his father was the bishop's receiver, but the family were Londoners, and if Juxon was at the prebendal school at all it was only as a preparatory school for Merchant Taylors, of which he was a scholar. Selden, on the other hand, was at the prebendal school during his whole school life. Born in 1584 at West Tarring, he was so much a pupil of Hugh Barker's that when he left the school in 1600 for Oxford he went to Hart Hall, there to be under Hugh Barker's brother, Anthony Barker, then principal of it. It was no doubt from Barker that Selden imbibed his taste for the civil and canon law and the sturdy liberal principles which made him resist the pretensions alike of kings, bishops, and the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and made him the trusted legal adviser of the whole lay parliamentary party.

In 1604 another Wykehamist and New College man, George Elgar, B.C.L., succeeded Barker.

On 27 September, 1616,¹⁸ the dean and chapter made decrees 'for the better ordering of their church and churchmen,' one of which was that the precular or beadman 'more diligently perform his office prescribed him by Bishop Sherborn's statutes and purge the church of hogs and dogs and lewd persons that play or do worse therein, under the pain of 4d. *totiens quotiens*. Let him admonish the schoolmasters concerning their scholars.' One might conclude that the unhappy boys, thus coupled with hogs, dogs, and lewd persons, had no place to play in except the street and the churchyard. But in 1635¹⁹ among the injunctions of Archbishop Laud on his metropolitanical visitation the dean and chapter were ordered

That you use some means with Mr. Peter Coxe, an Alderman of the city of Chichester, that the piece of ground now in his possession be laid open again, that the scholars of your Free School may have liberty to play there as formerly they have had time out of mind; and, if he shall refuse, to give us or our Vicar General notice upon what reason and ground he doth it.

When deans and chapters were abolished, Parliament saw to it that the cathedral grammar schools were maintained, and as a rule better maintained than they had been before. Unfortunately

¹⁸ Stat. Bk. 17.

¹⁹ Great Thick Bk. 174.

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only fragments remain of the proceedings of the Committees of Plundered Ministers and for the Reformation of the Universities, to whom this business was at various times delegated. But we find, on 26 September, 1651, among the records of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers,²⁰

In pursuance of an Order of the Committee for Reformation of the Universities of 9 May 1651 It is ordered that the yearly summe of £10, bee and the same is hereby graunted for increase of maintenance of Mr. [George] Collins, Master of the Freeschoole of Chichester in the county of Sussex and to commence from the 25th of March last, his present maintenance being expressed by the said order to bee a stipend or sallary but of £20 a yeare.

The order was signed by William Steele, John Thoroughgood, and three others. 'Mr. Allen Nye, receiver,' was accordingly ordered to pay 'the yearly sum of £10 to Mr. Collins and as long as he is master.' On 31 December, 1651,²¹ a similar order 'in pursuance of an order of the Committee for Reformation of the Universities of 26 November last' provided for the usher: That 'the yearly summe of £10 be and the same is hereby graunted for increase of maintenance unto Mr. Thomas Jackson, usher of the Free Schole in the city of Chichester, the same to be accompted from the 25 March last.' On 18 June, 1652,²² Mr. Allen Nye, receiver, was ordered to pay 'Mr. Collins Master of that Free Schoole' £10 according to the order of the trustees, 'any other order to the contrary notwithstanding,' and a similar order was made for Mr. Thomas Jackson the usher. On 16 October, 1655,²³ the receiver was ordered to pay the arrears due to Mr. Collins out of the arrears of the impropriate rectories and tithes of East Dean and West Dean and other places. On 17 December, 1656,²⁴

These Trustees having 11 October 1655 ordered Mr. Allen Nye to pay unto Mr. Thomas Jackson, usher of the Free Schoole of Chichester . . . £10 out of the rectory of Bamsted, who hath since left the same, so that Mr. George Collins, Master of the sayd Free Schoole, dischargeth the duty both of Master and Usher of the sayd Schoole It is therefore ordered that the sayd £10 be from tyme to tyme paid unto him till there shall be an Usher settled in the sayd Free Schoole out of the rents and profits hereafter mencioned viz. £6 out of the rectory of Belstead, and the further yearly summe of £4 out of the tenthes payable to the bishop of Chichester both in the county of Sussex.

In August, 1658,²⁵ the £20 due to Collins as master and usher was charged, £16 on Bersted, and the rest in small sums on Selsey, Wisborough, and the two Witterings. On 9 December, 1658,²⁶ 'So much as Mr. Nye hath paid . . . Mr. Collins Master of Chichester Schole to be allowed him on his account.'

George Collins was himself a Chichester boy, who matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 27 June, 1634, at the age of fifteen, B.A. at the age of nineteen in 1638, and M.A. 17 April, 1641. He was therefore only twenty-three years of age when he became head master. Thomas Jackson the usher was no doubt a college friend of Collins, as he matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the same year, 28 August 1634, and became M.A. in 1638. The school at least maintained its position under Collins during the Commonwealth, as we find him sending several boys up to St. John's College, Cambridge, the only large college which noted the schools from which its undergraduates came, e.g., Richard Maynard, son of the parson at Mayfield in Sussex, in 1651; John Briggs of Portsmouth in 1655. It would appear that at the Restoration, when of course the prebendaries were restored, Collins went on to Lewes Grammar School, as we find a boy going to St. John's in 1667 'son of a gentleman att Lewes, who had been bred under Mr. Collins there.' It is noteworthy that all Collins's pupils were admitted as pensioners, i.e. paying members, whereas his successors' pupils came only as 'sizars,' or poor, almost pauper, scholars. At the Restoration, on the restoration of prebends, Thomas Baker, B.A., on 21 September, 1660, superseded George Collins. John Baguley, who succeeded in 1665, was of Manchester School and St. John's College, Cambridge; admitted a pensioner there 3 February, 1654-5, he accordingly sent a boy to his old college in 1666. After four years he gave place to Francis Bacon, 20 September, 1669, of Lincoln College, Oxford; he was also rector of Birdham, Sussex, and held office for fourteen years.

There is nothing forthcoming about the school from this time onwards, except the names of the prebendaries. Robert Topp or Tupp, M.A., of King's College, Cambridge, 1681, and therefore an Etonian, was appointed 25 April, 1685. Here as elsewhere the 18th century inaugurated a series of long reigns. Topp held for sixteen years. Two other Cambridge men followed, Thomas Baker, who held for twenty-nine years, and William Wade, who held for thirty-nine years. Two Oxford men came next, Richard Tireman, fellow of St. John's College, who went on to the prebend of Gates in 1776; John Atkinson of Queens' College, 1776-84

²⁰ Lamb. MSS. Aug. 976, fol. 373.

²² Ibid. 396.

²⁴ Ibid. 993.

²¹ Ibid. 395.

²³ Ibid. 972, fol. 267.

²⁵ Ibid. 995, fol. 568.

²⁶ Ibid. 996.

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David Davis, D.D., 1784-97, was of Pembroke, Cambridge, and John Stevens, 1797-1802, of Winchester and New College, Oxford. Moses Dodd, 1802, combined his duties with those of the rectory of Fordham, Essex. George Bliss in 1808, son of an Oxford bookseller, was of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1818²⁷ he had forty boys, boarders and day boys included; the former at 60 guineas, the latter at 8 guineas a year. Mr. Bliss seems to have fallen on lean years. The lands of the prebend being let at the old rent of £13 odd, on beneficial leases for three lives, the endowment was very small when no lives fell in bringing renewal of leases and the large sums, being generally two or three years' purchase of the real rack-rent value, due for such renewals; and Mr. Bliss complained that it was 'many years since any such renewal has taken place.'

Charles Webber, 1824, also of Christ Church, continued his schoolmastering after he became a canon residentiary in 1829, and from 1837 he also held the rectory of Staunton on Wye, Herefordshire.

Soon after his incoming, in 1828, statutes were made by Bishop Carr limiting the number of free scholars in the school to '10 children born of Protestant parents resident in Chichester or children of clergymen having cure of souls in the diocese, to be nominated by the dean and chapter.' These statutes being made by the bishop alone without the chapter were wholly invalid, and it is certainly doubtful how far in any case it was competent for the bishop to restrict the freedom of the school in this way or impose denominational disabilities.

Under Webber the school was extremely flourishing. There were seventy or eighty boys there, including some thirty or forty boarders. It was used as a preparatory school for Westminster by the late duke of Richmond and his brother, Lord Henry Lennox, and the county gentlemen and upper classes of the town resorted thither.

The next master was Thomas Brown of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, matriculated 1822, at the age of twenty-three, and already vicar of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Chichester, in 1836, appointed in 1840. Under him the school fell to pieces. In 1854 the dean and chapter reported to the Cathedral Commission²⁸ that there were only eighteen boys, none of them on the foundation. In June, 1860, a complaint was made in the House of Commons of the state of the school and the difference made between free boys and others, by which the freedom of the free scholars was restricted to Greek and Latin, and £10 a year fees allowed for other subjects. In 1866²⁹ there were eighteen boys, but they were all under fourteen years of age, the school being used in fact as a preparatory school for the public schools. The Assistant Commissioner's Report pointed out that the state of the school was due partly to the anomalous position of the master, who claimed the prebend as a benefice, and was himself a member of the governing body, the chapter, which ought to have kept him in order. In 1864 the endowments had been increased by the sale of part of the land of the prebend to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which resulted in a steady income of £60 a year, in exchange for the uncertain falling in of fines. In 1879, on the death of Mr. Brown, the Rev. Frederick George Bennett succeeded. He was from Exeter Grammar School, won a Dyke scholarship at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and took his degree in 1864. From 1860 he was assistant master at St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint. In 1880 new statutes were made by Bishop Durnford with the assent and consent of the dean and chapter, and the prebendary, which purported to repeal any former statutes inconsistent with them. These required fees from all boys, including 'cathedral scholars' nominated by the dean and chapter; directed religious instruction to be in the book of Common Prayer; and gave the dean and chapter the right of sending the choristers to the school. The boys about 1885 had risen to about thirty-nine; eleven being the choristers paid for by the dean and chapter, two cathedral scholars paying £5 a year instead of £15 a year, the full fees, and four boarders. But for the last ten years the school has consisted almost entirely of the choristers; and for all practical purposes Chichester contains no public secondary school of a high grade.

HASTINGS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Hastings having an ancient collegiate church in the castle had, as a matter of course, its usual concomitants of a grammar school and a song school, under two of the canons, who, whether they enjoyed the titles of chancellor or precentor or not, exercised the functions of those dignitaries.

In an early fourteenth-century copy of a deed of Henry count of Eu (*Augi*) addressed to all his chiefs (*primatibus*), his subjects and his men, as well French as English, and therefore not later than the days of King John, the count says that much as he should like to augment the prebends he cannot do so, but he can and will put on record what his father and still more his grandfather gave so that they may not be diminished. He then sets out a 'Commemoration' of those who gave benefices. First and foremost comes Robert, count of Eu, whom his grandson styles 'founder' and

²⁷ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, i, 592.

²⁹ *Schools Inq. Com. Rep.* xi, 221.

²⁸ *Cath. Com. Rep.* (1854), 146.

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builder (*fundator et edificator*) of the church of Hastings. There is therefore no room for doubt who, in post-Conquest time at least, was the founder, though this ascription does not preclude an earlier foundation in early English times. In fact it is extremely probable that Robert of Eu's foundation consisted in dividing into separate prebends and prebendaries the canons who had formerly held all things in common. At all events he

gave and demised to Gymming to have in prebend the chapel and tithes of Werlinges, the land of Hada and a wista of land to the same manor belonging with one tenant there living (*hospite uno manente*): the tithe of the salt of the same manor; the chapel of Hoo and Nanefield

and various other properties with 'one mansion (*mansuram*) in the castle and another in the bailey at the bridge.' After three more prebends granted to three other canons came

In the prebend of Ausch[er] the church of Turok and the land to the same belonging with meadow, and marshes and tithe of the same manor, and at Sisteleberg two yardlands and a mansion at Esteham and one in the castle.

Four other prebends are enumerated, all by the names of the prebendaries of the time. Then it is stated¹ 'To Auch[er]'s prebend belongs the teaching of the grammar school, and to Wyming's prebend the teaching of the song school.' It is clear therefore that the grammar school and song school were, as in all earlier collegiate churches, part of the foundation, and that they continued at the date of this record. Wyming or Gymming, whose prebend is the first mentioned, filled the duties of precentor, and may have been the head of the church, *primus inter pares*, as the cantor of Glasney always continued to be of that collegiate church. But though he ranks first, it is clear that his school, the song school, was a less important institution than the grammar school, which was under the prebendary Auscher or Aucher. Aucher's prebend afterwards became known by its territorial title, its prebendal church and manor of 'Turok,' as West Thurrock, and Wyming's prebend became that of Wartling, Hooe, and Ninfield. We hear no more of this ancient grammar school in any of the detailed visitations which are extant.

What educational efforts were made after the dissolution of the collegiate church does not appear, there being no town muniments forthcoming before the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the early part of the reign of James I the town began to bestir itself to supply the loss. On 29 March, 1607,² 'a chamber over Mr. Young's shop' was appointed 'for a common school house for this town.'

By will, 15 November, 1619, William Parker gave to the mayor, jurats, and commonalty all his lands in Ore

towards the maintenance of a religious and godly schoolmaster in the said town who should instruct the youth of the inhabitants of Hastings in learning, manners, and other virtuous education; . . . the said schoolmaster to be elected by the jurats for the time being inhabiting within the parish of All Saints and his own heirs, so long as there should be any heir of the name and blood of Parker inhabiting in Hastings, and that they should have power to remove him if he should be slothful and negligent.

He 'peremptorily ordained that neither the rector of All Saints or of St. Clement, nor their curates, should be schoolmasters, because no one man was able to perform both these offices.'

This last is a remarkable direction, as it shows that thinking men had already seen the vice which ended in the degradation or ruin of many grammar schools in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through the pernicious practice of employing parsons as schoolmasters. The excuse for it in many cases was that the endowments had become insufficient by themselves to keep a man of university education and status, but the remedy was worse than the disease.

The lands in Ore which formed the endowment consisted of 113 acres.

Darkness prevails as to the school till the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Parker's School was, and, as it is stated, had been for many years, united with Saunders' School.

This school was founded by James Saunders who, by will, 7 January, 1708, devised to the mayor, jurats, and town council of Hastings all his real estate in the isle of Oxney, in Kent, in trust to pay £40 a year to a schoolmaster well qualified to teach Latin, who should teach all the poor boys of the town of Hastings and the suburbs of the castle parish, not exceeding the number of 70, in reading English, writing, and casting accounts, and the Latin tongue. They were also to pay £10 a year each to two school-dames, one in St. Clement's and the other in All Saints' parish, who were to teach 30 children each spelling and reading English.

¹ 'Ad prebendam Auch' attinet regimen scole gramatice, et ad prebendam Wymingi regimen Scole cantus.'

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. iv, 360.

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The two schools' endowments together in 1800 supported one master, Joseph Hannay, the Parker lands being underlet by the corporation at £49 16s., the Saunders lands, consisting of 75 acres at Wittersham and half a farm of 21 acres called Starvenden in the isle of Oxney, being also underlet at £75 10s. He was bound at first to take 40 boys and girls only, who received a purely elementary education, while the master had to pay for the hire of a room in which they were taught. The rents were raised in 1806 and the number of children increased to 55. But as the result of a Chancery suit begun by a would-be tenant in 1809, the lands being let by auction, the rents were more than doubled, Parker's lands producing £210 a year and Saunders' £259 a year. In 1813 the two schools were separated by a Chancery scheme and placed under different masters, Hannay continuing till 1817 at Parker's School, when as sole jurat of St. Clement's parish he appointed his successor, James Thorpe, and W. H. Prior being appointed in 1812 to Saunders' School. The Chancery regulations provided for navigation being taught in Parker's School. But as a matter of fact both were purely elementary, the one with 100 and the other with 70 boys, while the two dames taught 30 boys and girls each.

In 1867, so widely did the arrangements differ from the founder's desire, that the master, John Banks, of Parker's School, a surveyor by profession, pursued his calling between the school hours, and also gave private lessons in the town. The average attendance was 70 boys, and the three best boys helped in teaching the younger ones. The master had been educated at the school, was appointed to this school in 1848, and was afterwards master at Saunders' School. Mr. John Banks had, however, built a schoolhouse at his own expense in Castle Place.³ The instruction was purely elementary, and so it was at Saunders' School, which had 70 boys.

At length by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 25 March, 1878, the two schools were again amalgamated with £6,000 from the Magdalen charity, founded in 22 Edw. I by Petronilla de Cham, widow, and granted to the corporation 14 February, 1589, under the name of the Hastings Grammar School. A governing body was constituted of thirteen persons, the mayor and three new representatives of the corporation, and one each of the trustees of All Saints' and St. Clement's, the rest being co-optative. Under the scheme new buildings were erected at a cost of £10,000, and the school reopened in 1888.

The school now consists of 135 boys, at tuition fees of £9 a year, under a staff of seven masters. The head master is Mr. W. H. La Touche, educated at Bishop's Stortford High School and scholar of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; junior optime in 1873. He was appointed head master in 1888.

LEWES GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The historian of Lewes¹ says:—

The history of the school from its foundation [in 1512] to the beginning of the eighteenth century is involved in almost impenetrable darkness. What mode of tuition was pursued cannot be ascertained; the number of scholars in any one year is unknown, and even the names of the masters with one or two exceptions are lost in the obscurity of time.

Writing eighty years later, the present historian is not able to do much to clear up the obscurity, though he is able to do something. First and foremost it can be shown that there was a grammar school here in the reign of Henry III, three centuries before Agnes Morley gave it an endowment *temp.* Henry VIII.

The earliest mention yet forthcoming of Lewes Grammar School is in 1248. Guigardus, prior of Lewes²—Lewes being a Cluniac priory was an alien priory, and until 1298 had an alien as prior—and the convent of Lewes contested the claim of the mother abbey to its tithes. The case was referred by the pope to the cardinal-priest of St. Laurence in Lucina to hear. For the purpose of the trial, on Whit Monday, 1248, the monks appointed their 'beloved clerk, Lucas, schoolmaster of Lewes (*magistrum scholarum de Lewes*), proctor, steward (*yonocum*) or syndic.' On 8 Ides of July, 1248, he duly appeared at Rome before the papal auditor, but after various appearances and adjournments, at length, on 13 October, gave up the case, admitting the right of the abbot of Cluny.

That the schoolmaster of Lewes should be appointed the priory's counsel in a case of this importance involving 800 marks, with costs estimated at 100 marks more, shows what an important person the schoolmaster was. It was nothing exceptional for a schoolmaster to be also an ecclesiastical lawyer. Indeed, as we saw under Chichester School, the chancellor, who was originally the schoolmaster of that school, was the legal adviser of the chapter, and prepared its deeds just as the chancellor of England did those of the king.

³ *Hastings Past and Present* (1855), p. 77.

¹ Rev. T. W. Horsfield, *Hist. of Lewes* (1835), 308.

² Sir George Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluni* (1888), i, 107. I am indebted for this and the next three references to Mr. L. F. Salzmann.

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In December, 1285, John de Hampton, master of Lewes School, was ordained acolyte in South Malling Church.³ Earlier in the same year Archbishop Peckham, writing to the abbot of Cluny,⁴ declared that the priory of Lewes was dearer to him than any other house in England, 'quo in ipsius vicinia coaluimus a puero et ab ejusdem professoribus solatia recepimus et honores.' It would seem from this very probable that the archbishop might have been educated at Lewes School, which, though not in, could no doubt be said to be near the priory.

The next mention of a schoolmaster at Lewes transpires in the will⁵ of John Wodewey, clerk, made 8 May, proved 16 June, 1405, who in the midst of a series of specific bequests, says, 'I owe the schoolmaster (*magistro scholarum*) of Lewes 6*d.* for half a quarter.' Half a quarter of what? Tuition fees? The testator was probably quite young, as he made bequests to his parents and brothers and sisters.

Again a century elapses, and then we find a lady endowing a free grammar school 'in Southover next Lewes' either because Lewes School had gone to decay, or perhaps only with a view to making a free school where there was a fee school. Meanwhile, in the priory account roll for 1480 payments are entered for clothes for ten 'pueri de custodia,' the names of eight being given:—John Eston, John Trowbrigge, John Mallyng, John Glassenbury, Robert Caynysham, Hugh Massyngham, John Kent, and Nicholas Wode.⁶ These may have belonged to an almonry school, or they may have been boys to whom the prior was guardian, either by feudal right or by appointment, but though living in the priory they would probably have gone to the grammar school for their education.

Agnes Morlay, widow, made her testament⁷ of personalty on 20 November, 1511. She directed her body to be buried in the parish church of St. John the Baptist 'next unto the buryall of William Morlay, my last husband.' He was presumably the William Morley who in his will,⁸ proved by Agnes his relict, 19 November, 1505, bequeathed to the high altar of St. John the Baptist, Southover, 6*d.* Then she gave a series of specific legacies to Thomas Puggislee the elder, her executor, and Andrew, Roger, Thomas the younger, and Clement Puggislee, his sons, who were, we must conjecture, her brother and nephews. She continued:—

Item, if Andrew, Roger, Thomas or Clement bee a Relligious man, I will that his bequest shalbee divided amonges the remenaunt. Item, if anny of theym bee prestes, I wille that he shall not occupie my housyng if anny of the other bee alive. Item, I will that the forsaide Andrewe Puggislee, Roger Puggislee, Thomas Puggislee the yonger, and Clement Puggislee, assone as they come to lauffull age and before that they receyve anny parcell of my forsaide legacye in maner and forme aforesaide, shall release all their right, title, interest and demaunde whiche they and eche oone of theym hathe or may have, of and in the mesuage and the Scolehouse and a gardeyn lying at the Watergate, with the appurtenaunces, in the parrishe of Southovere aforesaide, to my feoffys of and in the saide mesuage, Scolehouse and gardeyn, w^t thappurtenaunces, which shalbee for that tyme beyng, to the use and perfourmacion of the Free Scole perpetually to contynue and endure.

If they did not their legacies were to be withheld and 'the same money and plate to bee putte into my cheste whiche belongeth and ys ordeyned for the saide Free Scole, and there to remayne to the use and performance of the forsaide Free Scole.'

After more bequests she gave some lands in Southover to Thomas Puggislee in tail general

and for lak of an heir of his body lawfully begotten, than I will that all the saide landes and tenementes shall remayne to the use and behofe of the Freescole at Watergate, and for the maynteynyng of Saint Erasmes' Chapell in the Church of Southovere aforesaide, and for fyndyng of wyne and wax for the same Chapell, and for the mayntenaunce of all the ornaments of the saide Chapell. Item, I will the rule, ordre and governaunce of the saide landes and tenementes shalbee doone by theym that bee appoynted in my Will of the saide Freescole for that tyme being, aswell to bee in feoffement and the rent gatherid and accompte given thereof likewise as the annuite ys provided for, for the saide Free Scoole.

She gave Roger Puggislee the

Pepir Corne, lying in the parrishe of Southovere aforesaid . . . upon this condicion folowing, that is for to say, the saide Roger Puggeslee shall release all his right, title, interest and demaunde whiche he hathe or hereafter may have of and in the forsaide mesuage and gardeyn, w^t thappurtenaunces, lying at Watergate in Southovere aforesaide, to the feoffees whiche shalbee in the saide mesuage and gardeyne, w^t thappurtenaunces, for the tyme beyng, to thintent and performance of the saide Free Scoole continually to bee contynued. And if he will not so doo, than I will that the profite of the saide mesuage and gardyne called the Pepir Corne shall stande and remayne to thuse of the forsaide Free-scole for evermor.

³ *Reg. Epist. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1038.

⁵ P.C.C. 70, Marche.

⁷ P.C.C. 20 Fetiplace. Printed by Mr. R. Garraway Rice in *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xlvii, 134.

⁸ P.C.C. 41 Holgrave.

⁴ *Ibid.* 902.

⁶ *Mins. Accts.* bdle. 1023, No. 30.

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Six months later, 24 May, 1512, Agnes Morley, as she is now called, made her will of lands (*ultima voluntas*).

As concernyng the establisshing and orderyng of a Free Scoole in Southovere aforesaide, perpetually to bee contynued, in maner and forme folowyng, that is to say, where as I, the forsaide Agnes, late purchased joyntely w^t other, to us, o^r heires and o^r assignes, of Edmund de Dudley an annuell rent or annuite of xx^{li} by the yere, to bee receyved and taken of and in his manor of Hammessey otherwise Hammes^e next unto Lewes, 16 December, 1508; And also wher diverse persones bee seased of and in a mesuage w^t a gardeyn in Southovere aforesaide, lying next to the mylle called Watergate, to my use and performacion of this my laste wille; Inprimis, I will that the saide mesuage and gardeyn w^t thappurtenaunce shall serve for a scolemaister and an ussher there to dwelle in, to teche grammer in the same forever; Item, I will that the forsaide annuell rente or annuite of xx^{li} shall goo to the fyndyng of the saide scolemaister and ussher and other charges, as hereafter it is more playnely expressid. Item, I wille that the Prior of Lewes for the tyme beyng and all that hereafter shalbee Priors of the same place, shall contynually for ever have the nomynacon of the Scolemaister, whiche shalbee a preest, able to teche grammer in the saide Freescole, if suche a preest canne bee had, or els to put in a secular man whiche ys able to teche grammer in the meane tyme in his stede, unto the tyme an able preest may bee provided to bee a maister of the saide Scole; And the said Prior at all tymes to appoynt hym, so beyng scolemaister of the said Scole, his rule and ordre as he shall think most best for encresing of coonnyng¹⁰ to the scolers ther beyng. Item, I will the saide scolemaister shalhave yerely x^{li}, and the ussher c^s for their stipend and wagies. Item, I will that the forsaide scolemaister shalbee a preest able to teche grammer, having no cure of soule nor noone other speciall lette¹¹ whereby he myght w^drawe his attendaunce frome the saide Scole. Item, I will that the saide scolemaister as often as he ys disposed to say masse, that he shall say the same in the Chapell of Saint Erasmes within the churche of Saint John Baptist of Southovere aforesaide, and to pray for my soule and for all my frendes soules and for all theym that bee my feoffys, w^t all other helping or bering good wille to the mayntenyng of contynuance of the saide Freescole.

The prior had power to put out the schoolmaster and usher for reasonable cause after reasonable warning; and the schoolmaster, on his side, had to give a quarter's notice before leaving. 'Item, I will that the scolemaister shalhave the nomynacion of the ussher to teche grammer undre hym, providing that the saide ussher bee able to teche grammer, and of vertuous lyving and of good disposicion.'

The school was to be a free school.

Item, I will that the saide scolemaister and ussher shall teche the scolers freely w^oute anny thing taking of theym or of their fryndes, otherwise than of their benevolence. The receyvor [of the £20 rent-charge was to] kepe an Obite yerely in the parrishe churche of Southovere aforesaide uponne Sayncte Erasmes Day, or within viij daies therof at the ferthest, to the value of 13s. 4d., for the welthe of my soule and of all Christeyn soules. [He was to keep the house at Watergate,] the scolehouse and the house that the scolemaister and the ussher dwellith in, and the closur aboute the same, well maynteyned and repaired in all maner [and] condition. Item, I will that he shall see the Chapell of Saint Erasmes in the churche of Southovere aforesaide and the ornamentes of the same Chapell well repaired, and wyne and wax, and all other thinges whiche ys necessary for a preest to syng with, to bee sufficiently maynteyned and kepte, and to paye all suche costes and charges as shall requir or happen hereafter for the wryting or renewyng of newe feoffementes, as well of and in the forsaide mesuage and gardeyne leying next to the mylle called Watergate with the appurtenaunce, which servyth for the scolemaister and ussher to dwelle in and the scolehouse, as of and in the forsaide annuite or annuell rent of xx^{li} to bee receyved of and in the manor [of] Hammessey otherwise Hammes aforesaide. [He was to] geve accompte to theym that shalbe keepers of the keyes of my cheste, whiche ys ordeyned and belongeth for the saide scole, of his charges and his allowaunce concernyng the premisses, and than the saide receyvor to bee allowed xx^s for his labor and besynes for a hole yere, suche money as ys remaynyng at his accompte, over and above all the premisses observed and kept, that it bee putte into my forsaide cheste, to thuse and store for the saide scole and other the premisses to bee performed. Item, I will that my forsaide cheste shall stand in the parrishe churche of Southovere aforesaide, whiche cheste shalhave iij diverse keyes, wherof I will the Prior of Lewes shalhave oone keye, the churchwardynes of Southovere for the tyme beyng shalhave an other key, and Thomas Puggislee thelder and his heires shalhave an other keye.

The testament and will were proved in the Prerogative Court, 25 October, 1512.

We know nothing of the carrying out of the will or anything about the school or schoolmaster until in the Subsidy Roll for 1543-4¹² we find in 'the Rape of Lewes' 'the scolemaister there taking stynd of temporall lands by the yere £10' assessed to the subsidy at 20s. The entry, if it does not tell us who the schoolmaster was, at least shows the school was a going concern.

Fortunately for the school, Agnes Morley had vested the school lands not in the priory of Lewes but in an independent body of feoffees, or otherwise this school, like many others of which

⁹ i.e. Hamsey.

¹⁰ Cunning, i.e. learning.

¹¹ i.e. hindrance.

¹² P.R.O. Lay Subs. 35 Hen. VIII, 1502.

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monasteries were trustees, would have been confiscated to the crown as part of the monastic possessions.

In the reign of Edward VI the chantry certificate of 1548¹³ shows the school going on, but conducted by the usher during a vacancy in the mastership. Probably this may have been because of the dissolution of the priory; the prior having been given the patronage of the mastership, it would then naturally devolve on the crown, which was always difficult to move in such matters.

The fact that the school was continued in spite of the direction in the founder's will for masses for her soul, is an indication that the commissioners at that time did not take the view, afterwards enforced by the courts, that 'a little venom poisons the whole cup' and that the superstitious use of masses for the founder's soul caused the foundation to be confiscated as a chantry though the main purpose of it was a school.

The grammer Scole in Southouer nexte Lewes, of the Foundation of Agnes Morly

There is a grammer schole Founded there to have a prieste Scholemaister to teache children and to say Masse for the Founder, and to have for his labour and for an vscher £5, and the rest for reparacions yerlie, and for other charges, to be kepte in a cheste in which there is now £72 or there aboutes remaynneng for the receptes, whereof it were convenient to have your letter, lest they do bestowe yt otherwayes, which is lyke they will doo, which Scholemaster and vscher shulde alwaies be named by the prior of Lewes and his successors.

There is nowe no scholemaster there, but only an vscher, and for that it is a populous towne and moche youth the inabitauntes do require to haue some lerned man to be admitted to the same, bicause nowe the Kyng, in the right of the late monastery of lewes, Intituled to be Founder; and the proffittes of the said landes, besides the Scholehous, is clere towards the reparacions and charges aforesaid £19 6s. 8d.

There is one Otley, parson of Rype, which is very well lerned, mete to be scolemaster there, if he will take it vppon hym.

Continuatur schola quousque.

'Otley, parson of Rype,' was Thomas Otley demy 1532 and fellow 1536 of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was lecturer in logic, and in 1541 in Greek. But as he became vicar of Burwash in 1549 it is probable that he never took on the task of being a schoolmaster at Lewes.

In 1611 Thomas Blunt, barber, bequeathed an annuity of £3 a year to the school. In 1630 the best-known pupil of the school went to it, and his going there shows that it then occupied a high position, as it was selected as an alternative to Eton. This pupil was the diarist Evelyn.

1628 I¹⁴ was now put to school to one Mr. Potts, in the Cliff, at Lewes, from whom, on the 7th of January, 1630, I went to the Free School at Southover, near the town, of which . . . now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University.

1632 My father . . . intended to have placed me at Eaton; but, not being so provident for my own benefit, and unreasonably terrified with the report of the severe discipline there, I was sent back to Lewes; which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplored.

3rd April, 1637 I left school, where, till about the last year, I had been extremely remiss in my studies; so I went to the University rather out of shame of abiding longer at school, than for any fitness, as by sad experience I found; which put me to re-learn all that I had neglected or but perfunctorily gained.

The Rev. Edward Snatt, of Lewes, wrote 25 May, 1657, thanking Evelyn for the first book of translation of Lucretius which he had sent.¹⁵

Whence Edward Snatt came has not been traced. His son William went to Magdalen College, Oxford, 14 December, 1660, and became a canon of Chichester.

The St. John's College, Cambridge, register shows us that the school maintained its position under Mr. Snatt's successors, and went on during the Civil War. For on 11 April, 1646, Edward, son of Anthony Beecher, tailor, of Lewes, was admitted a sizar there at the age of 16; 'bred under Mr. Golding.' In 1682, Timothy, son of Thomas Burrell, gentleman, of Cuckfield, bred under Mr. Whalley, aged 18, was admitted to St. John's College.

In 1700 the school again sends a gentleman, son of Thomas Denham of Withyham, Lewes, this time as a pensioner to St. John's College, the master being Mr. Reading.

In 1716 Mr. Pierce sent John Latham, son of the parson of Etchingham, and in 1729 Willoughby Barry, son of a surgeon in Essex (so presumably a boarder), both as pensioners to St. John's.

As the Christian names of these masters are not given it is impossible to identify them.

In 1709 Mrs. Mary Jenkins, of the parish of Chelsea of Middlesex, gave by will, dated 8 October, to Thomas Lord Pelham, Henry Pelham the elder, esq., Henry Pelham the younger

¹³ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation*, 224, from Chant. Cert.

¹⁴ Evelyn, *Diary* (1850), i, 6.

¹⁵ Ibid. iii, 95.

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esq., Thomas Pelham of Catsfield, esq., and others in trust, a messuage or tenement, stable, garden, and appurtenances situated in the parish of St. Peter and St. Mary, Westout, and formerly the chantry house, 'to be inhabited and enjoyed by the school-master for the time being of the Free Grammar School in Southover, juxta Lewes, for ever as a free donative.' The premises were purchased in the preceding year by Mrs. Jenkins for £194. She also bequeathed to the same trustees in trust for the benefit of the school several sums of money to which she was entitled by purchase from the orphans' fund, amounting in the whole to £1,533 16s. 1d., to be employed 'in making provision for the free instructing and teaching at the said Free Grammar School, such and so many children or scholars as from time to time after her death may be nominated and elected, as in a certain writing dated 7th October was appointed.' By the instrument last referred to she gave to the trustees already named the power of providing books out of the property vested in them for so many of the free scholars as they should think fit, providing that not more than £15 per annum be so employed. The residue of the income was directed to be given in such proportion as the trustees might agree upon, to the schoolmaster, usher, and writing master. The trustees were also empowered to fix the number of scholars that were to be admitted on the foundation and instructed free of expense; and with them rested the appointment or dismissal of the master or pupils.

The school was removed from Southover about the year 1714 to the more eligible premises which had been given to the institution by Mrs. Jenkins. But for many years after the removal of the establishment to St. Anne's parish, it was customary for the master and pupils to make a yearly visit to the deserted seat of learning in Southover, and there to go through a portion of those lessons with the tumult of which the old buildings had re-echoed for upwards of two centuries.

In 1808 Colonel Newton, wishing to extend his grounds eastward of his mansion in Southover, purchased the schoolhouse and garden near the mill-pond, then used by a tinker, for £300, which was invested in consols.

In 1807 the Rev. Edward Merriman was appointed head master. In his evidence¹⁶ before the commission 'to inquire concerning charities in England for the education of the poor' in 1818, he stated that he received an endowment made up as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
1. From Lord Chichester's steward	53	5	0
2. „ Mr. Guy of Hammessey, tenant of Sir Charles Burrell	20	0	0
3. „ Mr. Verral, solicitor, of Lewes	3	0	0
4. Interest on £497 os. 10d. consols	14	7	4
	<hr/> £90 12 4 <hr/>		

Items 2 and 4 represented the original endowment of Agnes Morley, the consols representing the proceeds of sale of the old school. Item 1 represented Mrs. Jenkins's endowment, £1,725 consols; item 3 the rent-charge on a house in Lewes given by Barber Blunt. The school consisted of 25 boys, 9 free boys nominated by Lord Chichester and Lord Hampden (the full number mentioned to him on appointment being 12) and 15 boarders. They were all taught classics as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic, by the writing master, the 'usher' having ceased to exist. One of the free boys was head of the school, and going to the university.

In 1864 the Schools Inquiry Commission found the school in a very bad way. The trustees, nine in number, noblemen and county gentlemen, limited their functions to appointing the master and nominally the 12 foundation scholars. They had held no meeting for seven years. Two of them had shown 'occasional . . . interest' in the school. The Rev. Frederick Woolley, M.A. Cambridge, was head master, appointed in 1859. He found 39 boys, and raised the number to 51 in the summer term of 1861. Then his health failed. In 1865 there were only 23 boys, of whom 10 were boarders, 8 day boys paying 15 guineas a year, and the rest free scholars. A day boy, if he was 'a nice lad,' was allowed to play with the boarders in the playground, which, having been the garden given for the exclusive use of the master, was entirely under his control.

In 1885 the master was the Rev. Charles Kevern Williams, M.A., late fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Instead of the school being revived, the *coup de grâce* was finally given to this ancient foundation by a scheme made under the Endowed Schools Act, 12 August, 1885, which converted the school and the George Steere Exhibition, with Blunt's educational charity, into exhibitions of £5. to £20, tenable at any place of higher education approved by the governors to boys or girls, children of residents in Lewes or within five miles of the county hall there.

¹⁶ *Char. Com. Rep.* i, App. 396.

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CUCKFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

In his will¹ 11 July, 1521, Edmund Flower, 'citizein and marchaunt tailor,' of London, says, 'I for certeine years past at my costs and charge have caused a free Gramer Scole to be mainteined and kepte at Cuckfelde for the erudicion and lernyng of pore scolers thedur resortyng to the honour of God in that behalf.'

How long he had maintained the school Flower does not tell us, but he was warden of the Merchant Taylors Company² in 1498-9, and was the first master under their new charter in 1503-4,³ and as such, in consideration of the new charter, made an elaborate agreement, 3 December, 1503, with Henry VII for the company to celebrate an obit for him in St. Martin's Outwich. In an inventory of the company's plate in 1512⁴ appeared among 'Standing coppes' 'Of the gift of Maister Flower 1 gilt cup with a cover, with a columbyne, weiyng 28 oz.' Flower, therefore, had made his fortune by 1504, and probably began the school not long after that date. For it was in 1502 that Sir John Percyvale, a member of his company, had founded Macclesfield Grammar School,⁵ and in 1508 that Sir Stephyn Jenyns endowed Wolverhampton Grammar School.

At whatever date he started the school, Flower determined to endow it at his death:

For a perpetuall contynuaunce whereof and that a graduate beyng a secular prest and sufficient man to teche Gramer maye be alway resident there to teche gramer and for the yerely mayntenance and sustentacion of the same maister and his successors beyng Scole maister there for ever, and to thintent that I may be reputed and named the first founder of the same, and that I and my wifis may be perpetually prayed fore there: I woll that the maister and wardeins of oure blessid Ladye nowe holden and kepte in the parishe church of Cuckfeld aforesaid for the tyme beyng and their successors shall yerely

apply the income of his lands in Westerham, Kent, which he directed his feoffees to convey to nominees of the fraternity; and also of other lands worth £5 a year for the purchase of which he had given them £100 to 'the contynuall and perpetuall mayntenaunce of the said Gramer Scole.'

When the 'rome of the said Scolemaister' was void, the master and wardens of the fraternity were to choose 'a new able Scolemaister . . . by the advice of the Vicar there and by suche 3 or 4 honest men of the said parishe . . . as the Master and Wardeins shalle calle unto them.' If they 'negligently doo suffre the said scole to be unkept by the space of one yere,' and do not provide for its maintenance within half a year 'after monycion or warnyng' by the mystery or craft of Merchant Taylors then the endowment was to be sold and the proceeds applied by the Merchant Taylors Company in farthing bread to the prisoners in various city prisons.

The will was proved 13 August, 1521. It was very promptly carried out by the purchase for £66 13s. 4d. of 112 acres of land in Laughton, East Hoathly, and Chiddingly, conveyed by Emelyn Watreman by deed of 20 November, 1521.

By a 'tripartite Indenture' of 1 October, 1528,⁶ made between Mr. William Spicer, parson of Balcombe, the master and fellows of 'the Colledge of St. Catherin called St. Catherin's Hall' in Cambridge, and the vicar Ninian Burrell, and twelve parishioners of Cuckfield, the endowment was considerably increased.

William Spicer may perhaps be the Spicer who entered at Cambridge as a 'questionist'⁷ in 1485-6, and was granted in 1494 his doctorate in canon law.⁸ He was no doubt a member of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, in favour of which in certain events there was a gift out of his endowment. That he might be 'named, taken and reputed the second founder of the said Grammar School,' Spicer added to Flower's endowment, worth £6 10s. a year, the manor and lands of Redstone in Reigate, worth £5 a year clear, which he had bought of Thomas Mitchell 'for the continuance of the said Free Grammar School and for the establishment and making of good rules and ordinances to be had, taught, used and kept in the said school for ever.'

It shows how already coming events were casting their shadows before them, that he directed in case the fraternity should be dissolved the master should be nominated by the rectors of

¹ P.C.C. 8 Maynwaryng.

² Charles M. Clode, *Early Hist. of the Merchant Taylors Company*, ii, 41, 42.

³ Ibid. i, 347.

⁴ Ibid. i, 96.

⁵ Not as stated in Clode, *op. cit.* ii, 17, the 29th earliest school in England, as it is more like the 290th; but still, a fairly early specimen of a foundation by a city merchant.

⁶ A copy of this indenture made in or about 1626 by the then vicar of Cuckfield, Thomas Vickers, who was also a non-residentary canon of Chichester, and died in 1638, is preserved in a small quarto paper book, the bulk of which was apparently written by him, in a parchment binding, in the possession of the vicars of Cuckfield for the time being, called the Vicar's Book, p. 22. The spelling is not of the original date, but of that of the copy, and is therefore not worth reproducing. For the loan of the Vicar's Book the writer is indebted to Canon Cooper.

⁷ Camb. Grace Book A. 200.

⁸ Ibid. B. 71.

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Cuckfield and Balcombe and three or four honest and substantial inhabitants selected by them. The deed was in effect only a mortgage, and included an unfortunate provision that if Thomas Mitchell, from whom the manor of Redstone had been bought, should within eight years buy other lands worth £5 a year and convey them to the trustees, he should have the manor of Redstone back.

It was expressly provided that the schoolmaster

shall teach the scholars in the said school grammar after the form order and usage used and taught in the Grammar School at Eton near Windsor from form to form according to the acts and rules there made kept and used, and to keep the houres of learning in the said school as near as he can that is to say

from Lady Day to Michaelmas from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and Michaelmas to Lady Day from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m.

He was to say mass three times a week at the least, one mass of the Holy Ghost, two of the Trinity, and three of the Name of Jesus, and 'at each mass before the lavatory to say *De profundis* and to pray for the souls of Mr. William Spicer and of the founders their father and mother souls . . . and the souls of all the helpers and benefactors of the said school,' and to find bread, wine and wax at his own cost. At evening before departing the scholars were to say *De Profundis* for the same souls. It was expressly enjoined that the master was not to be compelled 'to go in visitation neither to do any other cure or business belonging to the vicar or curate of Cuckfield for the dangers and let that may thereof happen to ensue to him and to the said scholars.' If plague came he might remove to another place within ten miles of Cuckfield. On Monday in Easter week 10s. was to be paid to him to keep a solemn obit for the founder in the parish church, 'Dirige by note,' i.e. a dirge with singing, over night and on the morrow a requiem mass 'by note'; 3s. to be given to the priests, clerks and sexton, 4d. to be offered at the mass, 3s. 4d. in alms to the poor, and 12d. among the scholars, with 2s. 4d. to himself for singing the Requiem Mass and reading the Indenture and Ordinances.

If the feoffees or the vicars failed on a vacancy to appoint a master within half a year, St. Catharine's College was to take the rents and profits of the endowment, and therewith receive into their house a young man disposed virtuously to learn, to be a fellow and to pray for Spicer's and his friends' souls.

Finally, 20s. undisposed of was to be paid to a scholar of the school nominated by the parson of Balcombe, who in the absence of the master should teach the scholars, 'and see good order in the school under the master,' a sort of cross between an usher, a pupil teacher, and a prefect.

Annexed to the deed were two documents both of great interest.

Here followeth the Bead roll that the Schoolmaster must use at his masses and especially at the masses assigned in the Indentures; item, his scholars by the discretion of the master to use the same.

He shall pray for the good estate of Mr. William Spicer, parson of Balcomb, and for the souls of John Spicer, Joan his wife, and for all the souls that the foresaid William is bound to pray for, and for the soul of Mr. Edmund Flower and for all the souls the which the said Edmund is bound to pray for and for all Christian souls and for the good estate of all the helpers and maintainers of the said Grammar School.

Item, the Schoolmaster shall take good heed that his scholars keep good order in the church and serve God.

Then follows, in seven items, 'the Oath that shall be given to the Schoolmaster at his admission.' He was to keep the indenture and read it at the stated times, and so forth. The last is 'Item, the said schoolmaster shall teach the scholars in the said school after the form and usage taught in the Grammar School of Eton, the which form for this time is as it followeth:' then the time-table of every form is set out in detail. So that we here get a curriculum of Eton in the year 1528, some two years earlier than that sent by Richard Cox, then head master of Eton, to Saffron Walden Grammar School,⁹ which was to be conducted 'after the use of Winchester and Eton.' It shows how artificial and modern is the distinction between grammar and public schools, that this small foundation of a merchant tailor and a rector was to be conducted on the same lines and with the same curriculum as the great foundation of kings and bishops. Nor was it only at starting that the Eton model was to be followed. 'These acts and orders' were only to

continue until such time as the Controlers be certified of others being used and taught in Eton more profitable to scholars; then it is lawful to the Controlers to add to the forms that be more profitable and to leave what are not profitable at their discretion.

There was a preparatory class below the regular forms. First, it is ordained that 'the children first beginning the Grammar' were 'to read the Accidence of Mr. Stanbridge, and diligently exercised

⁹ *V.C.H. Essex*, ii, 521.

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in the same every working day.' On Saturday morning they were to 'rehearse and render by heart all the lessons they have learnt all the week.' But if Saturday were a holy-day, then 'the said render be made the working day before.'

It is ordained also that every working-day, Friday and Saturday except, one of the 8 parts of Reason, [now called parts of speech] with the verb according to the same, that is to say, Nomen with Amo, Pronomen with Amor, and so forth, be said by heart by all the learners of the accidence, if they have learnt that part, and of all the First, Second and Third Forms.

This was to be 'by and by after 6 of the clock' in summer and seven in winter. 'After the part done the learners of the accidence shall labour their lessons, which lesson the Master shall hear more often or more seldom after his discretion and to the more profit of the scholars.' Form I were to learn Stanbridge's English Rules called the 'Parvula.'

These rules shall be said by and by after the Part done, and upon repeating the rules the Master shall cause them to make small and easy Latins, proper and such as the children may understand and have a delight in.

Form II the same 'except that the Master may by his discretion add more matter to the Latin for the Second Form.'

These Latins must be so given that the children may write¹⁰ them before breakfast. After their breakfast one of the next Form above by the Master's assigning shall read to them one Rule for the next day and in the Master's presence; upon which the scholars of this Form shall apply themselves to the understanding construing saying and answering to the parts of their Latins under the dinner-hour [which was 11 a.m.].

If the Master's discretion shall think the babies able easily to overcome it, he may give them also some Latin words from Stanbridge's Collection, or small and light matter in Latin to be rendered by the Babies by and by after one of the clock; which done, after a convenient pause, the said babies shall render their Latins by heart, construe them and answer to the part of them.

This applied to the first four days of the week. On Friday they were to say *Sum, es, fui*, or some other verb out of rule. Then they were to be examined in the understanding of the rules learned in the week and say them by heart in the afternoon.

If the master¹¹ have time sufficient before the time of breakfast the Master, or some Scholar of an higher form in the presence of the Master, shall declare to them one little piece of the Pater Noster, or the Ave Maria, the Credo or the Treatise of the Manners called¹² Quos decet in mensa, or the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, or the Five Witts,¹³ or some other proper saying in Latin meet for the Babies, and especially such as is meet for Christian People to learn, as the Articles of Our Belief or anything like.

On Saturday before breakfast Form I 'rendered' their 'one little piece' of religious instruction, 'construed it and answered to parts of it.' After breakfast they rendered their Latins learnt in the week. 'At afternoon they shall learn to write or read Legends, or the Psalter, to become more prompt in reading.' Not, be it observed, for the sake of religious instruction, but for the enunciation.

In the second form the scholars shall read the genders¹⁴ of Whittington and after them done the Heteroclites of Whittington. These rules shall be said in the morning and by and by one lesson shall be read unto them for next day and they shall learn Latins with the First Form. After their breakfast a lecture of Cato after the new interpretation shall be read unto them, which they shall construe again at afternoon and answer to the parts of it, which done they shall say their Latins by heart, construe them and parse them.

On Friday after breakfast 'they render their rules; and at afternoon their constructions.' On Saturday they say and render all things with the first form.

In the third form the rules shall be the Pretenses¹⁵ and Supines of Whittington, and after these done the Defectives of the said Whittington, they shall have Latins. Their constructions

¹⁰ Not as in Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 'recite.'

¹¹ Not as in Carlisle, 'If they may have sufficient time before breakfast.'

¹² Not as in Carlisle, 'verses for the Mariners, called Quos dicet in mensa.' The Treatise in question was a Latin poem by Sulpicius, a fifteenth-century schoolmaster at Rome, on how to behave at table; a most interesting work.

¹³ i.e. the five senses.

¹⁴ Not as in Carlisle, 'gradus.'

¹⁵ *Sic*. It was probably Preterites in the original, but the copyist of 1626 could not read the writing of 100 years before.

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shall be of Terence or of Erasmus's Similitudes or of his familiar communication called Colloquia Erasmi.' Form IV had for rules

the Regiments of Whittington which he calleth Concinnitates Grammatices. They shall have Latin constructions and other things except rules with the third form to the intent that the better learned may instruct the less learned. In the fifth form they shall read the Versifying Rules. They shall have¹⁶ or Ovid's Epistles. In the stead of Latins they shall construe Virgil, Sallust or Horace or any other meet for them; and for their better exercise they shall make every week verses and epistles.

It is remarkable that the latest thing in classical schools to-day is to return to this practice of remitting verse-making and original Latin prose to Form V. Form VI 'have for their rules Copiam Erasmi,' i.e. Erasmus's book on copiousness of diction, 'wherein it is taught to make'¹⁷; all other things they shall read with the fifth form.'

In every form

the Rules shall be said in the morning, and by and by more rules given unto them; after 9 of the clock the constructions shall be given them; after 1 of the clock the constructions shall be heard; about 3 of the clock the Latins shall be rendered.

The master may begin to hear the First Form if it pleaseth him, so that the tender babes and young scholars be not forslowd,¹⁸ but ever taught plainly and substantially, soberly and discreetly entreated, and handled without rigour or hastiness in deed word and countenance. The Master also must attend that his scholars keep a due and whole pronounciation of their words without precipitation, and that they speak Latin in every place.

Considering the way that pronounciation and enunciation are now almost wholly neglected in schools, which to make up for the neglect have to start Debating Societies and Shakespeare Readings, and these only attended by a select few, it is by no means clear that we have not something to learn in the way of school teaching from the much decried scholars of pre-Reformation times.

Lastly comes the usual fulmination against holidays:

The Scholars shall have no Remedy but once in the week, and that shall never be on the Friday; and also after 2 of the clock, because they may render most of their learning, or they depart the school, without¹⁹ the assent of one of the Controllers.

The Vicar's Book gives 'Mr. Mollineux' as the first master. He is probably Edmund Molyneux, who matriculated at Oxford in 1510, one of the great Lancashire family already settled at Sefton, from whom the present earls of Sefton are descended.

In 1545 we find among those assessed for a Lay Subsidy²⁰ 'The Scolemaister of Cookfeld takyng styvend of temporall londs by the yere £10.' In 1548 the Chantry Commissioners report:²¹

The Grammer Scole in Cuckfeilde

The Grammer scole in Cuckfeilde Robert Hedon, preiste, of the age of 32, is Scholemaister there to teache the children and to pray and say masse for the founders and so is appointed by the foundation. There is landes tenementes and hereditaments appoynted therefor of the clere yerelie value of £11 8s. whereof to the Scholemaister £10, usher 20s. and the rest for reparacions and other charges and is enfeofed to certain persons named in the said foundation, the Founders name Edmund Flower and William Spyser, £11 8s.

Continuatur schola quousque.

Robert Hedon can hardly fail to be Dominus Hedon who determined in arts, i.e. went through an examination for the B.A. degree, at Cambridge in 1537-8.²² He appears as Eden in the Vicar's Book.

How or why this school escaped confiscation under the Chantries Act is not clear, seeing that the schoolmaster, though assessed to lay subsidies in virtue of his temporal endowment, was to be a priest and say masses for the founders' and others' souls. But it did. It was reserved for its own trustees to strike a blow at it which eventually resulted in its ruin and degradation.

Thomas Mitchell, in virtue of the covenant contained in Spicer's endowment deed, conveyed to the trustees lands in West Hoathly and Hurstpierpoint and got back his manor of Redstone. These lands had been given for a chantry in Cuckfield church before they were bought by Mitchell, and as such should have come to the crown. Being 'concealed' from the crown, no doubt

¹⁶ This blank is another proof that the copyist of 1626 could not read the older writing properly.

¹⁷ Again the copyist could not read the old writing.

¹⁸ *Sic.* Not as in Carlisle, 'forestowed.' But it is possible that the seventeenth-century copyist has misread the word, as 'forslowed' does not seem to have much more meaning than 'forestowed.'

¹⁹ Not as in Carlisle, 'with.'

²⁰ P.R.O. Lay Subs. 1 1/2 2.

²¹ A. F. Leach, *Engl. Sch. at the Reformation*, 225, from Chan. Cert. 50, No. 33.

²² Camb. Grace Bk. B. ii, 214.

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Mitchell got them cheap. The inevitable informer, in this case Nicholas Jeff, ferreted them out, got a grant from the crown as 'concealed lands,' and sold them to the lessees. After legal proceedings, eventually the lessees compromised with the trustees for perpetual rent-charges at the rate of the then rents, £8 8s. a year, and this is still the rent paid for these lands, whereas the manor of Reigate and lands there are probably worth as many thousands or tens of thousands of pounds.

Worse was to follow. The original Flower lands were let for the ancient and accustomed rents of £6 13s. 4d. In 1588 they were on lease for 33 years. The feoffees, to increase the school income, sold the lands to Thomas Pelham for £80 down, at a perpetual rent-charge of £20 a year. That sum was, and is still, paid by the earl of Chichester, the descendant of this Thomas Pelham. So the income of the school was irrevocably fixed at £28 8s. a year. The endowment was sufficient at that time, but disastrously insufficient by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was the direct cause of its decay and conversion to lower uses.

In the Vicar's Book²³ is a list of masters, Pye, Corbett, Muckligtone, Owen, Killingbeck, Jones, Wildman 1580, Coachman, Smart, Kendall 1606; but no details about them.

Corbett was no doubt Thomas Corbett, B.A. Oxon. 17 April, 1559, M.A. 1563, as he is found later holding benefices in Sussex. Muckligtone was probably Richard Muckleston who took his B.A. degree at Oxford 11 February 1563-4. As for Owen, without a Christian name to help, it is impossible to identify him among the scores of Welshmen of the name who crowded to Oxford in Tudor times and, as they do now, stocked the country grammar schools. John Owen of Anglesey, entered at Hart Hall in 1568, is among the multitude of Owens the most likely identification. Killingbeck is undoubtedly Francis Killingbeck, B.A. Oxon. 18 November, 1569, and afterwards rector of Poynings, near Brighton and Heathfield. To try to identify his successor Jones, without even a Christian name, is to look for a needle in a bottle of hay. Wildman and Coachman must be attributed to Cambridge. Smart is almost certainly William Smarte of Dorset 'plebeian,' who matriculated at Magdalen Hall 27 April 1598, aged 16, B.A. at Magdalen College 1602, and passed on to the vicarage of Wilmington, Sussex, in 1616. Kendall was Francis Kendall of Derbyshire, 'gentleman' who matriculated at University College at the age of 19 on 24 November, 1587.

On 29 May,²⁴ 1626, Edward Francis, M.A., was elected master. But on 5 July, 1627, he was admonished by way of a first warning by the rector of Balcombe and vicar of Cuckfield 'for his savage behaviour to the boys and errors in governing the school (*pro sevitia sua in pueros et erroribus in gubernando scholam*). On 22 August he was a second time admonished. On 15 October 'a third admonition was given him, now he was ipso facto expelled (*exclusus*) and the school was pronounced void, and we the undersigned thought that we should proceed to a new election.' The signatures of Thomas Vicars, vicar of Cuckfield, Daniel Routh, rector of Balcombe, Richard Chaloner and John Warden follow. The same day James Sicklecroft, B.A., was elected 'Schoolmaster of the Free Grammar School of Cuckfield' and signed a

promise that I will performe the office of a good schoolmaster, that is, that I will with such judgement and fitness teach the schollers grammer, that they shall be found ready and expert to answer questions in those authors which they read, according to the rules of grammer; and also I do promise all such diligence to attend the place that I will increase this present number that is left to the number of 20 schollers within the time of two yeares from my election, or els I will peaceably surrender my place and leave it in the hands of the overseers.

Sicklecroft presumably performed his promise and reached the prescribed tale of one score boys, as he stayed for ten years. On 13 July, 1637, 'Mr. Browne' was admitted schoolmaster and was followed at unknown dates by James Rouse and Samuel Creed.

Then came John Taylor. He was probably son of Richard Taylor, incumbent of Maresfield, Sussex, and perhaps an 'old boy.' He had matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, 15 October, 1624, aged 17, and became M.A. from Hart Hall, 7 July, 1631, and vicar of Sidlesham, Sussex, in 1635. In 1675 the name of Hulton is recorded as master.

In September, 1682, came Thomas Bysshe, undoubtedly an 'old boy,' son of Christopher Bysshe of Cuckfield, 'plebeian,' who matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, 9 July, 1677, and took his B.A. from Oriol in 1681. He was rector of Tarring in 1698, and vicar of Eastbourne in 1704, when he retired from the mastership and for some obscure reason took his M.A. degree at Christ's College, Cambridge, in the same year.

On 16 October, 1704, Philip Shore, son of John Shore of Hamsey, clerk, was appointed master. He had matriculated at Merton at the age of 16, 21 March, 1693-4, B.A. 1697, M.A. 1701. He was also vicar of Worthing from 1705, and on retirement in 1711 became vicar of Woodmancote.

²³ Fol. 42-6.

²⁴ Vicar's Bk. 42.

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John Willis, probably from Hincksey near Oxford, matriculated at St. Mary's Hall, 1703, B.C.L. Oriel, 1710, held office from 14 November, 1711, to 13 October, 1712, when he resigned, and John Tattersall succeeded him.

On 10 March, 1718, the vicar of Cuckfield nominated as electors Robert Norden, Thomas Yates, and Thomas Ins, and they chose James Ingram, B.A. An entry of 12 April, 1742, says that Ingram had resigned, and the vicar appointed electors; but this is the last page in the Vicar's Book, and ends in the middle of a sentence, the next page having disappeared. So we do not learn who came in as master, and know no more until the end of the eighteenth century, when Francis Joseph Fearon, of Peasmarsh, Sussex, became master in 1786. He appears to have matriculated at St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, the same year at the age of twenty-three, B.A. 1791, M.A. 1792, merely to get the statutory qualification of a graduate. In 1800 he became vicar of Cuckfield. In 1818²⁵ the Rev. Robert Prosser, of All Souls College, Oxford, still carried on the school as a grammar school. He had about forty-five boarders. He was ready to instruct in the classics any of the parishioners' children gratis who applied to him. He had sometimes received a few boys and taught them English and accounts; but excepting these few he had never had any applications even for such instruction, nor any at all for instruction in the 'classics.' An elementary school had been founded by a vicar in 1716.

In 1846,²⁶ by a scheme of the Court of Chancery, the endowment of the Grammar School, which was to be conducted 'after the form and usage of the Grammar School of Eton,' was applied, to save the pockets of the vicar and the landowners and richer inhabitants, to the 'National' School.

The old school building still stands in the north-west corner of the churchyard. It is not apparently the original one of the sixteenth century, but a later edition of the time of the indefatigable Thomas Vickers about 1626.

HORSHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The latter half of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century are marked in the annals of educational foundations by the increasing proportion of such foundations by laymen of the mercantile classes. It had now become almost as much a custom for the successful man of business to found a grammar school in his native place, if it had not one before, as it was for the successful cleric. The Wykehams, the Waynfletes, and the Colets now found their example followed by the Shaas, the Jenyns, and the Collyers. Richard Collyer, citizen and mercer of London, made his will¹ 23 January, 1532-3. In the event, which happened, of the decease of his son George and daughter Dorothe without issue, he directed his lands to be sold. In particular, he said:—

I will that my mesuage called the Sonne with the appurtenaunces in the parishe of our Lady at Bowe in London, be by them solde to the moost advauntage, and the money receyved thereof to be bestowed in bying and buylding of a howse to kepe a free scole in Horsham in the countie of Sussex, where I was borne, by thadvise of myn executors and the vicar of the said parishe church of Horsham, and the church wardeyns of the same and 4 of the moost honest men of the same parishe, indifferently to be chosen by the inhabitaunts of the same parishe. In which house to be the number of threscore scolars. And the master of the said scole to have for his wagis or salary £10 a yere, and the Ussher 10 marks a yere; and they to be admitted by the vicar, church wardeyns and 8 of the moost honest men of the said parishe and moo [more] as they thinke best, but not fewer in number.

He was careful to insist that the school should be a free school, free from tuition fees, and, unlike his contemporary Sir John Percival, Lord Mayor, in founding Macclesfield Grammar School, who was thinking chiefly of 'gentlemen's sons and other good men thereabouts,' Collyer gave a preference for the poor, and the parish of Horsham and the immediate neighbourhood; though gentlemen's sons were not to be excluded, none who wished to learn were to be shut out.

And the said scolars to be at noo charge of their scole hire, but freely without any money paying therfor but to pray for the soule of me the said Richard Colyer and Kateryn my wife, and all Christian soules, with De profundis every day at the departing of the said scole. The said scolars to be admitted by the vicar or churchwardeyns of the said church and 2 honest men of the same parishe, such as the said parissoners shall thinke moost indifferent; the said 2 men to be admitted yerely, whan the churchwardeyns be admitted and chosen.

And I will that the pore people in especiall of the same parishe and they next about the same parishe shalbe preferred to the said scole afore any other, for consideracion gentilmen and other men be in better habilitie then poore men be; that notwithstanding, of the said parisshe of Horsham oonly, noon to be refused likely to lerne as by the discrecion of them abovesaid therefor lymtyed for the admytaunce of the same.

²⁵ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 598; *Char. Com. Rep.*, ii, 162.

²⁶ *Sch. Inq. Rep.*

¹ P.C.C. 24, Thonder, 9.

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The local historians² have asserted that it was expressly ordered in the will that 'the children elected should be the offspring of poor people . . . to be educated in reading, writing, and arithmetic and the principles of the Christian religion.' As a matter of fact, Collyer said nothing at all as to what the scholars were to be taught, but the reference to the admission of gentlemen's sons shows plainly that it was to be, as every free school then founded without express terms was intended to be, a grammar school. These words, in fact, occur not in Collyer's will but in a scheme of 1815, which while degrading the school into an elementary school, yet had the grace to preserve, 'at the discretion of the Schoolwardens, the Latin language.'

Up to the point we have now reached in his will, Collyer trusted to the local powers to see his school go right; but then, following the example of Colet, who was a member of the same company, the Mercers', he, unfortunately for the school, brought in the company as its governing body. Though the vicar and honest Horshamers were to appoint the master and scholars, they were not to manage the estates or pay the master.

Also I wille that the said vicar and churchwardyns aforesaid present the said scole maister and Ussher to the wardeyns of the mistere of the Mercers of the citie of London, and they to admitte him yf he be habill to occupie the same rome orells another be chosen by the said vicar and churchwardeyns and other above said. And the said wardene of the mercers to paye the yerely salary of the said scole maister and Ussher.

And the said wardens and felishipp of the said mistere of mercers to have for the perfourmaunce of the same the howse called the Key with thappurtenaunces in Chepe sett and being in the parishe of St. Pancras in the warde of Chepe to be made sure to the said felishipp and their successours for evermore, paying that afore is resited. And the wardeyns of the said felishipp yerely to have owt of the same 20s. yerely for their payne taking, and more to be taken owt of the same when it shalbe nedefull to see such reparacions as shalbe mete for to be doon to the mayntenance of the same scole house. And if the same wardeyn and felishipp refuse the said house for the premisses afore made Than I will that the vicar and churchwardeyns of the parishe church of Horsham aforesaid receyve the rents that the wardeynes of the mercers afore rehersed shulde have doon. And the residue and overplus of the same more than the charge of the Scolehouse by them to be receyved yerely to be bestowed on the reparacions of the said mesuage on the mayntenance of high wayes abowte the said towne and parishe of Horsham.

The residue of his lands he gave to the Mercers Company, one quarter for the charity box and three-quarters for the repair of highways within 8 miles of London.

Collyer died very shortly after making his will, which was proved 12 March, 1532.³

On 15 August, 1540, the company⁴ had conveyed to them the schoolhouse near St. Mary's Church, which was bought for £8 6s. 8d. from Henry Pulford, husbandman.

The company say that until 1546 only a quit-rent of 6s. 8d. was paid to them out of the house in Cheapside called the Key. But in 1547 they received 'Of Lady Dormar for the Key in Chepe £22.' From this they paid Nicholas Haynes, the schoolmaster, £10; Nicholas Leveekenhee, usher, £6 13s. 4d.; the four wardens £1; leaving a surplus of £4. The fact that there was a schoolmaster and usher is sufficient proof that the school was a grammar school. Nicholas Haynes has not been traced to his university or college, nor Nicholas Leveekenhee, whose name suggests a misreading by the person who supplied it. But in this and all other respects, for the further history of Horsham School we are dependent entirely on what the Mercers' Company chose to state to the Livery Companies' Commission, as they refuse to allow access to their records. They state that in 1596 they increased the master's salary to £16 13s. 4d., and the usher's to £6 13s. 4d.

In this year they became possessed by a bequest of Andrew Mallory, a mercer, of the house next to the Key, and the properties in the Mercers' books are thenceforth merged. These houses were burnt in the Great Fire of London, and when rebuilt were not distinguished from each other. But the company have always treated the income from them as being in the proportion of four-fifths Collyer's and one-fifth Mallory's. They are now known as 3 and 5 Queen Street and 68 Cheapside, and produced in 1860⁵ £720 a year, and in 1884 £2,300.

The company vouchsafed no further information about the school till the middle of the eighteenth century.

From the register of St. John's College, Cambridge, however, we learn that at least as late as 1695 the school was still a public school sending boys to the universities, under a master who bore the famous name of John Wiclif or Wickliffe. Of five boys who went from the school to this

² Howard Dudley, *Hist. and Antiq. of Horsham* (1836); Anon. (but by Miss D. Hurot), *Hist. and Antiq. of Horsham* (1868).

³ The Mercers Company in their return to the *City Livery Companies Com. Rep.* 1854, i, 104, say that he died in 1546. Probably it was the son or daughter of the founder who then died.

⁴ So say the Company in the Commission's *Report*, but Dallaway says the executors did so. Dallaway is probably wrong.

⁵ *City Livery Companies Com. Rep.* 1884, iv; Mr. Hare's *Reports*, 9.

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single college between 9 June, 1687, and 24 April, 1695, all recorded to have been under Mr. Wickliffe, one, Nicholas Gilbert son of Thomas Gilbert of Eastbourne, was admitted a fellow commoner; three were admitted as pensioners, or ordinary paying undergraduates, of whom one came from Petworth and the others from Horsham itself; and only one, who was the son of a turner at Horsham, was admitted as sizar. This shows that the school held the status of a public school, attracting boys of good station from the county, and at the same time served as the 'ladder of education to take the poor boy from the shop to the University.' In 1734 the Rev. Robert Atkins was master, with Mr. Charles Hunt as usher. But whether it was then carried on as a grammar school is not ascertained.

In August, 1749, the school was put in repair by the company. Dr. Hutchinson, the vicar of Horsham, took the opportunity of urging the claims of Horsham to the surplus income, and the surveyor of highways of Horsham made a formal claim to it for the highways under the residuary gift. The company obtained opinions from the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, in favour of themselves; but as they went chiefly on usage as alleged by the Mercers, to take the whole surplus for their own purposes, which usage was in fact contradicted by the increase of salaries in 1596, they are not of great value. An information was filed in Chancery against the company, but a decree made by Lord Keeper Henley dismissed it. But the decree seems to have gone on the residuary gift for highways being construed only to take effect on the gift over to the vicar and churchwardens of Horsham if the Mercers did not pay the salaries ordered to the school. It did not touch the real issue whether the school or the company took the surplus, which in the light of later cases would probably now be decided against the company. Moreover, whatever might have been the strict legal construction of the will, there was no doubt of the real meaning of the testator to establish and maintain a free grammar school for 60 boys at least, and that could not be done in 1750 by payments of £16 13s. 4d.

However, the company remained masters of the situation. After fifty years of Mr. Atkins, he was succeeded in 1786 by the Rev. W. Jamieson with Mr. R. Collins as usher. Jamieson held for twenty years.

In 1802, the company, out of a rental of £438, spent £50 on the school, £30 on the master, and £20 on the usher, and kept the rest themselves.

In 1806 the Rev. Thomas Williams became master, and two years later his salary was raised to £110, and that of the usher to £66 13s. 4d. He informed the historian Carlisle⁶ that 'when he came there was not a single boy on the foundation, but ever since his accession . . . there have been 60 boys in regular attendance and not one private boy in the school.' But, reading between the lines, as we find the same master 'takes pupils but never more than 2 at once whom he fits for the Universities, his terms being 200 guineas per annum for each,' and as 'Greek was not taught to the free boys,' we may conclude that he had degraded the school to an elementary school. In 1810 the company promoted an information in Chancery, which by a decree of 15 April, 1813, gave legal sanction to this degradation. By it boys were to be allowed to remain only till the age of fourteen and taught the three R's, 'and sent to be catechized in church.' It was also provided that 'any number of boys at the discretion of the schoolmaster be also taught the Latin language.' So the school continued till 1822 under Mr. Williams, and from 1822 to 1868 under an elementary schoolmaster, Mr. Price. His salary was in 1836 £120, and the usher's £80. In 1840 the school was rebuilt at a cost of some £3,000. In 1857 the number of boys was raised to 80. Mr. H. A. Giffard reported on the school⁷ in 1867 as being a rather inferior kind of national school. In 1868 Mr. Price died, and a 'temporary master,' Mr. James Williams, received £104, but 'does not reside at the school,' which was seemingly carried on by Mr. R. Cragg, the usher, who received £125 a year.

In 1876 the Charity Commissioners, acting under the Endowed Schools Acts, began to agitate the question of the right to the endowment and the proper conduct of the school. But it was not till 15 October, 1889, that a scheme made under the Endowed Schools Acts was approved by Queen Victoria in Council. This constituted a governing body of 17, of whom 5 were to be appointed by the Mercers' Company, 6 by the Urban District Council of Horsham, with 4 co-optative governors and the vicar of Horsham *ex officio*. The Mercers were induced to contribute £3,000 towards building, and the endowment to be assured by them for the school was settled at £700 a year. The school was to be an ordinary grammar school, at tuition fees of £4 to £15 a year, except that Greek was to be an extra subject at £3 a year. Twenty foundation scholarships and a leaving exhibition of £50 a year were provided for. The Rev. George Alfred Thompson was appointed head master in 1890. He was an exhibitioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, junior optime 1885, LL.D. Dublin, and had been for 3 years head master of Hipperholme Grammar School, Yorkshire. He has now 6 resident masters and 130 boys, of whom 24 are boarders in the schoolhouse.

⁶ *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 602.

⁷ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 237.

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STEYNING GRAMMAR SCHOOL

William Holland, an alderman of Chichester, by deed dated 16 June, 1614, directed that a free grammar school should be kept and maintained in Steyning, and that a sufficient, learned schoolmaster should be elected, chosen, appointed, and maintained for the advancement of learning and the instruction of youth in the town of Steyning. For this purpose he gave to ten trustees a house called Brotherhood Hall, to be used as a schoolhouse, in which the master should live, with a garden, and also some 25 acres of land, from the profits of which the trustees were to keep the house in repair, and with the residue pay the schoolmaster £20 a year.¹ The feoffees, with the consent of the founder during his life and of his heirs after his decease, were to appoint the schoolmaster, and if the heirs would not join with the feoffees in the election, the consent of the bishop of Chichester was to be obtained.

The founder himself made statutes for the school dated the same day as the foundation deed. He directed that the whole number of scholars should not be above 50, lest the schoolmaster 'be oppressed with multitude and thereby not able to set forward and further the charge to his credit, and profit of his scholars, provided no child or youth living within the liberty and duly qualified be refused.' The master was allowed to take not more than 6 boarders. None were to be admitted who could not read English distinctly.

Every scholar on his first admittance was to pay 1s. to the schoolmaster, or if a 'foreigner,' 2s. Holland also ordained

That every Scholar shall pay 8d. yearly : viz., quarterly 1d. towards the provision of Brooms and Rods, to be used in the said School, and also 4d. at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel yearly wherewith shall be bought clean Wax Candles, to keep light in the said School for the Schoolmaster and Scholars to study by, morning and evening in the winter time.

He ordered that they should only play once in the week, on Tuesday or Thursday, and never in any forenoon, 'but from One of the clock in the afternoon till Five of the clock,' when all the scholars should return to the school for prayers. The 16th ordinance required 'that the Scholars of the four chief forms shall in all their speeches within this School use the Latin tongue, and none other except the Schoolmaster shall license or appoint them to speak English.' On Saturdays, after dinner, they were to resort to the schoolmaster to the school, and be taught by him principles of religion,

and the more learned scholars shall learn, by heart, some Catechism in Latin, and the meaner sort shall learn, by heart, some Catechism in English, and shall continue that exercise until three of the clock in the afternoon, and from that time learn and practise writing, for the mending of their hands, until the hour of four, and then shall depart the School upon these days, and upon every half holiday, or Saints Eve, they shall come likewise at one of the clock after dinner, and then some of them shall decline briefly in grammatical or rhetorical questions, repeat Latin phrases, or do such other scholastical exercises as shall be thought meet by the Schoolmaster then being, for the furthering of the Latin and Greek tongue, and shall continue the said exercises until four of the clock, and then may depart for those days.

So it seems that on the rare occasions when the scholars did get a half holiday, it only consisted of the one hour from 4 to 5.

William Holland had been maintaining the school before his endowment of it, as appears from the following entry in the Steyning registers² :—'Mr. John Jeffry, clearke, the first School maister of the Free Schoole in Stening and Dorothy Carter were married Feb. 12th, 1613-14.' One of the early scholars was John Pell, who was born in 1610 at Southwick. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of 13, 'being then as good a scholar as some masters of arts,'³ and took his B.A. degree in 1628. In that year he drew up papers on logarithms, the use of the quadrant and sundial, and later published several works on astronomical science. Though his work at Cambridge was mainly mathematical, his Latin training at Steyning stood him in such good stead that when sent by Cromwell as agent to Switzerland in 1654, he was able to introduce himself to the deputies at Zurich in a Latin speech, and to repeat the performance on taking leave four years later.⁴

The school seems to have ceased to exist for a time in the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in *The Gentleman's Magazine*,⁵ 1804, there is a picture of 'an Old House at Steyning, formerly used as a Free School,' and a correspondent states :—'The old house in Steyning formerly used as a Free School is now occupied by the Rev. Dr. Morgan, who enjoys the stipend and other emolu-

¹ The school endowment was increased with 7 acres of land subsequently, but at an unknown date, by Bernard Chatfield. *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 266.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 64.

⁴ Lower, *Worthies of Suss.* (1865), 177.

³ Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i, 461.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.* (Sept. 1804), lxxiv, 806.

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ments as Master, but why the DUTY is NOT performed, I am not acquainted.' This state of affairs must have continued for some years, as Carlisle says in 1818, 'The affairs of this school are in the Court of Chancery.'⁶ In 1819 the court made new ordinances for the school. These provided that writing, arithmetic, and the elements of mathematics might be taught if they did not interfere with the working of the school as a classical school. The master's salary was raised to £60 a year if there was enough, after paying expenses.⁷ From this time the school ceased to be entirely classical. When visited for the Charity Commissioners in 1867, out of 48 boys only one was learning Greek; most were learning Latin grammar, but their prepared translation was inaccurate. The head master, George Airey, was not a graduate of any university, but had the reputation of being a good scholar and excellent teacher. He had 18 boarders.⁸ He was appointed in 1839, and remained till his death in 1877, when the school was closed. A scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Acts, 6 September, 1880, which established a governing body of eleven: one appointed by the bishop of Chichester, two by the justices of the Steyning division, and three by the vestry, now parish council, and five co-optatives. By them the school was revived. The ancient hall of the Brotherhood of Steyning, which Holland bought for the school, is a timber fifteenth-century building, and although various alterations have been made, remains much in its original condition. The Jacobean porch, showing traces of the brick label over the entrance door, was apparently added at the time of the foundation of the school.⁹ In 1867 Brotherhood Hall is reported¹⁰ to be

a crazy wooden building, which has been kept from falling by well-timed repairs.—No amount of money, however, spent on mere repairs would make it fit for its purpose. The dwelling-house is cramped and ill-adapted for the reception of boarders. . . . The question of rebuilding the school was raised at a meeting of the trustees in 1864, but was dropped.

We may be thankful for that, as some fourteen or fifteen years later it was found that repairs were possible, and in 1883 the school was reopened in the old house, with the buildings restored and considerably enlarged but not outwardly very different. A new head master's house was added; and in 1897 another class-room.

On the reopening of the school in 1883 the Rev. Alfred Harre, B.A. of London University, head master of Spalding Grammar School, was appointed head master. He has a staff of three assistant masters, besides two visiting, and there are about 40 boys in the school, the annual fees for day boys being £8, and for boarders 40 to 42 guineas. Boys from the school have been successful in the London Matriculation, University Local and kindred examinations.

RYE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

It cannot be doubted that a place of the commercial and maritime importance of Rye had its grammar school in mediaeval times, but its mighty mass of municipal records remains, from the scholastic point of view, unsearched.

The accepted origin of the grammar school is the foundation by Thomas Peacock by will dated 10 September, 1638. He was a jurat of the corporation in 1636¹ and built a house on the south side of the High Street, consisting of two large rooms one above the other, and with a yard and fair-sized garden behind. By his will he gave these premises in trust to nine persons, one the mayor, seven other jurats and one inhabitant of Rye, together with £910 to be expended in lands to create a rent-charge of £32 a year and another rent-charge of £4 out of a tenement in Rye. Having recited that his intention was to found a free school for the better educating and breeding up of youth in good literature, he directed that the house should be for ever kept for a free grammar school; and the whole £36 be paid to a schoolmaster and for repairs.² These directions were complied with soon after Peacock's death.

The mayor and jurats made orders for the school, providing that no boys should be admitted till they could read the Old and New Testament, and that when admitted they should be instructed in grammar and other good Latin and Greek authors.³

The first master appointed was Mr. Hartshorn, who, according to Holloway, qualified several pupils for the University.⁴

The rent-charge of £4 was redeemed in 1758 for the sum of £50, which was lent to the trustees of Saunders' charity at 5 per cent, a good bargain for the grammar school. The management

⁶ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Sch.* ii, 614.

⁸ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 265.

⁹ *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xliii, 64.

¹ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye* (1847), 401.

⁸ *Char. Com. Rep.* iii, 424.

⁷ *Char. Com. Rep.* ii, 178.

¹⁰ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 265.

² *Char. Com. Rep.* iii, 424.

⁴ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye* (1847).

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seems to have been unsuccessful, as on the death of the Rev. Mr. Collett in 1790 it was decided to amalgamate the school with Saunders' charity, and the Rev. William Jackson was appointed to the joint mastership of both.

James Saunders, of Winchelsea, yeoman, by will 7 January, 1708, bequeathed to his executors all his personal estate and the rent of all his lands in trust to accumulate the interest and rents for ten years, and then to buy land in Kent and Sussex to be settled upon the mayor, jurats, and town council of Rye, that they should provide a good convenient school in the town and appoint a good schoolmaster, who should teach the poor children of the town to read in English, and write and cast up accounts, and should teach them the art of navigation gratis. They were not to exceed 70 in number at one time, and were to be nominated by the mayor and jurats.

Saunders died in 1709, and, following his directions, his executors waited till 1719, when they bought an estate at Udimore for £720 and conveyed it to the mayor and jurats. In March of the following year the mayor and jurats drew up orders for the school, that the trustees should provide a convenient schoolroom and appoint a master from Lady Day for three years, to be continued, if satisfactory, at £20 a year, and at the end of three years to be paid as much as the estate would allow. The second article declared—

That the founder of the said school being a dissenter, and no person or persons, either of the Church of England or of the Protestant dissenters, being excluded by the founder's will from the same privilege with those of his own persuasion, no schooler or schoolers shall be required by the master to goe to any place of worship or to learn any catechism without the consent and approbation of his or their parents or guardians, soe as they goe to some place of worship on every Lord's Day.

Having settled the regulations for the school, the trustees chose a master, William Hawney. One of the articles was that no freeman of the borough should be schoolmaster, but when in 1760 the master was made a freeman the rule was repealed on the ground that it might 'tend to discourage persons of ability from offering themselves as candidates for the mastership upon any future vacancy.'

The amalgamation of the two schools seems to have been a failure, as in 1803 there were only 16 boys in the school. This state of things continuing, an application was made to the Court of Chancery in 1812. The result of it was a judgement by the Master of the Rolls in 1820, which ordered that the schools should be separated and a master appointed to each. The master of Peacock's School was to educate 50, and the master of Saunders' 70 boys. The orders were not to be carried into effect till after the payment of the costs, which were £900, ordered to be liquidated at the rate of £30 a year.

On the death of Mr. Jackson in 1828, however, the trustees separated the schools and appointed the Rev. Robert Rowe Knott, of St. John's College, Cambridge, master of Peacock's, and Mr. William Stone Stocks, master of Saunders' School.⁵ Horsfield, whose history was published in 1835, says that under Mr. Knott the grammar school was much improved.⁶ He left in 1835, and Mr. George Easton was appointed. He was required to teach 40 boys, 'to whom he does ample justice, instructing those in Latin whose parents require it and each scholar in all useful branches of learning.'

If one man could ever have performed this task, he had failed to do so by the time of the assistant commissioner's visit in 1867. He reported that the instruction was of a purely elementary kind. 'The master,' still Mr. G. Easton, 'told me he had not time to teach any grammar, and declined to have the boys examined in it . . . Neither navigation, which is required by Saunders' statutes, nor Latin, which is required by Peacock's, is taught in the school.'⁷ By this time the schools were once more combined by a later order of the Court of Chancery, and the unfortunate master had to teach 70 boys unaided.

At length a scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Acts, approved by Queen Victoria in Council, 9 September, 1884, which again amalgamated the two schools under the name of Rye Grammar Schools. A governing body of 12 governors was created, headed by the mayor, and comprising, now that school boards are amalgamated in the town councils, 6 representatives of the council with 5 co-optatives. The school was to be a 'third grade,' the boys paying fees of £3 to £6 a year and leaving at the age of 16. A new site and buildings have been provided.

Now under Mr. John Molyneux Jenkins and three assistant masters there is a grammar school of 53 boys, of whom 10 are boarders, at tuition fees of £5 12s. 6d.

⁵ Holloway, *Hist. of Rye* (1847). In a list of masters of Saunders' School he gives the Rev. John Simpson Myers in 1828, and Mr. Stocks in 1832.

⁶ Horsfield, *Hist. of Suss.* i.

⁷ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 258. Mr. Giffard had not studied the history of the school, as he says the schools were combined by an order of the Court of Chancery in 1820, which was not carried into effect till 1856.

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HARTFIELD SCHOOL

By an inquisition¹ taken at Lewes, 24 December, 1667, it appears that Richard Rands, rector and vicar of Hartfield, by will 30 June, 1640, bequeathed all his lands to trustees

to provide one able, learned, discreet, and sufficient schoolmaster, being then a graduate in one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, to teach all such children of the parish of Hartfield as shall repair to the said schoolmaster, freely without requiring anything for the same of the said children or any other that have the governance or custodie of the said children, soe as all and every such children shall be able to read English before they shall come to the said schoolmaster to be taught as aforesaid.

They were to pay the 'schoolmaster for the time being for his pains therein to be taken £20 of lawfull money of England.'

According to the interrogatories it seems that Nehemiah Smyth was the first master appointed, who was a duly qualified graduate, and that he was succeeded by Edward Oliver, also a graduate. The reason for the inquisition was that the bishop of Chichester had, on 12 August, 1662, licensed and the trustees had put in William Weston to be schoolmaster, who was not a graduate, but 'had procured the then incumbent minister to bear the name of the graduate, that so the words of the will might be satisfied, but the said William Weston was to have the benefit'; in other words the vicar, George Shaw, was to be called schoolmaster and William Weston to be his usher, but the latter was to do the duty and receive the pay of master.

The bishop as ordinary had sanctioned this breach of trust and insidious evasion of the founder's intention. The trustees had taken advantage apparently of Weston's insecure position to withhold £2 10s. a year out of the full sum of £20, and get him to accept certain lands in lieu of the money, the tenants of which had then withheld the rent. It was also found that the rents of the Rands lands amounted to £54 a year and the trustees had wasted the balance in unnecessary lawsuits.

The commissioners ordered that all arrears should be paid over to William Weston and also £20 'for damages which he had sustained by reason of the detaining the said stipend and the suites against him prosecuted and putting and keeping him out of the possession of the said lands.'

Three of the trustees took exception to this decree, and alleged that the commissioners had browbeat them and refused to hear their evidence or look at their accounts. From the interrogatories administered to the witnesses and the answers, it appears that Weston had originally been appointed usher in 1659 under the former master, Oliver, but after 'His Majesty's happy restoration' Oliver was ejected and Weston, though unqualified, was put in under the new vicar, Shaw. The excepting trustees had put in Mr. Robert Sparke as master, who was an undergraduate of Cambridge, and turned Weston out. But the exceptants were 'disaffected to the present government.' So apparently the fraud on the foundation was allowed to stand. From that time the school has never been anything but elementary.

MIDHURST GRAMMAR SCHOOL

At an inquisition^{1a} taken at Midhurst, 26 September, 1679, it was proved that on 15 November, 1672, Gilbert Hannam, 'coverlett maker' in Midhurst, 'out of meere charity to the poore children of the towne of Midhurst,' signed a deed, by which he granted out of his real and personal estate in Midhurst to

Stephen Ellis, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, the schoolemaster by my election and his successors, the full summe of £20 per annum for his well teeching and instructing from time to time of 12 boyes, at my election and at the election of my trustees after my death, in Midhurst aforesaid, in Lattin and Greeke and writing and Arithmetrike if they bee capable to learne.

The inhabitants at the same time undertook to make 'in the loft of the markett house of Midhurst aforesaid a convenient schooleroome for the said boyes and for many others that shall bee taught there at the choice of the said Mr. Ellis and his successors.'

The payment to Mr. Ellis was to begin from the '1st Monday of the twelvth month next, at which time hee is to begin teaching of schoole.'

The jurors at the same inquisition further found that Gilbert Hannam duly paid the £20 a year to Mr. Ellis till his resignation, when he appointed Peregrine Pieram to be schoolmaster. This was before 11 April, 1674, the date of Hannam's will, in which he confirmed his grant of £20 a year 'to the use and behoofe of the said Peregrine Pieram, schoolemaster by my owne election,

¹ Petty Bag. Inq. 19 Chas. II, No. 15.

^{1a} Petty Bag Inq. No. 38.

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during his naturall life if so long time hee shall remaine Schoolemaster.' Peregrine Pieram was also minister of Midhurst, and as such was to receive 20s. a year for preaching a sermon on the anniversary of Hannam's death. On the death of Mr. Pieram or on his refusal or neglect to teach the school Hannam ordered his trustees to choose a new schoolmaster.

The rent-charge of £20 on his real and personal estate was confirmed by Hannam in another deed dated 3 August, 1674. On 12 January, 1677, he made statutes for the governance of the school:

Imprimis whereas the No. of my free schollars is 12 I doe ordaine that the Schoolemaster doth in a booke bought for that purpose att the cost of my trustees register the names of all such as bee successively admitted under him. Which booke shall bee kept by the Schoolemasters successively.

I doe ordaine that noe ladd bee chosen into my free schoole on my foundation but such who have been inhabitants of Midhurst or the liberty of St. Johns 7 yrs. before, because my charity was intended chiefly for this place.

That noe ladd shall bee of my foundation but such whose parents or guardians are content they shall bee brought upp in the protestant religion.

That such children whose parents declare that theire desire and designe is to continue them soe longe at schoole till they understand the Latine and Greeke tongue and bee fitt for the university bee first chosen and in choice preferred before others.

No trustee or schoolmaster was to be—

a professed Papist, or popishly enclined or a dissenter from the protestant faith as itt is professed and by lawe established.

The Schoolemaster shall instruct my scholars in the protestant religion duely and faithfully and take care for their sober and civill conversation and that prayers bee used once a day at least in the Schoole. Because I think youth very unfitt to teach youth, I ordaine that noe man shall bee capable of teaching my schoole who is under the age of 23 unlesse he hath taken some degree in one of the universities. If hereafter any who have been formerly scholars in my schoole shall become capable of teaching my schoole that such bee chosen Schoolemaster before others.

That noe man be chosen to bee Schoolemaster but hee bee knowne to bee of a sober conversation or if hee bee a stranger that hee bring a certificate from the place he last lived in, or the college of which hee was, or teach my Schoole 6 moneths as a probationer.

Gilbert Hannam died two months later, 17 March, 1677, and his will was proved 10 June, 1678. Shortly afterwards a commission of charitable uses was obtained and the inquisition quoted held; and a decree was made 17 January, 1679, ordering the £20 a year to be paid to the schoolmaster so long as he continued to teach, and if he 'at any tyme or tymes hereafter shall mislike or refuse to teach the said boyes in the Town house, that then the said schoolemaster soe mislikeing or refusing shall at his owne proper coste and charges finde and procure a convenient house or roome in Midhurst aforesaid'; and it was also ordered that all the orders and statutes 'mentioned and sett forth in the said inquisition' should be observed and kept by the trustees as well as by the schoolmaster and scholars.

Peregrine Pieram was succeeded by Richard Oliver, who had been at Merchant Taylors School and St. John's College Oxford,² from which he had taken his B.A. degree 1673, M.A. 1677. He became canon of Wells, 1684, rector of Chilbolton, Hampshire, 1685, and archdeacon of Winchester, 1686, so that he could not have remained long at Midhurst.

Henry Levitt became schoolmaster in 1710. He was a chorister³ at Winchester College from 1696 to 1700, when he became a scholar at the age of eleven⁴ and went on to New College in 1706. He kept his fellowship there till 1722, when he became vicar of Hornchurch. Whether he gave up the mastership then is not clear, but he may have held it while putting in his younger brother to do the work, the next master known⁵ being Everard Levitt, with no date. There was a Levitt junior, Henry Levitt being Levitt senior, among the choristers at Winchester College from 1699 to 1704. Carlisle gives Serenus Barratt as the next master in 1735, and if the date is correct he must have been the son of Serenus Barret,⁶ who was a curate of Midhurst, having been at Lincoln College, Oxford, and taken his B.A. in 1697, and became rector of New Fishbourne, Sussex, 1713. After him came three masters who have not been traced.

From 1799 there was a succession of Wykehamist head masters, under whom the school stood high as one of the principal schools of West Sussex. John Wooll⁷ entered college at Winchester in 1779 and New College in 1785. He took his B.A. degree 1790, M.A. 1794, and B.D. and D.D. 1807, in which year he left Midhurst to become head master of Rugby School. He was succeeded by William Bayly, scholar of Winchester 1792 and of New College 1796, who had been vicar of Hartpury, Gloucestershire, since 1803.

² Foster, *Alumni*.

⁴ Kirby, *Winch. Scholars*, 217.

⁶ Foster, *Alumni*.

³ C. W. Holgate, *Winch. Long Rolls*, 1653-1721.

⁵ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 607.

⁷ Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, 272.

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In 1818, when he was head master, Carlisle⁸ speaks in high terms of the school :—

This institution has, for some years past, been a Classical School of very great Eminence,—annually sending Students to the Universities, and ranking among its Pupils, besides many independent Members, several lately admitted upon the Foundation of the most respectable Colleges in each.

At that time, 'the School-House, originally the Residence of the Founder, having been much improved and enlarged by several successive Masters, has lately been augmented by a considerable addition to the premises.' Dr. Bayly had two assistant masters, both graduates, and he had 60 boarders in his house, who paid 50 guineas. The report of Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiry on the Education of the Poor in 1819⁹ shows that the school was entirely the creation of the masters, the endowment being only £32 a year, out of which £20 was the master's salary, while Dr. Bayly alone had spent £2,000 upon the buildings and paid an annuity of £40 a year to the widow of a former master. There were 6 boys on the foundation; whereas there had been 12; but they had disappeared partly through the competition of a cheaper private 'grammar' school kept by a former assistant master, partly through a new national school. It is pleasing to note that the foundation boys were not, as in some other schools at this date, treated as an inferior class and kept apart, but on the same footing as the boarders and paying day-boys, of whom there were several. One of the free boys was in the highest class.

Among Dr. Bayly's pupils was Field-Marshal Sir Frederick Haines, G.C.B. When he was at school in 1828¹⁰ 'the School consisted of one immense room,' which was built in 1821.¹¹ It was not partitioned off as it is now into three separate apartments.

The elder Dr. Bailey was nearing the end of his reign then. He was a little man, but a very strong one and his effective rule had given the School its high standing. The young men of the senior class generally qualified for a University career direct from the School. They were also his first aids in disciplinary matters,—the Winchester Prefect system.

The younger Dr. Bailey was taller in figure and an equally good classic, but not nearly so good as a disciplinarian. The gradual reduction of the age of the head pupils was one of the main causes of the School's decline, for these younger boys never had the influence and control of their older predecessors. Thus in the time of the younger Dr. Bailey the School fell on evil days, and a report, probably calumnious, states that the numbers dwindled to one boy, who ran away. . . .

A feature of the curriculum that would not appeal to the present age was the prominence given to Latin and Greek and the almost total neglect of everything else. . . . The School walls in those days were absolutely bare and there was no such thing as a blackboard on the premises. Each pupil had one or two desks called 'Xobs' and pronounced 'Scobs'^{11a} and when the lids of these were erected the owner thereof was nicely entrenched in his own castle. . . . The lavatory was a pump in the open air.

The last two items proclaim the Wykehamist head master, the desks copied from the 'Scobs' in 'School,' and the pump out of doors like 'Conduit' in 'Chamber Court' at Winchester. The younger Dr. Bayly had become a scholar at Winchester in 1818¹² and New College in 1822.

The decline of the school continued. The Schools Inquiry Commissioner¹³ who visited in 1866 reported that it had been in abeyance for eight years. The master's house had then gone completely to decay. In February, 1860, the trustees resolved to take steps for restoring the school and the Charity Commissioners prepared a scheme, but it was not carried into execution in consequence of the opposition raised by Lord Egmont, the principal trustee. The school remained in abeyance until a scheme, made under the Endowed Schools Acts, constituted a governing body of eleven persons, consisting of the queen's bailiff of Midhurst, and the vicar *ex officio*, with four representatives of the vestry (now the parish council), and five co-optatives, headed by the seventh Earl of Egmont, and directed it to be carried on as a second-grade grammar school at fees of £4 to £8 a year.

The school was reopened in 1882 under Mr. Horace Byatt, M.A., of London University. The numbers were fairly steady under him at between 40 and 50, about 12 being boarders. In 1888 the income from endowment was only £41 a year, charged with the replacement of £1,200 spent in buildings. To this £80 a year was added out of the income of George Ognell's charity, founded in 1596 for the poor and 'other good and charitable uses,' by a scheme made under the Charitable Trusts Acts, 20 February, 1880.

The present head master is Mr. Thomas Hay. He was educated at Newcastle Grammar School and was an exhibitioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, and a *senior optime* in 1895, and B.Sc. of

⁸ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 607.

¹⁰ *Midhurst School Mag.* No. 4, Dec. 1904, p. 10.

^{11a} This word is still in use at Winchester. It has been shown to be a corruption of *scabellum*, a stool or form, the name being transferred from the form to the chest which rested on it.

¹² Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, 302.

⁹ *Char. Com. Rep.* i, 175.

¹¹ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 255.

¹³ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 255.

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London in 1897. He came to Midhurst in 1903 from an assistant-mastership at Chelmsford Grammar School. There are 71 boys in the school at tuition fees of 7 guineas a year. The standard aimed at is that of the Oxford Local Examinations.

In 1888 four scholarships of £5 each were founded, and three Smith scholarships for boys on admission to the school, and one lord of the manor scholarship for the boy who does best in the annual examination.

In 1900 science buildings were added with the aid of a contribution of £400 from the county council.

A new scheme was sealed by the Board of Education on 26 April, 1905, which created a new governing body of 14 persons: the vicar *ex officio*, 3 representatives of the West Sussex county council, 4 of the Midhurst parish council, one of the university of Oxford, and 5 co-optatives. By this scheme instruction is to be given 'in such subjects proper to be taught in a Public Secondary School for boys as the governors, in consultation with the head master, shall from time to time determine,' and boys are allowed to stay to 17 years of age and in special cases to 19. The scheme also provided for six Hannam scholarships for boys from public elementary schools.

In 1879 to the old schoolroom, 33 ft. by 32 ft. 2 in. and 21 ft. high, were added two class-rooms, 23 ft. by 15 ft. 10 in., at a cost of £450. The playground is some two acres. A new master's house with accommodation for 15 boarders was built at a cost of £2,100, of which £1,315 was raised by subscriptions.

EAST GRINSTEAD SCHOOL

The free grammar school at East Grinstead was endowed by Robert Payne, of Newick, by will dated 16 August, 1708, with the rent of a farm called 'Serreys Farm' in East Grinstead, under the management of seven trustees. They were to appoint boys of the parish only, in number according to the value of the rent. A schoolhouse was in existence before 1708, but that had fallen into decay before 1775,¹ and after that the school was held in a room lent by Lord De La Warr, who was one of the trustees.

In 1818 there were 25 free boys, who were admitted from six to eleven years of age, and could stay till their twelfth birthday, and about 40 other boys attended the school, paying a small weekly fee, 6d. to 1s. Latin and Greek had not then been taught for at least forty-five years, and the boys were only learning the three Rs.²

The average number of boys in 1835 is said to have been 80, of whom 25 were free,³ but the master, Mr. C. R. Duplex, was constantly engaged in litigation with the trustees, which caused the school to be shut up from 1839 to 1847, when a new scheme was made by the Court of Chancery. The expenses of it amounted to £261 9s. 6d. which were defrayed by the sale of timber on the farm.

By this scheme, the English language, reading, writing and arithmetic, the Church Catechism and the Holy Scriptures were substituted for Latin and Greek.

There were 25 free boys, and 15 paying 3d. to 6d. a week in 1867, under the same master, C. Duplex, who had been there in 1835, and the instruction was said to be far below that of a good national school.⁴

By a scheme under the Endowed Schools Act of 29 June, 1888, the endowment was reclaimed for secondary education in the form of exhibitions of £10 to £30 a year, open to boys and girls of East Grinstead, between twelve and fourteen years old, and for evening classes in scientific, technical, or literary subjects.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE^{4a}

The establishment of Brighton College was due to a public meeting held on 27 October, 1845. At a second meeting, on 15 December, a council was appointed to carry out the design, the president being the then earl of Chichester, who held the office till his death in 1886. In May, 1846, the council hired Portland House, at the top of Portland Place, at the east end of Brighton, for three years at a rent of 120 guineas. On 10 August they appointed the Rev. Arthur John Maclean, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, principal. The first vice-principal was the Rev. Henry Cotterill, M.A. late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, senior wrangler, first Smith's prizeman, and in the first class of the classical tripos, 1835.

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* ii, 165.

³ Horshfield, *Hist. of Sussex*, i, 387.

² Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 601.

⁴ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 226.

^{4a} The facts for this article are taken from the *Brighton College Reg.* pt. i, 1847-63 and from articles in the *Ludgate Illustrated Mag.* August, 1894, and the *Public School Mag.* April, 1899.

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The college was opened 26 January, 1847, with 47 pupils. Among them was the present Chichele Professor of International Law at Oxford, Thomas Erskine Holland, who was six years in the school.

In the beginning of 1848 land in Eastern Road was bought on a ninety-nine years' lease, and the design of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Scott chosen for the building, the foundation stone of which was laid on 27 June, 1848. The removal from Portland House to the new building took place on 24 January, 1849. Only the principal front, containing the class-rooms, was then ready. The principal's house was finished in 1854, the chapel in 1859, the dining-hall in 1863, and six boarding houses, the entrance tower (in 1886-7), and big schoolroom have been later additions.

Mr. Maclean left in 1851 to become head master of King Edward's Grammar School, Bath. He was succeeded by Mr. Cotterill, the vice-principal, who after five years' head-mastership was appointed to the bishopric of Grahamstown, which he gave up in 1871 to become bishop of Edinburgh. For forty years continuously his family was represented in the school. One of his pupils was the distinguished architect Mr. J. G. Jackson, who won a scholarship and afterwards a fellowship at Wadham College, Oxford. He was architect of the examination schools at Oxford, and built the entrance tower and big school at Brighton College in 1882-6. The Rev. John Griffith, LL.D. St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed in 1856 and remained till 1871, when he retired to the living of Sandridge, Hertfordshire, and was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Bigg, D.D., sometime tutor of Christ Church, who in 1881 was appointed rector of Fenny Compton, Warwickshire. His successor was the Rev. Thomas Hayes Belcher, in whose time the misleading title principal was exchanged for that of head master. He retired to the rectory of Bramley in 1892, and the Rev. R. Halley Chambers of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, became head master, but only stayed three years, being then appointed head master of Christ's College, Brecon. The Rev. Arthur Fluitt Titherington of Queen's College, Oxford, who was stroke of the Oxford boat in 1887, and had been for six years an assistant master at Radley, was appointed in 1895. He left in 1906 to become rector of Bramshott, Hampshire, and the Rev. William Rodgers Dawson, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and a very successful head master of Grantham Grammar School, was appointed.

The school has its paper, the *Brighton College Magazine*, started in 1855, to which Mr. Grant Allen, when a master in the early 'seventies, often contributed, and which numbers among its past editors a grandson of Charles Dickens and a son of G. P. R. James.

There are now 180 boys, of whom about 90 are day boys, who are organized into a regular house, and have their own rooms and play as a house in all the competitions. The boarders are divided into six boarding houses, of which one is for the junior school, which feeds the college. All the learned societies and games clubs common to all public schools flourish here also.

BRIGHTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This school was started in 1859 by a body of proprietors for the benefit of their own sons primarily, to provide them with a 'liberal and complete education at a moderate cost, without necessity of sending them from under supporters' own domestic care.' The course of instruction was to include superior English education, Greek, German, Latin, French, arithmetic, book-keeping, merchants' accounts, mathematics, algebra, natural philosophy, mensuration, drawing, perspective, mapping, navigation, history, geography, chronology, astronomy, use of the globes, composition, elocution, &c. The religious instruction was to be strictly unsectarian.

The whole control of the school, appointment and dismissal of masters, was vested in the proprietors, who were to appoint a committee of eight every six months.

The original home of the school was Lancaster House, No. 47, Grand Parade, but new premises were built.

In 1865 there were about 170 boys, of whom 15 were boarders. Most of them learnt Latin and French, besides English subjects, but the average age of the highest form was not above fourteen. There are now 350 boys, 50 of them being boarders in the head master's house. He is Mr. T. Read, B.A., B.Sc., and was himself educated at the school. He had been for six years a master at the City of London School, and for ten years second master before being appointed to the head-mastership in 1899. He has a staff of 18 assistant masters.

THE WOODARD SCHOOLS¹

In 1848 the Rev. Nathaniel, afterwards Canon, Woodard, then curate of New Shoreham, issued a pamphlet called *A Plea for the Middle Classes*, in which he propounded a scheme for

¹ The history of these foundations is taken from a pamphlet called *St. Nicholas College and its Schools*, by Edward C. Lowe, D.D., provost of Denstone, canon of Ely. (James Parker & Co., 1878.)

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providing a public school education for the classes between the rich and the poor. His plan was to found a society of men who should combine, like fellows of a college, to build, endow, and govern schools for the benefit of the middle class. With the consent of the bishop of Chichester, Mr. Woodard set to work to constitute this society under the name of 'the provost and fellows of St. Nicholas College,' he himself taking the office of provost. The society was not incorporated under royal charter, nor by Act of Parliament, but the trust deed was enrolled in Chancery. It states that the society was formed²

for the purpose of promoting and extending education among the middle classes in her Majesty's dominions, and especially among the poorer members of those classes in the doctrines and principles of the Church now established as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the said Church; and it is intended that the operations of the said society shall be carried on by means of colleges and schools established, and to be established, in various places: no such college or school to be founded or opened without the permission of the Bishop of the diocese within which the same may be situate; the education in such colleges and schools to be conducted by clergymen and laymen in communion with the said church. And . . . it has been determined that such colleges or schools shall be of three distinct grades or classes—the first for the sons of clergymen and other gentlemen; the second for the sons of substantial tradesmen, farmers, clerks and others of similar station; and the third for the sons of petty shopkeepers, skilled mechanics and other persons of very small means, who have at present no opportunity of procuring better instruction than is given in parochial and other primary schools, and that the charges in all the schools shall be on as moderate a scale as the means of the society will allow.

St. Nicholas College was at first confined to Sussex, but in 1866 an invitation from the diocese of Lichfield led to a plan of general organization for the whole country. There were to be five centres, for the east, west, north, south, and midland counties. Each centre was to have a provost and 12 fellows, sufficiently endowed to enable them to devote their whole time to the work of education in their district, and they were to be helped by 12 non-resident fellows, elected from gentlemen in the district. Besides the provost and these 24 fellows there were to be (1) 24 actual fellows; (2) 24 probationary fellows, all engaged in the work of education and sharing the net profits of the school; and (3) a body of associates. This organization was only carried out in Sussex, where the three schools for the three grades were started, and in Staffordshire, where only one school, St. Chad's, Denstone, has come into being. The Sussex schools consisted of a grammar school at Lancing, a middle school at Hurstpierpoint, and a lower middle school at Ardingly.

LANCING COLLEGE

The school began in 1847 in Mr. Woodard's own house in Shoreham, and other houses were taken as the number of boys increased. The building of the college, on a site of 230 acres, began in 1854, when there were 60 boys; and in 1857 was sufficiently advanced for the school to be removed to Lancing. The buildings are on a magnificent scale. It was not till 1899, when the college celebrated its jubilee, that the chapel could be used, though then not nearly finished. There is a large schoolroom; twelve classrooms with 30 boys' studies, which were the gift of Mr. Henry Martin Gibbs, who had been in the school from 1866 to 1870; two dining-halls, library, museum, science laboratories and all the necessary modern additions, carpenter's shop, gymnasium, fives court, armoury, &c. The head and second masters have separate boarding houses.

The first head masters were shortlived in their office: the Rev. Henry Jacobs, D.D., fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, only staying a few months; and the Rev. Charles Edward Moberly, scholar of Balliol, afterwards assistant master at Rugby, for two years, 1849–51. One of the earliest scholars was Henry Nettleship, who entered 1849 and left 1852. He was Corpus Professor of Latin at Oxford, 1848, editor of *Virgil and Persius*, and author of many works on scholarship. Lancing can only claim a third part of his distinction, as he was afterwards at school at Durham and Charterhouse before getting a scholarship at Corpus, Oxford, in 1856. The head master at the time of the removal was the Rev. John Branthwaite, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, but he was obliged by ill-health to resign very shortly after, and was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Walford, who only stayed two years; his successor, the Rev. Robert Edward Sanderson, D.D., of Lincoln College, Oxford, reigned for thirty years, from 1859 to 1889, when he became canon of Chichester. He had previously been head master at Bradfield College for eight years. One of his earliest pupils, Henry George Woods, gained a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1861, and after being fellow and tutor of Trinity College, was elected president in 1887. In the same year the senior wrangler at Cambridge was John Cyril Iles, who had been in the school 1877–84. On Canon Sanderson's resignation the Rev. Harry Ward McKenzie, of Keble College,

² Trust Deed of St. Nicholas College, enrolled in Chancery.

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Oxford, who had been assistant master at Wellington, was appointed. During his time Canon Woodard died, at the age of eighty, in 1891, and was buried beneath the Founder's Chapel, which is at the east end of the south aisle of the chapel, and the Rev. Edward Clarke Lowe, canon of Ely, formerly head master of Hurstpierpoint, became provost. Mr. Mackenzie left in 1895 to become second master at Durham School, and the Rev. Ambrose John Wilson, D.D., fellow of Queen's and tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, was chosen to fill his place. He had previously been head master of Melbourne Grammar School. He left in 1901, and was succeeded by the present head master, Bernard Henry Tower, the first layman, who was an old boy, having entered in 1869 and left 1878, with a scholarship at Pembroke College, Oxford. He obtained first classes in moderations and the final schools, and was for nineteen years assistant master at Sedbergh School. He has a staff of 11 assistant masters, all graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as music and drawing teachers. The office of chaplain is now combined with that of second master, and is filled by a Lancing old boy, the Rev. Thomas William Cook, who obtained an exhibition at Hertford College, Oxford, in 1889. There are now 163 boys in the school.

HURSTPIERPOINT COLLEGE

A year after the opening of his first school Canon Woodard started his middle school, in August, 1849, in a small cottage at Shoreham. It was moved in January, 1850, to the 'Mansion House,' in the village of Hurstpierpoint, and took over other houses and cottages as they became available. Meanwhile a site had been bought and buildings erected for the accommodation of 300 scholars with masters and servants, into which the school was moved in 1853. It was called the College of St. John before the Latin Gate. The buildings were on a generous scale, a dining hall 78 ft. by 32 ft., upper and lower schoolrooms each more than 70 ft. long, classrooms, dormitories for 50 boys, all on a proportionate scale. The chapel was opened later, in October, 1865, the head master's house in 1873, and later still the infirmary and gymnasium, the whole costing more than £70,000. They were all designed by Mr. R. C. Carpenter. The highest charge for boys with all fees included amounted to less than £40 a year, and they received an ordinary classical education, the first head master, the Rev. E. C. Lowe, D.D., greatly insisting on the utility of Latin as a training for the mind, even for those who were to follow commercial pursuits. There was also a special school for boys who had the means, but were not intended for the learned professions. They had their own study, attended the classes of the school when they fitted in, but received private tuition in other subjects, for which they paid a higher fee than the other boys. There were never more than 16 in this school.

Another department was the training school for schoolmasters. Youths entered at sixteen on a three years' course of study, at the end of which they could by examination obtain a certificate which enabled them to get a post as assistant in any school of St. Nicholas College. In many cases they went to the universities after their three years' training.

A fourth division of the school was for servitors. These were 16 poor boys who did household work in the morning, and had three hours' teaching in English subjects in the afternoon and evening. Eight of them paid £5 a year, and received part of their clothing from the college, and the other 8 paid £10, succeeding to vacancies at the cheaper rate as they occurred. There was a scholarship from this school to the school at Ardingly, from which a boy might win a scholarship to the grammar school at Hurstpierpoint, and from there to the university, but the boys seldom went to the universities, though in May, 1867, there were 6 at Oxford and Cambridge.¹

When Dr. Lowe left in 1873 to become provost of Denstone, there were 347 boys, which meant a terrible state of overcrowding. The first novelty having worn off and many other cheap schools having sprung up, the numbers began to decline in spite of all the efforts of the head masters who succeeded him. They were the Rev. W. Awdry, now bishop of South Tokio, who came from Winchester College, where he had been second master, and stayed till 1880; the Rev. C. E. Cooper, who took his place and stayed till 1902, when he took the living of Portslade. The present head master is the Rev. A. H. Coombes, of St. John's College, Oxford, late an assistant master at Clifton College. He has a staff of 9 assistant masters, 5 of whom are university graduates, and the school now aims at being a public school like the rest, of a strong Church of England cast. The training college and servitors have been done away with, and all ideas of class swept away, the school being simply for those who desire a public school education for their sons at a cost of from £40 to £60 a year. The head and second masters receive boarders in their houses at a rather higher rate than is paid for boys in the college, and there are now 122 boys.

A school magazine was started in 1858, which has been continuous to the present day. The college is surrounded by 24 acres of its own land, most of which is laid out in playing fields and a swimming bath was built in 1900.

¹ *Sch. Inq. Rep.* xi, 241.

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ST. SAVIOUR'S SCHOOL, ARDINGLY

The lower middle school was opened in 1858 in a house at Shoreham, and at first the terms were only 14 guineas a year. The first head master was the Rev. F. M. D. Mertens, M.A., and the whole teaching staff for some years was formed of men who had grown up in one or other of St. Nicholas Schools.

It was soon found out that the school was a success, and the numbers increased so rapidly that a site of about 200 acres was bought at Ardingly, near Hayward's Heath, on which buildings were erected, designed to accommodate not less than 1,000 boys when completed. But when the school was removed there in 1870 schoolroom and dormitory accommodation for only 400 was finished. There were then about 300 boys. The terms were raised to 15 guineas, and 18 guineas in the head master's house. There was a plan of appointing four boys exhibitioners who were in the position of pupil teachers, receiving a small salary till they were sixteen, when they went to the training college at Hurstpierpoint, from which they could pass an examination for the associateship of St. Nicholas College, which enabled them to become assistant masters in the schools of this foundation. There was no qualification for admission at first, but the want of accommodation necessitated a change, and a boy had to be able to read before admission. The lowest forms learnt reading and writing and other elementary subjects, but Latin was taught to about half the school, and the elder boys learnt Euclid and algebra.

A good cricket field was laid out, and a fine swimming bath formed from a stream running through the grounds.

The school was self-supporting, the only endowment being a foundation fellowship of £45 held by the head master. Canon Lowe, writing in 1878, said: 'If the school should cease to be self-supporting at present charges these would have to be raised.' It was found that the low terms were not sufficient to meet expenses, and they are now from £23 to £27 per annum.

The curriculum is chiefly commercial, but the boys learn Latin or German, French, Greek or drawing in the ordinary school course, and special opportunities are given to those who wish to take orders.

There have only been three head masters. Mr. Mertens stayed till 1894, when he was succeeded by the Rev. G. T. Hilton, and he by the present head master, the Rev. H. A. Rhodes, who had been at Shrewsbury School, exhibitor of Christ Church, Oxford, and assistant master at Christ's Hospital for two years before coming to Ardingly in September, 1904.

EASTBOURNE COLLEGE

The college was founded in 1867 by the Duke of Devonshire and others, who are nominally shareholders, as a limited company on the Company's Acts. But it is governed by a council of eight members of which the duke is chairman. No dividend has ever been paid, and all the profits have been used in the improvement of the buildings and for the good of the school. The school was started in a small building close to St. Saviour's church and removed in 1869 to the present site close to the golf links, but it stands in its own grounds of 8 acres and consists of class rooms, chapel, Cavendish library, laboratory, drawing-school, workshop, gymnasium and five courts. There are five boarding houses, one the head master's, known as the schoolhouse. Unfortunately too little surrounding ground was bought at the first, and houses have since been built, so that half the school has to play on a ground five minutes' walk away.

The first head master was the Rev. James Russell Wood, who only stayed two years. He was succeeded in 1871 by the Rev. Thompson Podmore, scholar and fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, 1842-51, who had been for 8 years master of Elstree Hill School, Hertfordshire. He began so well that there were soon more than 100 boys, but before he left the numbers had begun to go down. In 1886 the Rev. George Robert Green, scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, B.A. in 1854, M.A. 1856, was promoted from the second mastership, in which he had been very successful. Unfortunately his health gave way and in two years he had to leave. In 1888 the Rev. Charles Crowden, D.D. was appointed. He was also a scholar of Lincoln, who had been 22 years head master of Cranbrook Grammar School, Kent, and brought 40 or 50 boys with him from there. During his reign of 7 years, the numbers reached nearly 200. Ill-health was the cause of his retirement also. His successor in 1895 was the Rev. Matthew Albert Bayfield, scholar of Clare College, Cambridge, who had been head master of Christ's College, Brecon, from 1890 to 1895. On his retirement in 1900, Mr. Harry Redmond Thomson, the first lay head master, was appointed. He had been scholar of University College, Oxford, B.A. 1883, and was called to the bar at the Inner Temple 1887. He seems to have found his true vocation in school-mastering and his resignation on account of his wife's ill-health in 1905 was accepted with general regret.

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His successor was the present head master, the Rev. F. S. Williams, of Jesus College, Cambridge, formerly assistant master at Rugby School. He has a staff of 12 assistant masters, graduates of the universities. There are now some 180 boys, of whom about 150 are boarders.

A great feature of the school is its rifle corps, which is the largest of any public school in proportion to its numbers.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, WEST HORSHAM

On 29 May, 1902, the schools of Sussex were reinforced by the greatest of them all, through the removal from its narrow precincts in the Grey Friars, London, of the essentially civic institution of Christ's Hospital to the spacious area of 1,181 acres, of which the school grounds occupy 125 acres, lately the property of the Aylesbury Dairy Company, at West Horsham.

The story of Christ's Hospital in its former abode is part of the story of London, not of Sussex; and must be reserved for the London volumes of this history. Suffice it here to correct the tradition that has been for long current and which was emphasized in the speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the present buildings by the Prince of Wales in 1898, wherein it was stated that the hospital was founded

by the saintly King Edward VI who besides assigning it a site in the city of London . . . with his own hands inserted in the charter power to take lands in mortmain, which has enabled the munificence of subsequent benefactors to provide for nearly three and a half centuries for the nurture and education of children.

The historian of Cambridge University, Mr. J. Bass Mullinger,¹ included Christ's Hospital among the 'upwards of 30 Free Grammar Schools founded at this time' which 'have permanently associated the name of Edward VI with popular education.'

In point of fact, in no real sense did Edward VI found Christ's Hospital, he did not write the licence in mortmain with his own hand, and it was certainly not founded as a free grammar school. On the contrary, Christ's Hospital is a unique foundation in origin and history. Almost alone among the ancient public schools of England it was the product not of any single benefactor's benefaction, but the result of an organized public subscription and more or less voluntary rate; and that not for a grammar school at all, but for a foundling hospital and ragged school for gutter children of both sexes. The contribution of Edward VI to it consisted of an impression of the great seal attached to a piece of parchment, some confiscated church linen and his name. Its very site and buildings were not the gift of Edward VI but a purchase from Henry VIII, and it never derived a penny of income from the property comprised in the charter of Edward VI, which went entirely to the other 'Royal Hospitals' included in it. The site and buildings, the dissolved monastery of the Grey Friars was, in fact, granted to the city of London by Henry VIII by deed and charter of foundation of 27 December, 1547, with licence in mortmain up to 1,000 marks, or £666 13s. 4d. a year, to be a collegiate church consisting of a vicar, a 'visitor of Newgate' or prison chaplain, and five curates or chantry priests. The city getting the Grey Friars gutted the church and leased the buildings.

In 1551 Lord Mayor Dobbs and a committee devised a plan 'to take out of the streets all the fatherless children and other poor men's children that were not able to help them, and bring them to the late dissolved house of the Grey Friars, which they devised to be a hospital . . . but lest the children being taken from the dunghill might infect one another. . . . Finsbury Court was to be a refuge in time of sickness' while 'the sucking children . . . should be kept in the country.' At that time the Grey Friars 'stood empty, only a number of hores and rogues harbored therein at night, saving the vicar of Christ Church.'

Repairs were begun 26 July, 1552, and it was furnished. The king by warrant directed that 'all the linen belonging to the churches of London should be delivered . . . for the use of the poor, reserving sufficient for the communion table, with towels and surplices for the ministers,' but even this was mostly used for St. Thomas's Hospital, which the city bought for the good round sum of £2,461 2s. 6d. or some £50,000 of our money.

In November, 1552, 380 children taken out of the streets were put into Christ's Hospital, and this was the real foundation of it. The charter was not granted till 26 June, 1553. Its main purpose was to give the city corporation a separate incorporation as 'the Governors of the possessions, revenues and goods of the Hospitals of King Edward the Sixth, King of England, of Christ, Bridewell and St. Thomas the Apostle,' with a licence to hold lands up to the yearly value of 4,000 marks for the use of these hospitals.

The truth is that the whole institution from beginning to end was entirely the conception and execution of the citizens of London themselves, who found £2,479 (£50,000) to start the hospitals.

¹ *Social England*, iii, 229.

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In a contemporary MS. the 'sum total of all the chardges of Christ's Hospital sythen the tyme of the ereccion thereof unto the last day of June 1554 as well as in buyldinge, beddes and other furnytüre' was £4,610 os. 6¾d. This last sum, equivalent to about £100,000, was provided by gifts of the mayor and aldermen, £143; governors, £140; collections from the city wards, £847; collections from parishes, £240; gifts of individuals, £90; collecting boxes, £153; council receipts, including two fines of £100 each for refusing to serve as sheriffs, £254; legacies, £259; and monthly collections ranging from £111 on 27 November, 1552, to £205 on 13 May, 1554. All these sums must be multiplied by 25 to give any idea of their relative value nowadays. St. Thomas's Hospital endowment brought in £346 in two years. The first endowment of Christ's Hospital was a house opposite the hospital bought from Laurence Warren, goldsmith, on 7 December, 1553, for £157 by a loan from some of the governors. As it brought in £32 a year it was a good bargain.

In 1558-9 the same system was maintained. Out of a total receipt of £2,532, monthly collections brought in £1,059 and legacies £221.

To show the class of children admitted it may be noted that the contemporary historian, John Howes, first clerk of the hospital, records how 'a number of children, being taken from the dunghill, when they came to swete and cleane keping and to a pure dyett dyed downe righte.' In 1564 a general account showed that 'since the first ereccion' there had been admitted in all 1,916, of whom no less than 733 had died, 866 had been discharged, and there were then 'in the house 317.'

Yet a school was set up at once, 'a Grammer Schoolemayster' at £15 a year, a very good salary for those days, a Gramer usher at £10, a 'teacher to wrighte' at £3 6s. 8d., 'schoolmaisters for the Petties ABC' at £2 13s. 4d., and 'a Teacher of pricksonge' or 'schoolemaister of muisicke' at £2 13s. 4d. a year, which was the same salary as the tailor of the establishment received. Whether co-education of the sexes was practised we do not know.

By what steps this foundling hospital and ragged school of 317, part of a vast scheme of poor relief, supported by voluntary contributions, grew into three different schools, of which the boys' school in the city contained 800, all of the upper and lower middle class, wholly separated in government from the other hospitals, and almost wholly supported by vast endowments bringing in some £85,000 a year, is a most interesting story, which cannot be told here.

By a scheme made, after some twenty years' struggle, by the Charity Commissioners acting under the Endowed Schools Acts and approved by Queen Victoria in Council 15 August, 1890, it was provided that there should be three 'Hospital schools,' one for boys, one for girls, and a preparatory school for boys; a 'Day' science school for boys, and a day school for girls, within 3 miles of the Royal Exchange. The governors, called 'the Council of Almoners,' were directed to provide proper site and buildings 'within a convenient distance of the city of London' for 700 boarders, and a preparatory school for 120 boarders, and to use the old buildings 'until other suitable buildings are provided and no longer.' After a prolonged 'battle of the sites' the new buildings were begun on plans of Mr., now Sir, Aston Webb, R.A., and Mr. Ingress Bell in 1893, in red brick with white stone quoins and facings. They cost upwards of £423,460, exclusive of water and electric supply, fittings, and furniture.

There is a fine chapel, 158 ft. long, and a hall 152 ft., where the whole 700 boys of the upper school have all their meals together. But they sleep and live in seven blocks, each containing 2 houses of 50 boys, called after the names of distinguished *alumni*, Peele, Thornton, Middleton, Coleridge, Lamb, Barnes, and Maine. East of them stands the preparatory block, where 120 boys from ten to thirteen live apart from the upper school. There are 34 class rooms, 4 science rooms, and an art school. The boys still wait at table, clean their own boots, and make their own beds. The main difference is that the controlling matrons have been superseded by house masters, and the discipline is no longer in the hands of a warden, but rests with the head master. The old dress, long blue coat to the heels, with brown leather girdle and yellow hose, unsuited perhaps to the country and the century, is retained.

Though now established in Sussex, the school has no local connexion with the county, but is recruited from England at large, and, as is historically right, predominantly from London. Owing to the circumstance that by the Endowed Schools Acts a large number of the later endowments were excluded from the scheme of 1890, the nominations by so-called donation governors, which the reformers aimed at abolishing, and had reduced to a minimum of 300 boys, were by an unfortunate decision and scheme of Mr. Justice Chitty increased to 450, or considerably more than a third of the whole foundation. For a payment of £500 down, each donation governor is allowed always to have in the school a nominee, who receives education and maintenance worth £80 a year at least. These donation governors are, however, now expressly forbidden to sell the right of nomination. Donation governors have also the right of nominating competitors for 150 places in the three schools together. Besides these the Council of Almoners, who are nearly half donation governors, nominate competitors for another 150 places. About a seventh of the

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boys may be drawn, if not from the class originally contemplated by the founders, at least from the working, and not from the middle, class; through a provision that 105 places in the school are to be filled by competition from the public elementary schools of London. The rest, if any, of the boys are to be elected by competition from schools higher than elementary which are subject to schemes made under the Endowed Schools Acts. In March, 1907, there were 325 presentees of donation governors, 109 nominees by them (selected out of 10 nominations for each vacancy), 134 from elementary schools, 116 from secondary schools, and 55 under special charities.

On the removal a new head master was appointed, the Rev. Arthur William Upcott, now D.D. He was a Sherborne boy, scholar of Exeter College, first class in Moderations and second class in 'Greats' at Oxford. He had been head master of St. Mark's School, Windsor, 1886-91, and then of St. Edmund's School, Canterbury, otherwise the Clergy Orphan School. There are 17 assistant masters on the classical side; 8 on the modern side; 5 science masters; 2 commercial; 2 for drawing; and 6 in the preparatory school: 40 in all. Of the total income of about £80,000, the school at Horsham receives, besides Exhibition funds, £47,000 a year.

The upper school is divided into the Latin School, or classical side; and the Mathematical School, or modern side—the difference on paper being mainly that in the modern side German takes the place of Latin and Greek. The old Royal Mathematical School, founded by Charles II, for those who are going into the navy or the merchant service, is maintained as part of the Mathematical School, but entrance is now only allowed to promising boys. In 1907 there are 393 boys in the Latin School, 287 in the Mathematical School, 20 in the Royal Mathematical School.

The old distinction of 'Grecians' and deputy Grecians is still preserved, and soon there will be science as well as classical and mathematical Grecians. The bulk of the boys leave at the age of sixteen. The school has done remarkably well of late in the way of scholarships and exhibitions at the universities.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, FOUNDED BEFORE 1800¹

NORTHIAM.—By deed dated 20 September, 1614, Robert Iden conveyed a messuage and 2 acres of land in Northiam in trust, to apply the rents and profits for a schoolmaster to teach children of the parish.

George Barnsley left £500 by will 7 September, 1723, for educating poor children in the principles of the Church of England. His executors in 1727 purchased a rent-charge of £3 10s. as the right proportion to appropriate to this parish.

A schoolhouse was built on the premises left by Robert Iden, and 19 boys were in the school in 1867.

WEST CHILTINGTON.—William Smyth in 1634 bequeathed £250 to be laid out in the purchase of lands from the rent of which £5 or more was to be paid to maintain a licensed schoolmaster, for the breeding and education of all youth, as well poor as rich, either male or female, then born or to be born in Chiltington for ever. The schoolhouse at West Chiltington, in which the master resides, appears to have been built in 1635.

HARTFIELD.—The Rev. Richard Rands, 30 June, 1640, devised by will all his lands in Hartfield to 4 trustees to appoint a schoolmaster, being a graduate of one of the universities, to teach all such children of the parish freely as should come to him, provided that they could read English. £20 per annum was to be paid to the schoolmaster.

Thomas earl of Thanet granted a rent-charge, 11 November, 1725, of £10 to increase the salary.

A schoolroom was built by subscription about 1812, and in 1867 there were 43 boys and 34 girls in the school.

ANGMERING.—William Older by will, 16 March, 1679, gave £100 to Thomas Oliver in trust, to purchase a piece of land on which a house might be built for a schoolmaster to teach poor children within the parishes of East and West Angmering, and, after the death of his wife, the schoolmaster was to receive all the rents and profits of all his lands. A schoolhouse was built soon after the testator's death, and about 1815 William Oliver, heir of Thomas mentioned in the will, built additions to it. The income in 1819 was £104 10s. all paid to the schoolmaster, who taught about 60 children of both sexes. This number was doubled in 1867.

CHICHESTER, WHITBY'S SCHOOL.—Oliver Whitby by will, 16 February, 1702, gave to trustees lands and the rectory of West Witterling that they might purchase a house for a schoolhouse and dwelling for a master and 12 poor scholars; the boys to be the sons of parents not dissenters, in Chichester, Harting, and West Witterling. He willed the boys should have all their diet in the schoolhouse, and a convenient servant, and that the master should have £20 a year as well as

¹ The information is derived from the *Reports of the Charity Commissioners* and *Sch. Inq. Commissioners*.

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lodging and diet, for which he should teach the boys writing, arithmetic, and the mathematics. The boys were to wear blue gowns, with his coat of arms on a badge, and quilt caps, and each boy to have 20s. a year to buy the clothes.

In 1720 the trustees bought premises for the use of the school for £300.

By an order of the Master of the Rolls, 25 May, 1828, the trustees were empowered to increase the number of the boys from time to time as funds permitted. The number was gradually increased to 46 by 1867.

CHICHESTER, GIRLS' BLUE COAT SCHOOL.—This school was established in 1710 by private subscription, and with the addition of bequests from Bishop Manningham and George Sedgwick 22 poor girls were instructed at the National School for girls.

CHICHESTER, BOYS' GREY COAT SCHOOL.—Thomas Manningham, bishop of Chichester, who died in 1722, gave £100 to be applied equally to the use of this school and the girls' blue coat school.

George Sedgwick by will gave £400 in trust to apply the interest of one-fourth part equally to the two schools. This legacy was invested in 1785.

From these bequests 20 poor boys were clothed and educated at the National School. The Charity Commissioners gave their assent to this plan by letter 9 March, 1861.

HORSTED KEYNES FREE SCHOOL.—Edward Lightmaker, of Broadhurst, Horsted Keynes, by will 2 April, 1708, bequeathed a house near the church which he had built, and also a sum of £400 to purchase an annuity of £20 for the maintenance of a free school. For this the schoolmaster was to teach 20 children of the parish, and he might take 21 paying scholars. No annuity seems to have been bought, but the lord of the manor paid £20 a year to the schoolmaster till 1737, since which time no payment has been made. The schoolmaster taught 12 poor boys and girls freely in return for the use of the school premises.

UCKFIELD, SAUNDERS' CHARITY.—Anthony Saunders, D.D., by will 31 October, 1718, devised lands to 4 trustees, the rents and profits to be applied in teaching 6 poor boys of Uckfield and 6 of Buxted to read and write and the Church Catechism. He also devised his library of books to be kept at the schoolhouse, for the benefit of the master and scholars. He left other lands to provide £10 a year for the schoolmaster and the residue to be applied for apprenticing poor boys. In 1819 there was a schoolmaster in possession of the schoolhouse and land mentioned in the will, and of the library, consisting of about 200 volumes, who also received £10 from the trustees, but he kept a private school and paid £20 a year to the master of the National School to teach the 12 boys freely.

UCKFIELD, DOROTHY ELLIS'S CHARITY.—Dorothy Ellis, of Lewes, spinster, by will dated 12 June, 1728, gave to trustees £300, out of the rents and profits of which £5 yearly was to be paid to a woman living in Uckfield for teaching 10 poor children to spell and read English well.

BURWASH.—In 1731 a farm in the parish of Wadhurst was conveyed to trustees to pay the rent to a person appointed by the trustees to teach the poor children of Burwash to read and the principles of the Church of England. The farm was bought for £220 arising from a legacy left by the Rev. George Barnsley by will in 1723. There was also a sum of £350 arising from the sale of timber on the estate, and a legacy of £50 left by William Constable in 1811. The whole income was applied to the support of the National School.

SEDLESCOMBE.—An estate and premises containing 2 acres called Darbeys, in the parish of Westfield, were conveyed in 1729 to trustees for a charity school in Sedlescombe. This estate was purchased for £184, part of a sum left by the Rev. George Barnsley in 1723 for the education of poor children. A schoolmaster was paid a salary of £20 a year from the rents of the estate, and he taught the three R's and the principles of the Church of England to 20 boys. In 1866 the income had risen to £30 a year.

BRIGHTLING.—Mary Herbert, by will 4 April, 1728, gave to the minister and churchwardens of Brightling £200 to be laid out in the purchase of lands, the rents thereof to be applied for teaching poor girls reading, writing, casting accounts, and plain work. Each girl at the age of 15 to have a Prayer Book, Bible, and *Whole Duty of Man*. The income of this endowment was paid to the master of the National School in 1867.

ROTHERFIELD.—Sir Henry Fermor, bart., by will 21 January, 1732, directed trustees to lay out £1,500 in building a church and charity school in or near Crowborough for the use of the parishioners of Rotherfield and Buxted, and £4,000 to be spent in purchasing lands, one-fourth part of the rents to be applied for the maintenance of a schoolmaster and another £500 in lands, the rents to be used for repairs of the church and schoolhouse, and a further £3,000 for the benefit of the scholars. The children were to be taught the three R's and not to exceed 40 in number. Sir Henry Fermor died in 1734, and the school and chapel were soon after built at Crowborough. Till 1796 his affairs were before the Court of Chancery. An order was then made to regulate the charity. Thirty boys were sent to school from Rotherfield and 10 from Buxted. They received clothing once a year and were supplied with books.

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WALBERTON.—John Nash by will 24 May, 1732, gave to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of Walberton a newly built house and garden in Walberton for the use of a schoolmaster, and also an annuity of £12 payable out of his manors, lands, and tenements in Walberton for the education of the poor children of the parish. The house was pulled down about 1780 by the owner of the estate, and another house was appropriated to the school. The aid of Chancery had to be invoked in 1816 to make the owner give up possession of the house and pay the annuity.

GUESTLING, BRADSHAW'S CHARITY.—The Rev. Robert Bradshaw by will 20 November, 1734, directed his executors after the death of his wife to sell his property in Sussex and lay out £500 in the purchase of property to be settled for the maintenance of a schoolmaster in Guestling to teach 20 poor children of the parish. This property was continually before the Court of Chancery, and there was only a schoolmaster at fitful intervals. A scheme was finally settled in 1835 by which schools for boys and girls were to be built, and a schoolmaster and schoolmistress to be appointed. In 1867 there were about 60 boys and girls in equal proportion.

BOXGROVE.—On 13 February, 1740, the countess dowager of Derby by deed granted lands to be sold for the purpose of building almshouses, part of which was to be for a schoolmaster to teach 12 poor boys and girls the three R's. A schoolhouse was built in her lifetime. The master had £20, the mistress £2 8s. a year in 1819.

Mrs. Elizabeth Nash by deed 10 November, 1716, granted lands from the rents and profits of which one-third part was to be spent in schooling and clothing for two poor children of Boxgrove. In 1819, the master and mistress received 24s. each from this fund.

By will 6 March, 1740, Barnard Frederick devised lands of the yearly value of £6 for teaching two or more children of Boxgrove reading, writing, and needlework, and clothing them. The schoolmaster received all the dividend from the fund at first, but in 1819 it was decided to allow £1 18s. a year for their clothing, and to make up the master's salary by voluntary contributions. The boys from all these charities were taught in Lady Derby's schoolhouse, and all the girls in a school built on the duke of Richmond's land. There were 44 boys and 110 girls in the school in 1867.

MAYFIELD.—In 1749, £480 was subscribed by the inhabitants of Mayfield for establishing a school there. By deed of 17 May, 1750, Michael Baker in consideration of £450, part of the sum subscribed, granted a rent-charge of £18 a year and many acres of land in trust, that the trustees and the vicar of Mayfield should be manager of the school, to appoint a schoolmaster to teach 24 children gratis. He bequeathed a house for the schoolmaster by will, 28 May, 1750. A nephew, another Michael Baker, by will 2 March, 1771, and Thomas Baker, by will in January, 1781, bequeathed each £100 to the trustees for the benefit of the school. This was represented in 1867 by 39 boys taught free in the National School.

BRIGHTON, GRIMMETT'S CHARITY.—William Grimmett by will dated 14 March, 1749, gave five twenty-fourths of his estate after the death of his widow, and £20 a year after the death of his brother, to be applied in clothing 20 poor boys, sons of parishioners of Brighthelmston, and educating them in the principles of the Church of England, the three R's, merchants' accounts, and navigation. The school thus founded first came into operation in 1768, when the total capital was £2,330 11s. 6d. It was first conducted in premises provided at the expense of the schoolmaster, who was allowed to take 10 paying scholars. In 1801 the master of Springett's School was appointed master of this school also, and he removed the boys to Springett's schoolhouse. In 1818 this house was turned into a strictly national school, and for the next ten years the master again provided the house, taking 20 paying scholars. In 1828 the trustees of Grimmett's Charity made an arrangement with the trustees of the Central National School by which Grimmett's boys were to be received into the National School and educated free of expense, so that all the funds were applied to clothing; by this arrangement 40 poor boys instead of 20 were annually clothed.

SPRINGETT'S CHARITY.—About 1740 Anthony Springett gave a house and garden in Narrow Lanes, Brighton, upon trust for a charity school. In 1829 this school was merged in the Central National School, the house was sold for £400 and the money applied to the National School as well as £284 12s. three per cent. reduced annuities given by Lady Gower in 1771 in aid of Springett's School.

PETWORTH, TAYLOR'S SCHOOL.—The Rev. John Taylor, late fellow of Winchester College, by will 20 March, 1753, gave £2,400 to the warden and scholars of Winton College in trust to pay £56 10s. yearly out of the interest to the rectors of Petworth, Tillington, and Duncton, who were made trustees, and who were to appoint a schoolmaster to teach 10 poor boys and 10 poor girls of the parish of Petworth. By a codicil of 10 April, 1775, he bequeathed a further sum of £800 on the same trusts to provide clothing for the children. An arrangement was made with the trustees of the earl of Egremont's Schools, founded in 1833 and 1834, whereby all these children were taught together, the boys by a master, and the girls by a mistress.

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NEWICK, VERNON'S SCHOOL.—George Venables Vernon and Louisa Barbara his wife granted to trustees in 1771 a rent-charge of £50 issuing out of the manor of Newick, and the messuage called Newick Place, to pay £15 a year to a schoolmistress who was to live in a house lately built for that purpose, to instruct 12 poor girls of the parish of Newick in reading, writing, and needlework, and another £15 a year for clothing the girls, and £10 a year more to the mistress to board and lodge and teach one other poor girl to assist the mistress, and £5 a year for clothing the said girl. The remaining £5 was to be used for fuel and repairs. The trustees and the owners of Newick Place were to have the management of the school and to appoint the mistress and children. No children were to be admitted under six, or continue beyond fourteen years of age. Thirteen girls were in the school in 1867.

BATTLE.—Elizabeth Langton by will 8 December, 1791, bequeathed to the dean, churchwardens and overseers of the parish of Battle, £1,500 four per cent. consols, the interest to be paid to a man and his wife to teach 15 boys reading, and 15 girls reading, sewing, and knitting, and she gave £200 four per cent. consols, the interest to be spent in spelling-books, Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer Books, the children to be given their books on leaving school.

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

HUNTING

HUNTING in Sussex might be traced to very early times. Robert, Earl de Moreton, half brother of the Conqueror, who was lord of Pevensey, was an ardent sportsman and hunted over the wide country of which he was owner. The early Percys, who lived at Petworth in Plantagenet times, before they migrated to the north, were sportsmen as well as warriors, and many other great families kept hounds, as was the custom of the county magnates of those days. The dukes of Somerset succeeded to the Percys in the Petworth estates, and the sixth, known as 'the proud Duke,' undoubtedly kept hounds there in the seventeenth century. At Dainley, on the verge of Charlton Forest, behind the present estate of Goodwood, the Fitzalans, earls of Arundel, had a hunting seat. Two of them, indeed, died at Dainley: Earl Thomas in 1525, and Earl William in 1544. In 1591 Queen Elizabeth came to visit Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montagu, at Cowdray, where she was entertained with great splendour. On 17 August the queen rode to a bower prepared for her in the park, and there with her crossbow shot three or four deer as they were driven past her.

It is not until more recent times, after the larger beasts of chase had become exterminated, that we find records of hunting in the modern sense. The earliest reference to fox-hunting occurs in the time of Charles II. Sir William Thomas, of Folkington, member for the county, writes to his friend Sir William Wilson of Bourne Place (now Compton Place, Eastbourne) as follows:—

Sir,

I design to hunt the fox at Bourne tomorrow; but if there be not people to watch the cliffs, and to be there about three o'clock in the morning to prevent their going downe I can doe no good with them. I desire, therefore, that you would be pleased to order some persons to watch the cliffs and to stop the earths that are nere you. I will be there, God willing, by 6 o'clock in the morning, when I should be glad to have the happiness of your good company. This comes from, Sir, your faithfull friende and humble servant,

WILLIAM THOMAS.

FOX HUNTING

THE CHARLTON HUNT

Charlton, which was a very fashionable hunting centre in the eighteenth century, seems to have become famous soon after this period. The Duke of Monmouth was extremely fond of this place, and in his earlier days spent much of his time there. He said jestingly that 'when he was King, he would come and keep his Court there.' In the days of its pride, 1720-40, every house in the neighbourhood was full, and even the cottages were filled with lodgers.

It is said that Monmouth owed his knowledge of the place to his friend, Ford, Lord Grey of Wark, who was afterwards to become his evil genius and to command his cavalry on the field of Sedgemoor. Grey had a seat at Up Park in that neighbourhood. Two packs of hounds were kept at Charlton at this period, one belonging to Monmouth, the other to Lord Grey. The field-master or 'manager' of both packs was Mr. Roper, a Kentish gentleman, who was credited with a most intimate knowledge of hounds and hunting. During Monmouth's rebellion, in 1685, Roper felt it necessary for his safety to quit Sussex and take refuge in France. When William III became king, he returned to England and resumed the management of the hounds, which had then become the property of the Duke of Bolton. At this time the Marquis of Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, was a familiar figure with the Charlton Hunt. A daring exploit of his was to ride down Seven Down, one of the steepest descents in the county, and leap a five-barred gate at the foot. At this period there were hunting at Charlton the Dukes of Bolton, Grafton, and Montrose, the Earl of Halifax, Lord Nassau Powlett, Lords William and Henry Beauclerk, Lords Forester, Hervey and Harcourt, General Compton and others. The Earl of Burlington, 'the Vitruvius of his day,' built a banquetting chamber, which was called Foxhall, after a gilt figure of a fox which surmounted a tall flagstaff in front of the building. This was the gift of Henrietta, Duchess of Bolton.

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Charlton was now famous. St. Victor and other visitors came over from France and Germany to partake of the sport. Squire Roper, who had been so long connected with the hounds, died suddenly in 1715. In April of that year he rode to the meet at Findon, but just as the fox was found he dropped dead from his saddle; he had attained the ripe age of eighty-four years. The Duke of Bolton now became sole owner and master of the pack, a few years later handing them over to the second Duke of Richmond, who then assumed sole management, assisted by Lord De La Warr. From this period dates the heyday of the Charlton Hunt. Tom Johnson, one of the famous hunt servants of the eighteenth century, was the duke's huntsman. Johnson died in 1774 and is buried at Singleton, where the following eulogy may be found on his monument:—

From his early inclination to foxhounds, he soon became an experienced huntsman. His knowledge in the profession, wherein he had no superior and hardly an equal, joined to his honesty in every other particular, recommended him to the service and gained him the approbation of several of the nobility and gentry. Among these were Lord Conway, the Earl of Cardigan, the Lord Gower, the Duke of Marlborough, the Hon. M. Spencer. The last master whom he served, and in whose service he died, was Charles, Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny, who erected this monument in memory of a good and faithful servant, as a reward to the deceased, and an incitement to the living.

‘Go and do thou likewise.’ (St. Luke x. 37).

‘Here Johnson lies; what human can deny

Old Honest Tom the tribute of a sigh?

Deaf is that ear, which caught the opening sound;

Dumb that tongue, which cheered the hills around.

Unpleasing truth: Death hunts us from our birth

In view, and men, like foxes, take to earth.’

During the great days of the second Duke of Richmond at Charlton a hundred horses were led out every morning from the stables, each with its attendant groom in the Charlton livery of blue, with gold-corded and be-tasselled caps. In 1732 the duke built a hunting house at Charlton, where he and his duchess lay overnight, ready for the early meets of those vigorous days (8 a.m.). In 1863, says a writer to whom I am indebted for many of these particulars,¹ ‘the walls of the principal room were decorated with paintings of the chase, almost sole relics of the Charlton Hunt.’ This house is still standing and is (1907) known in the neighbourhood as Foxhall, having apparently succeeded to the name of the older building. It was during these days that the most famous run ever known with the Charlton Hunt took place. A spirited description of it has survived. It was

copied from an old MS., nearly illegible from age, which hung framed in an ancient farmhouse at Funtington, a village in the neighbourhood of Goodwood. Its author is unknown, but the account is well worth reproduction.

A FULL AND IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE REMARKABLE CHASE AT CHARLTON, ON FRIDAY, 26TH JANUARY, 1738.

It has long been a matter of controversy in the hunting world to what particular country or set of men the superiority belonged. Prejudices and partiality have the greatest share in their disputes, and every society their proper champion to assert the pre-eminence and bring home the trophy to their own country. Even Richmond Park has the Dymoke. But on Friday, the 26th of January, 1738, there was a decisive engagement on the plains of Sussex, which, after ten hours' struggle, has settled all further debate and given the brush to the gentlemen of Charlton.

Present in the Morning.—The Duke of Richmond, Duchess of Richmond, Duke of St. Alban's, the Lord Viscount Harcourt, the Lord Henry Beauclerk, the Lord Ossulstone, Sir Harry Liddell, Brigadier Henry Hawley, Ralph Jenison, master of His Majesty's Buck Hounds, Edward Pauncefort, Esq., William Farquhar, Esq., Cornet Philip Honeywood, Richard Biddulph, Esq., Charles Biddulph, Esq., Mr. St. Paul, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Peermon, of Chichester; Mr. Thomson, Tom Johnson, Billy Ives, Yeoman Pricker to His Majesty's Hounds; David Briggs and Nim Ives, Whippers-in. At a quarter before eight in the morning the fox was found in Eastdean Wood, and ran an hour in that cover; then in to the Forest, up to Puntice Coppice through Heringdean to the Marlows, up to Coney Coppice, back to the Marlows, to the Forest West Gate, over the fields to Nightingale Bottom, to Cobden's at Draught, up his Pine Pit Hanger, where His Grace of St. Alban's got a fall; through My Lady Lewknor's Puttocks, and missed the earth; through Westdean Forest to the corner of Collar Down (where Lord Harcourt blew his first horse), crossed the Hackney-place down the length of Coney Coppice, through the Marlows to Heringdean, into the Forest and Puntice Coppice, Eastdean Wood, through the Lower Teglease across by Cocking Course down between Graffham and Woolavington, through Mr. Orme's Park and Paddock over the Heath to Fielder's Furzes, to the Harlands, Selham, Ambersham, through Todham Furzes, over Todham Heath, almost to Cowdray Park, there turned to the limekiln at the end of Cocking Causeway, through Cocking Park and Furzes; there crossed the road and up the hills between Bepton and Cocking. Here the unfortunate Lord Harcourt's second horse felt the effects of long legs and a sudden steep; the best thing that belonged to him was his saddle, which My Lord had secured; but, by bleeding and Geneva (contrary to Act of Parliament) he recovered, and with some difficulty was got home. Here Mr. Farquhar's humanity claims your regard, who kindly sympathised with My Lord in his misfortunes, and had not power to go beyond him. At the bottom of Cocking Warren the hounds turned to the left across the road by the barn near Heringdean, then took the side near to the north-gate of the Forest (here General Hawley thought it prudent to change his

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Coll.* 1863. Article by T. J. Bennett from the MS. of Charles Dorrien of Ashdean House.

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horse for a trueblue that staid up the hills. Billy Ives likewise took a horse of Sir Harry Liddell's), went quite through the Forest and ran the foil through Nightingale Bottom to Cobden at Draught, up his Pine Pit Hanger to My Lady Lewknor's Put-tocks, through every mews she went in the morning; went through the Warren above Westdean (where we dropt Sir Harry Liddell) down to Benderton Farm (here Lord Harry sank), through Goodwood Park (here the Duke of Richmond chose to send three lame horses back to Charlton, and took Saucy Face and Sir William, that were luckily at Goodwood; from thence, at a distance, Lord Harry was seen driving his horse before him to Charlton). The hounds went out at the upper end of the Park over Strettington-road by Sealy Coppice (where His Grace of Richmond got a summerset), through Halnaker Park over Halnaker Hill to Seabeach Farm (here the Master of the Stag Hounds, Cornet Honeywood, Tom Johnson, and Nim Ives were thoroughly satisfied), up Long Down, through Eartham Common fields and Kemp's High Wood (here Billy Ives tried his second horse and took Sir William, by which the Duke of St. Alban's had no great coat, so returned to Charlton). From Kemp's High Wood the hounds took a way through Gunworth Warren, Kemp's Rough Piece, over Slindon Down to Madehurst Parsonage (where Billy came in with them), over Poor Down up to Madehurst, then down to Houghton Forest, where His Grace of Richmond, General Hawley, and Mr. Pauncefort came in (the latter to little purpose, for, beyond the Ruel Hill, neither Mr. Pauncefort nor his horse Tinker cared to go, so wisely returned to his impatient friends), up the Ruel Hill, left Sherwood on the right hand, crossed Ofham Hill to Southwood, from thence to South Stoke to the wall of Arundel River, where the glorious 23 hounds put an end to the campaign, and killed an old bitch fox, ten minutes before six. Billy Ives, His Grace of Richmond, and General Hawley^{1a} were the only persons in at the death, to the immortal honour of 17 stone, and at least as many campaigns.

Among those who hunted with the Charlton Hunt during its great days were the Dukes of Richmond, Devonshire, Kingston, Montagu; the Earls of Pembroke, Lincoln, Sunderland, Kildare, Dalkeith, Halifax, De La Warr; Viscounts Downe, Dursley, and Harcourt; Lords Ossulston, Hervey, Walpole, Ravensworth, Robert Manners, Lifford, Cowper, Bury, and John Cavendish; Count La Lippe, Baron Hardenburg; Mr. Watson Wentworth, afterwards Marquis of Rockingham; Generals Honeywood, Churchill, and the Hon. — Brudenell; the Hon. C. Bentinck, Hon. John Boscawen. One other distinguished personage hunting in another part of Sussex at this time was Holles Pelham, duke of Newcastle, the well-known statesman of the reigns of George I and George II. His principal seat was then at Halland, near East

^{1a} General Hawley, who made so great a figure in this historic run, was the soldier who commanded King George's troops at Falkirk, eight years later (1746), when they were defeated by Prince Charles and his Highlanders.

Hoathly, but he seems to have hunted in a more distant part of Sussex, in the neighbourhood of Bishopstone, near Seaford, where he had a house. He writes thus to his duchess:—²

Bishopstone,
Nov. 28th, 1738.

I have just time to tell my Dearest that we have this day had the finest chase that ever was seen. Nobody was properly in but the two huntsmen, Lord Lincoln, Tom Chambers, Tommy Cook, and myself. I rode Badger, which carried me charmingly. Poor Whitefoot is lame and I have Brown Jack well. I am very much obliged to you for your most kind letter. We expect Jimmy every moment and wonder he is not yet come. To-day being Public Day we have a good deal of company. Our other Days are very quiet, except now and then when they come overnight from distant parts of ye County. Lord Lincoln gives a Ball on Thursday next to ye Ladies of Seaford. My Dearest has a charming day for Claremont. I hope you will find everything, pond etc. in a good forwardness. Our provisions can't go from here till Monday next, but I hope you don't think 'la petite' can ever be forgot. All here send their compliments—pray mine to Mrs. Spence. I am,

Ever most affectionately and sincerely yours

(signed) J. HOLLIS NEWCASTLE.

P.S. Jimmy is just this moment arrived.

THE GOODWOOD HOUNDS

In 1750 the second Duke of Richmond died. His successor, the third duke, in 1789 built spacious kennels at Goodwood, and took the hounds thither, and thenceforth Goodwood glories eclipsed the splendours of the old Charlton Hunt.

This Duke of Richmond was one of the keenest sportsmen of his time. In his day hounds met at 8 a.m. He spared neither trouble nor expense to make his hounds the finest in the kingdom, and his kennels have been cited as the perfection of cleanliness and order. He was a great stickler for fair sport, and would never allow his hounds to be assisted by a view halloa. If any one outside the covert was heard to view away or seen to head the fox, the duke would ride up, smartly cracking his whip, and cry, 'Hark to covert! Hark to covert!' The cry of the hounds and the sound of the horn alone notified the field that hounds were away. Under this system the Goodwood Hounds were drilled into a pack perfect for the work they had to do. Tom Grant, a famous huntsman of this duke and his two successors, who died so late as 1839, at the age of eighty-eight, had many amusing anecdotes to tell of this period. If he (Grant) was hunting a sinking fox late in the afternoon, the duke would say to him, 'Sir, whip off hounds immediately, or I must send for a candle for you.' The duke was extremely fair to his

² From the original letter in the possession of Major H. P. Molineux.

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quarry; he would never allow a fox to be dug out, and more than once spared a much-pressed fox, when hounds would otherwise have caught and killed it.

The fourth Duke of Richmond, on becoming Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1814, presented his hounds to the Prince Regent. Rabies soon after appeared in the kennel, and the pack had to be destroyed. For many years thereafter no hounds were kept at Goodwood; but in 1883 the late Lord Leconfield having relinquished a large portion of the Goodwood country, which he had long hunted, the late Duke of Richmond and Gordon revived the Goodwood Hunt. The nucleus of the new pack was formed from the then Lord Radnor's pack and from drafts from Lord Zetland's and the Belvoir. The Belvoir draft was secured for a year or two, after which time all the hounds were bred at the Goodwood kennels. At this time practically new kennels were built, and the whole establishment was modelled on a liberal scale. The old Charlton livery of blue coats with buff waistcoats was revived, and the hunt servants were clad in the yellow coats with red collars and cuffs of the famous old hunt. First-rate sport was shown by the new Goodwood hounds during twelve seasons, until the pack was once more given up in 1895. George Champion, for many years with the South Down, was the first huntsman to the pack. At first the Goodwood hunted three days a week. This was subsequently increased to four days a week, and at this time about fifty couple of hounds were maintained. The present Duke of Richmond and Gordon, then Earl of March, acted as master, and was extremely popular in all parts of the country hunted.

THE PETWORTH HOUNDS

The pack of hounds now maintained by the third Lord Leconfield at Petworth has one of the most ancient pedigrees of any in England, dating back as it does to the days of the 'proud Duke of Somerset,' who kept hounds there in the time of William III. The present Lord Leconfield, a descendant of this Duke of Somerset, expresses the opinion that there has been no actual break in the history of the Petworth Hounds since that date. Lord Leconfield has, indeed, a hunting ancestry on both sides. Sir William Wyndham, who married the daughter and heiress of the Duke of Somerset, and thus became progenitor of the Earls of Egremont and Lords Leconfield of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was himself a great sportsman as well as a notable politician. He became Master of the Buckhounds, under Queen Anne, in 1710. The third Earl of Egremont (Sir George O'Brien Wyndham) (1751-1837), was one of the greatest sportsmen of his day. He owned many Derby and Oaks winners, and kept hounds at Petworth

for forty or fifty years. He improved his hounds by purchasing the pack of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, in 1773. These hounds showed very fine sport over a large extent of the Weald country. Lord Gage, Lord Robert Spencer, Mr. Poyntz, Mr. Bigg Withers, and many other notabilities of the time, including Mrs. Dorrien (formerly Miss Le Clerc), a famous lady rider, who it is said never refused a fence in her life, hunted with the Petworth Hounds. Lord Egremont had a celebrated huntsman, Luke Freeman, a Yorkshireman, who served him for many years. About the year 1800 he reduced his hunting establishment, and gave a portion of his pack to the Duke of Richmond, who was to choose whatever hounds he wanted.

A writer in the *Sporting Magazine* of October, 1821, gives the following account of what happened on this occasion:—

The pack was sent to the seat of the Noble Duke, at Goodwood, where Freeman attended by the special invitation of His Grace. The dogs were hunted and examined, but the Duke could not decide the question which were the best. Perhaps Luke was not very communicative on the subject, and preferred leaving matters in abler hands. It was in vain that he went to bed *comfortable* every night: he knew but little of the merits of the dogs in the morning. The old huntsman continued at Goodwood for a fortnight, at the expiration of which time the Duke said to him: 'Well, Mr. Freeman, I have tried the hounds, and you may select the youngest and the best of them and leave me the rest.' This was just what the old boy wanted; so he lost no time in making the necessary selection and prepared to leave Goodwood. Meanwhile the Duke had ridden round to the park gate, through which Freeman was to pass, and meeting him as he approached towards it, observed—'So, Mr. Freeman, you have got all the youngest and the best dogs?' 'Yes, please your Grace, all the youngest and the best.' 'Then you'll just be good enough' rejoined the Duke, 'to conduct them back to my kennel, and you can take the remainder.' Luke felt that he was *done*, but good-humouredly turned about.

The old huntsman had charge of the remainder at Petworth, and kept them going until a young kinsman of the earl, afterwards Colonel George Wyndham, was of an age to hunt the pack himself. In 1817 the hounds were still called Lord Egremont's, but from 1819, after Colonel George Wyndham had assumed the management, the pack was known as his. 'Nimrod,' in one of his celebrated sporting tours, paid a visit to Sussex in January, 1824, and speaks in very high terms of Colonel Wyndham and his hounds. He thus describes a day with them from the meet at Newtimber House, six miles from Brighton, on the London Road:—

Colonel Wyndham's fixture was for eleven; and about twenty minutes before our grandfather's dinner hour, the hounds arrived, and by the time they were in their second bottle, we found our fox. They

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came up at a brisk trot, and appeared by the horses as if they had not let the grass grow under their feet, in their road from the kennel—the distance from which was about nine miles. They retired into a small field by the side of the road, whilst Colonel Wyndham changed his horse and then proceeded to draw. The Colonel was mounted on a very clever Octavius mare, and his two whippers-in rode two thoroughbred ones. In short, if I may be allowed the expression, *all looked well bred together*. There was one of the largest fields ever known in Sussex, upwards of two hundred horsemen being present.

From the great reputation this pack of hounds has acquired—from the pace they carry a scent over a light country, and the great pains they have taken in breeding them—I was very anxious to have a sight of them. On this day, however, I had little time to look them over, but I saw they were formed for sport, not deficient in power, and abounding in good form and symmetry, though not exceeding (generally) twenty-two inches in height. There was one hound which instantly caught my eye as above their standard, and on asking the whipper-in his name he told me it was *Conqueror*. I afterwards found it was no misnomer, for when he had killed his fox, he carried home his head as a trophy, in spite of all attempts to make him drop it. I afterwards saw a brother to him (*Caliban*), a very fine hound, but I understood not quite so true on his line.

It has not always been supposed that gentlemen huntsmen are the best. Perhaps it may be on the principle that those are not fit to command who have not been accustomed to obey. Having heard much of Colonel Wyndham's performance, I was anxious to witness it, so followed him, in drawing, through many rough coverts. I was much pleased with the quiet manner of himself and his men, and his hounds were particularly steady and drew as if they meant to find. When we did find, only seven or eight out of this large field got away with the hounds, and from the severity of the pace and the extreme depth of the country—some of it approaching to bog—catching them was out of the question. They, however, caught their fox at the end of an hour and twenty minutes, just as he had reached an earth and was on the point of creeping up the bank to enter it, when he fell back among the pack and was killed. . . . I thought Colonel Wyndham rode very well to his hounds, and his cheering halloo to them, in chase, would make an old man's heart feel glad.

Speaking of the hounds, 'Nimrod' says :—

'I thought there was a beautiful pack out, and having had an easier week, they looked very bright and well.'

A brother of Colonel Wyndham, Colonel Henry Wyndham (afterwards General Wyndham), was at this time, and for long after, also hunting a pack of foxhounds in the western part of Sussex. Nimrod speaks thus of this remarkable fact :—

I have reason to believe the County of Sussex produces the only instance in the sporting world of two brothers, each keeping a pack of foxhounds, but so it is.

In 1837 Colonel George Wyndham succeeded Lord Egremont in the Petworth estates.³ In 1839 there seems to have been a dispute between the two brothers, Colonel, and General Wyndham, as to part of the Petworth country, and General Wyndham thereafter gave up his hounds. At one time Lord Leconfield kept his hounds at Drove, near Chichester, but subsequently moved them again to Petworth, where they have ever since remained. He had kennels also at Findon. During a great part of his long career—he maintained hounds from somewhere about 1819 to his death in 1869, during which time he showed some of the finest sport in Sussex—Lord Leconfield hunted the Goodwood country together with the Findon country, which is now hunted by the Crawley and Horsham. The second Lord Leconfield continued to hunt a very large area in the Weald and West Sussex, together with the old Goodwood territory and part of the present Chiddingfold and Crawley and Horsham country. In 1883, on the re-establishment of the Goodwood Hounds, the hill country was handed over by Lord Leconfield to the Duke of Richmond. Since the abandonment of the Goodwood Hounds in 1895 some part of that region has been unhunted. The present (third) Lord Leconfield still hunts the western half of the Goodwood territory, with the Hambledon to help, the latter taking the southern portion and Lord Leconfield the northern. The Crawley and Horsham now hunt some part of the southern country, near Findon and Worthing, which the first and second Lords Leconfield used to hunt. The River Arun here separates the Leconfield country from the Crawley and Horsham. The Leconfield is still a large country, extending from near Haslemere (Surrey), in the north, to the sea at Bognor. The northern neighbours of this hunt are the Hants and the Chiddingfold; on the east lies the Crawley and Horsham territory, while the western neighbours of Lord Leconfield are the Hants and the Hambledon. Much of the country hunted is downland, some of it arable, other portions being grass and woodland. There is a fair amount of grass. The vale country is strongly fenced. A famous huntsman of this pack was Charles Shepherd, who was in service from 1862 to 1895, and only relinquished the horn in his eightieth year. He was a first-rate huntsman, hard, keen, and with an excellent voice, which was familiar throughout the length and breadth of West Sussex. Shepherd maintained his hunting qualities to the last, and died in 1903 at the age of eighty-six.

Lord Leconfield hunts four days a week and maintains 50 couple of hounds at Petworth Park. His huntsman is John Olding, the

³ In 1859 he was created Lord Leconfield.

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whippers-in being T. Percy and T. Sheffield. The establishment is handsomely kept up, and is at the present day notable as being one of the very last of the packs of hounds—formerly numerous in England—which are maintained at the sole charge and expense of a territorial magnate.

THE FIRST EAST SUSSEX HUNT

This hunt is described in Baily's *Hunting Directory* as dating from 1853. But the old *Sporting Magazines* and other records show that a pack of hounds of that name was hunting in Sussex as far back as 1823. 'Nimrod,' in his 'Hunting Tours,' writes thus in the *Sporting Magazine* of that year. 'On the following day (26th Feb.) I met the East Sussex Subscription Pack at Clayton Cross, six miles from Brighton.' He had a fair day with them and saw a fox killed. The hounds were, in his opinion, not nearly so smart a pack as Colonel Wyndham's, with which he had hunted the day before.

Still (he says) handsome is that handsome does. They found their foxes where there were any to be found, and killed the one they settled to in a gallant manner. In drawing, they were certainly unsteady; but they are a young pack, of only three years' standing, and perfection in hounds is allowed to be a plant of very slow growth.

The kennels of the East Sussex pack were then at Ringmer Barracks, not far from the existing kennels of the South Down pack, and the hounds were under the management of one of their 'contributory masters' (the term is Nimrod's), Major Cator, R.A. Lord Gage was a principal subscriber and supporter, and hunted pretty regularly with the pack. 'Nimrod' complains that the hound language of the East Sussex huntsman (one Perkins) at this time was poor, and not to be compared with that of Colonel Wyndham. He was 'very lavish of his lingo, but it was Greek to me. His "Halloo-away" is a complete view halloo.' At this time the old East Sussex, which, as a matter of fact, were the forerunners of the South Down pack, seem to have hunted near Newhaven, Ashcombe Park, Stanmer Park, Glyndebourne, Loughton, Firle, and other places now in the South Down country. The War Office seems to have heard of hounds being kept at Ringmer Barracks, and orders were sent for their removal. They were then taken temporarily to Broyle Gate. Lord Gage, who took a keen interest in the welfare of the pack, kennelled them for a time at his own place, Firle Park, and afterwards, in 1827, built new kennels at Rushy Green, Ringmer. Mr. C. J. Craven followed Major Cator as master, having Press as huntsman. To him succeeded Captain Green, a hard man to hounds and a good sportsman. Under the Captain's régime financial

difficulties became serious, and the old East Sussex seem finally to have come to an end in 1843, in which year were held the last East Sussex Hunt races, a meeting which had been in existence since 1829.

THE SOUTH DOWN FOXHOUNDS

In 1843 was inaugurated the South Down Hunt, which evidently was started with the object of continuing to hunt the country of the defunct East Sussex pack. Mr. Freeman Thomas, of Ratton, was the first master, and the kennels were removed to Gildridge Farm, Eastbourne. Mr. Freeman Thomas continued at the head of affairs till 1851, when, after a very successful mastership, he was succeeded by Mr. Donovan, of Framfield Place. At this time the kennels were removed to Ringmer, where they have remained ever since.

Mr. Donovan held the mastership from 1851 to 1862, during which period some first-rate sport was shown with these hounds. In 1862-3 a committee held sway, and from 1863 to 1871 Mr. W. L. Christie was master. To him succeeded Mr. R. J. Streatfield, who held office until 1881, when he was succeeded by the Hon. Charles Brand, a son of Speaker Brand, created Lord Hampden. The South Down has always been fortunate in long and successful masterships, and Mr. Brand proved no exception to this rule, remaining in office from 1881 to 1898. He hunted the pack himself and showed first-rate sport. In 1898-9 a committee held office, but in the following season Mr. Brand and Mr. H. E. Courage were joint masters till 1901, when Mr. Brand again took sole charge. This gentleman remained master until 1903, when he was succeeded by Mr. R. W. McKergow, who remains at the head of affairs.

Up till 1891 the South Down hunted as far eastward as Eastbourne and the edge of Pevensey Marsh, but in that year a portion of the country was handed over to the Eastbourne Hunt, and the eastern boundary of the South Down now stops at the Cuckmere River. On the north the hunt is bounded by the territories of the Burstow and Eridge hunts; on the west, near Cuckfield and New Shoreham, by the Crawley and Horsham. The sea forms the southern boundary. The country extends some twenty-five miles from east to west by twenty miles north to south. The South Down country consists of large tracts of down and weald, the latter comprising about equal areas of grass and arable land. The fences here consist mostly of banks with a ditch and a low fence on top. The Sussex 'bar-ways' or 'heave-gates' are common, but they are always jumpable. On the downs there is practically no fencing, and foxes and hounds run very fast. On the whole the South Down may be described as a good scenting country.

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There are plenty of excellent coverts in the low country, and the down gorses afford natural shelter to strong wild foxes. Until a few years ago, when mange devastated the country, foxes were numerous everywhere. The disease has now disappeared, and the stock of healthy foxes is increasing again. The Hunt subscription is £10 10s., with £1 1s. to the Poultry Fund. Those members hunting regularly three or four days a week subscribe usually £21 and upwards. A 'cap' of £1 is now taken from occasional strangers wishing to hunt with this pack.

THE PRESENT EAST SUSSEX HUNT

The modern hunt dates from April, 1853, and the country, as then demarcated, has existed ever since, with the exception of a small portion in the western part of the territory which has been lent to the Eastbourne Hunt. It extends some thirty miles from east to west by fifteen miles north to south. On the north it is bounded by the Eridge country. North-eastward Romney Marsh separates the country from that of the Tickham, in Kent. On the west the Eastbourne boundary meets that of the East Sussex in the neighbourhood of Pevensey Level and the woodlands about Horeham Road and Heathfield. The sea is the southern boundary. The East Sussex is a very heavily wooded country, much broken by hills and deep valleys; in the open parts there is a fair proportion of grass, which carries a good scent. At the present time foxes are, unfortunately, somewhat scarce, owing partly to mange, which ravaged the country for several seasons after 1901. The minimum subscription—for one horse—to these hounds is £5. Capping is not practised.

The first master of the resuscitated East Sussex Hunt was Sir Augustus Webster, who held office for one season, 1853-4. To him succeeded Mr. Herbert Mascall Curteis, of Windmill Hill Place, Herstmonceux, who was master from 1854 to 1868. During this period some very excellent sport was shown. Bob Child was huntsman for nine seasons, and John Harrison for the other five. During Mr. Curteis's reign the hounds were kennelled at Windmill Hill Place and Peasmarsh Place, near Rye, for alternate fortnights. To Mr. Curteis succeeded Mr. Leonard Lywood, during whose short mastership, 1868-70, the pack were kennelled at Black Friars Farm, Battle. Mr. Lywood was his own huntsman. Messrs. W. E. M. Watts and C. A. Egerton were joint masters from 1870 to 1872, and from the latter year Mr. Egerton carried on the hounds alone till 1875, when Mr. Edward Frewen succeeded him. During this period Thomas Hastings and Fred Gosden were huntsmen. Mr. Frewen, who remained in office till 1882 and showed excellent sport, hunted the pack himself, with

Roffey and George Morgan as kennel huntsmen. From 1870 to 1882 the hounds were kennelled at North Trade, Battle. Since that time they have been maintained at Catsfield, near Battle, in kennels built for them by Lord Brassey, who succeeded Mr. Frewen in the mastership in 1882, having as his field-master Sir Anchitel Ashburnham. During Lord Brassey's term of office the East Sussex hunting days were increased from two to three days a week, George Morgan acting as huntsman. In 1884 Mr. C. A. Egerton succeeded Lord Brassey as master, remaining at the head of affairs until 1893. At this time George Morgan was succeeded as huntsman by C. Orvis, formerly with the Warwickshire and Holderness packs, who carried the horn until his retirement in 1892, when he was followed for one season by R. Yeo. To Mr. C. A. Egerton, after a very successful mastership, succeeded Mr. P. G. Barthropp, who, however, only carried on the hounds one season. From 1894 to 1899 Mr. J. C. Munro, a good sportsman, afterwards very successful in the Atherstone country, was master of the East Sussex, hunting the pack himself with much ability. The Hon. T. A. Brassey and Mr. C. A. Egerton were joint masters from 1899 to 1902; while from 1902 to 1906 Mr. Brassey carried on the mastership alone. During this period George Morgan once more filled the post of huntsman. In 1906 Mr. Brassey, who had been hunting the country five days a fortnight since 1902, resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. A. Neven Du Mont, who engaged Fred Reeves as huntsman. In recent years, owing to the ravages of mange and the difficulties of maintaining foxes in a country which contains a large proportion of woodland and shooting coverts, sport has not been so good as formerly. The pack now consists of thirty couple of hounds, and hunting days have been reduced to two days a week.

THE CRAWLEY AND HORSHAM HUNT

The early history of this pack is obscure. The first known master was Mr. Stanford, who began hunting the country in or about the year 1847 and continued to do so with great success until 1867. From 1867 to 1869 Mr. R. Loder and Colonel Calvert were joint masters, and from 1869 to 1887 Colonel Calvert alone remained at the head of affairs. During this period excellent sport was shown and the master was exceedingly popular. The Crawley and Horsham have, indeed, always been singularly fortunate in their masters. Lieut.-Colonel C. B. Godman succeeded Colonel Calvert and has ever since remained in control of the country, to the complete satisfaction of the hunt as well as of landowners and farmers. From 1847 to 1867 the kennels were at Warninglid; afterwards they were removed to Staplefield. Since

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1877 the pack has been kennelled at West Grinstead.

The Crawley and Horsham is a big country, extending from Ockley in Surrey to the sea at Worthing, a distance of nearly twenty-five miles. From east to west, from East Pulborough to Haywards Heath, it measures some twenty miles. Northward it is bounded by the Chiddingfold and Surrey Union, eastward by the South Down, and on the west by Lord Leconfield's country. The sea forms the southern limit. Until the year 1872 the southern part of the country, about Worthing and Findon, was hunted by Lord Leconfield. In that year his lordship, having more country than he could well manage, relinquished this portion to the Crawley and Horsham, who have hunted it ever since. The country includes a large proportion of plough and a considerable area of woodland. There is, however, more grass than there used to be. During the hunting season much of the wire is now removed. The pack is maintained by subscription, £15 15s. qualifying for membership of the hunt. The huntsman is R. Kingsland.

THE ERIDGE HUNT

Between 1870 and 1879 the country now hunted by the Eridge was known as the West Kent Woodland; it had before 1870 been part of the West Kent country. The first master—in 1880—was Lord George Nevill, who carried on the hounds with much success until the year 1887. The Marquis of Abergavenny has always been the chief supporter of the hunt, and the pack, at present consisting of thirty couples of hounds, is kennelled at his seat, Eridge Park. The Eridge country lies in North Sussex, extending from the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells nearly as far south as the River Rother. Eastward it borders close upon Cranbrook in Kent, while in the west it extends to Ashdown Forest. In the north its neighbours are the West Kent; to the east the country is unhunted by foxhounds; while in the west and south it marches with the countries of the Burstow, South Down, Eastbourne, and East Sussex. In the vale there is a fair amount of grass, which carries a good scent; other portions comprise plough, moorland, and a considerable extent of woodland. The Eridge is a subscription pack, the hunt guaranteeing the master a sum of £750. The minimum subscription is £10 10s. Capping is not at present in vogue, but strangers are expected to contribute to the damage fund. On Lord George Nevill's resignation in 1887 Mr. F. V. Williams accepted the mastership and carried on the hunt until 1893, when he was succeeded by Lord Henry Nevill, who remains at the head of affairs. His huntsman is Fred Hills.

THE BURSTOW HUNT

The country hunted by these hounds lies partly in this county. Their Sussex territory consists chiefly of the rough moorlands of Ashdown Forest, running up to St. Leonard's Forest on the west.⁴

THE EASTBOURNE HUNT

For many years prior to 1891, when this pack was instituted, the country in the neighbourhood of Eastbourne had been hunted by harriers. In 1891 it was decided to start a pack of foxhounds, and the South Down and East Sussex Hunts each handed over a portion of their territory to the new hunt. Mr. F. Freeman Thomas, of Ratton, grandson of the first master of the South Down, was elected master, and kennels were built near the old town, Eastbourne, in an excellent situation under the downs. Mr. Freeman Thomas showed excellent sport until 1895, when he resigned, and Colonel W. A. Cardwell, who remains at the head of affairs to the present time (1907), was elected master. Colonel Cardwell has a very smart pack of foxhounds, all bitches, numbering twenty-four couples. His huntsman is E. Brooker, grandson of an early huntsman of the South Down pack. The southern part of the Eastbourne country consists of open downs, on which exist excellent gorse coverts; to the eastward lies the marsh country of Pevensey Levels. There is a good vale country, having as obstacles banks, ditches, and timber. To the north, in the neighbourhood of Horeham Road and Heathfield, heavy woodlands are hunted. On the whole, foxes are fairly plentiful in the Eastbourne country, but a few years since the down coverts were visited by a severe epidemic of mange, and the foxes are only just recovering in that neighbourhood. The country is somewhat limited in area, but very fair sport is shown. One of the best runs recorded with this pack took place in January, 1907, when hounds ran a fox from Abbots Wood, near Hailsham, to within half a mile of the town of Newhaven, a distance of about eleven miles, without touching a covert. The subscription is £10 10s. per horse, and the master is guaranteed a sum of £600 annually. A 'cap' of 10s. 6d. is taken from strangers. The country is bounded west, north, and east by the South Down and East Sussex territories, the sea forming the southern limit.

STAG HUNTING

Since wild deer disappeared from Sussex this branch of sport has had little vogue in the county. In 1758 a pack of hounds existed at Brighton to hunt carted deer, and in the *Lewes*

⁴ See *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 487.

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Journal of March, 1759, appears the following advertisement :—

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN—to all Gentlemen and Sportsmen—that there is to be a Hind turned out at Stanmer, on Friday, the 9th of this instant March, at nine o'clock in the morning, by their humble servant,

JOHN MOCKFORD.

Brighthelmston, *March 5, 1759.*

N.B.—The Hind is to be hunted by Brighthelmston and Henfield Hounds.

This style of hunting, 'for the diversion of the gentry who frequent Brighthelmston,' seems to have been pursued at intervals until the end of the 18th century. The Rev. Mr. Wenham, of Hamsey, near Lewes, a great hunting parson, who kept a pack of hounds, often ran a deer. In May, 1770, he had one turned out at Stanmer, which afforded a great run of 30 miles. Towards the end of the 18th century Brighton was becoming a highly fashionable resort and frequent attempts were made to amuse the visitors by tame deer hunting. It cannot be said that these chases were often successful. In February, 1779, Sir John Lade, a notorious sporting personage of that time, and a friend of the Prince of Wales, turned out a hind on Newmarket Hill. The deer quickly took to the sea at Newhaven and swam out a mile, and, though she was eventually recaptured the day's sport came to an untimely end. In 1780 the Duke of Cumberland had a stag turned out on the Steine, at Brighton. There was an immense gathering of spectators, but the stag jumping over the cliff at Rottingdean was killed on the spot. Another deer turned out before the duke's hounds a few days later, near Patcham, made for a sewer at Lewes, and subsequently, after soiling in various brooks, was taken at Chinton, where she died next day. Lord Barrymore, another notorious character of the period, turned out a stag on 'Brighthelmston' race-course in 1788. The whole proceeding was a fiasco. The stag began by grazing, and then, after the application of whips, knocked down a shepherd, ran into a house at Patcham and was taken in the pantry.

THE SOUTH COAST STAGHOUNDS

This pack, established by Mr. H. G. Kay, in 1895, with kennels at Bedhampton, near Havant, showed fair sport for several seasons. They consisted of 15 couples of hounds, and hunted two days a week. In the following season, 1896-7, they hunted deer one day a week and hare the other. Mr. Kay hunted his own hounds. After a lamentable accident, in which the deer, leaping into a chalk quarry, was killed, with several couple of hounds, the pack was given up at the conclusion of the season 1901-2.

THE WARNHAM STAGHOUNDS

These hounds, of which Mr. H. C. Lee Steere, of Jayes Park, Ockley, Surrey, is master, belong to Surrey, but they hunt in the Crawley and Horsham and the northern portion of Lord Leconfield's country. Pulborough and Henfield are the meets at which they penetrate farthest into Sussex. The hunt possesses 22 couples of hounds and 22 deer. The minimum subscription is £25, and casual strangers are capped a sovereign.

The Surrey Staghounds also make occasional incursions into Sussex.

HARRIERS

Hare hunting in Sussex boasts very high antiquity. The gentry and yeomen hunted the hare with established packs long before fox-hunting proper came into existence. In the Weald and marshes, where the old-fashioned, deep-toned southern hound was in use centuries ago, great sport was enjoyed, and upon the downs somewhat lighter hounds were in use. Sussex, especially in the Weald country, was long famous for its breed of heavy, deep-flewed, long-eared harriers, of the now rare blue-mottled colour, and strong traces of this excellent hound are to be found in the present Hailsham pack, as well as among the Sandhurst harriers, hunting in the south-west of the adjacent county of Kent. In the Weald these hounds were often hunted on foot, and as it was termed 'under the pole.' Our ancestors enjoyed a long spun-out chase, and the huntsman in this district often had his hounds under such control, that by throwing down his hunting pole in front of them he would bring them to a check, until the hare having gained a fresh start, the chase was allowed to continue. On this leisurely system the hunt was often protracted to four or five hours, or even more, and the close of a short winter's afternoon saw the big 26 in. harriers still in pursuit.

Daniel, in his *Rural Sports*, quoting from an earlier writer, thus speaks of the deep-tongued, thick-lipped, broad, and low-hung southern hounds :

He that delights in a six hours' chase, and to be up with the Dogs all the time, should breed from the Southern Hound first mentioned, or from that heavy sort which Gentlemen use in the Weald of Sussex ; their cry is a good and deep base music, and, considering how dirty the country is, the diversion they afford for those who are on foot for a day together, renders them in high estimation ; they generally pack well from their quality of speed, and at the least Default, every nose is upon the ground in an instant to recover the scent.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century these old-fashioned hounds were falling out of

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favour with many sportsmen, who preferred a brisker chase and a fleetier hound. It would seem that in many parts of Sussex owners of hounds, up to the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and a little later, used to hunt both hare and fox with the same pack. Thus Mr. King Sampson, who had kennels at Hailsham, and may be looked upon as the fore-runner of the Hailsham Harriers, hunted over a great part of the surrounding country, and ran fox as often as he did hare. The *Sporting Magazine* of February, 1818, has the following note :—

20 February. The hounds of Richard King Sampson, Esq., threw off at Hindover earths (High and Over, near Alfriston), Sussex, and soon afterwards unkennelled a fox that led them a most excellent chase to Norton Top, Firlie Beacon, Heighton, back again to Norton Top, and Blatchington Down, where reynard took a circuitous turn to Bishopstone and the sea, pursuing his course along the beach towards Seaford until he was headed, and pressed so hard by the dogs that he turned and sought refuge in Blatchington Barracks, passing through the coal yard into an out-house, where he cunningly leaped into a copper. Unluckily for him it contained water, which prevented his escape, and he was in consequence taken alive, and immediately liberated for his gallantry. But the generosity he experienced from those nearest his brush availed him not, as the dogs soon ran into him and showed him no quarter; he, however, fell gallantly and to the admiration of the whole field. This very excellent and health-giving chase was run without a check, with the scent breast high, nearly the whole of the time, in an hour and a half.

There are many anecdotes still extant concerning Mr. King Sampson and his huntsman, John Press, of whom his master often said that there was scarce a bone in his body which he had not broken. Mr. King Sampson himself seems to have been a very 'go as you please' kind of sportsman. His harriers drew over a very wide country, and where permission was not extended to him, he would, if he knew the owner of the covert was away, take French leave and put his hounds through. Nevertheless he showed excellent sport, and was held in high estimation by the sportsmen and farmers of the surrounding country-side. Another old-fashioned pack of Sussex harriers was that of Mr. Standen, of Silver Hill Farm, near Hastings. 'These hounds,' says the *Sporting Magazine* of 1822, 'are the old Southern sort of hound, very bony and strong, and short in the legs, but very slow; they have a peculiar deep tongue, and will hunt a very cold scent. The pack consists of twelve couple and a dog.

Many old-fashioned packs of harriers existed in Sussex during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it would be impossible to trace their history and achievements here.

The Brighton and Brookside.—These packs were amalgamated in the year 1903; each had

had a long and interesting career. There was hare hunting near Brighton long before the Brighton Harriers came into existence. There is evidence that the great Dr. Johnson enjoyed a run with harriers near 'Brighthelmston,' as it was then called, in the winter of 1782. He was staying with the Thrales, and it is recorded by a competent witness that

Thrale, who was the kindest creature on earth to Johnson, and wishing, perhaps, to fortify his health by the pure air of the South Downs, or to present his friends with the view of an anomaly, viz. a poet on horseback, took him with him hare-hunting. The hounds threw off, up started a hare and the sportsmen galloped helter-skelter, ding-dong, after it. Johnson was not the last. Somebody rode up to Thrale and said, 'I'm astonished! Johnson rides like a young sportsman of twenty.' The philosopher told Thrale 'that he was better pleased with that compliment than any he had ever received.'

It is uncertain at what date exactly the Brighton Harriers were established, but they were certainly hunting as an organized pack in 1823. The *Sporting Magazine* for January, 1824, speaks of a meet of the Brighton Subscription Harriers on the preceding 9 December, when 'a brilliant field, including upwards of eighty sportsmen, attended.' A hare, found near Stanmer, after a long draw, ran eight miles to Blatchington, and Hangleton, and was run into in the middle of a deep pond near the latter place. The time is given at twenty-eight minutes, which is, of course, far too good to be true. Again, in January, 1824, these harriers had a great run of one hour and forty-five minutes without a check. 'The stoutness of the hare may be imagined,' says the chronicler,

when it is stated that she is computed to have crossed full twenty miles of ground. Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. George Blaker, of Patcham, the huntsman and two or three other sportsmen were the only parties out of a field of seventy, that could get in at the death. One horse was killed.

In those days the kennels were near the town, on the London Road. The hounds were subsequently moved to Hove, afterwards to Hollingdean Road. In 1875, during Mr. Dewé's mastership, new kennels at Pyecombe, still used, were built. Among earlier masters, the first known name is that of Mr. Chapman, who had much to do with the establishment of the pack. Mr. Brooke Vallance was master in 1839. Mr. Willard was master of, and hunted, the pack for many years, and at his death Mr. E. H. Hudson took office. To Mr. Hudson succeeded Mr. Bridger Stent, who died in 1870. Following that gentleman were Mr. Dewé, 1870-83; Sir Francis Ford, 1883-7; Mr. Hugh Gorringe—a most popular and efficient master—1887-95. Mr. Gorringe bred extensively from the neighbouring Brookside kennels. In 1895-6 a committee carried on the hounds.

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In 1896 Major H. Vyse Welch became master, and except for the season 1900-1, when he was absent on service in South Africa, he has remained at the head of affairs. Major Welch, who hunts his own hounds, is a good horseman, and has a long and intimate knowledge of hare hunting, and under his management very excellent sport is shown.

The Brookside.—This old-fashioned pack, long maintained by the Beard family, were kennelled at Rottingdean, their last master being Mr. Steyning Beard, who hunted them for many years. His harriers were 21 in. hounds, mainly of true harrier blood, with a touch of the foxhound to give them the speed necessary for the strong and extraordinarily fleet Down hares. Mr. Beard, who hunted the country on the Seaford side of Brighton, gave up hunting in 1903, and the pack were dispersed. The pick of the hounds were acquired by Major Welch on behalf of the Brighton pack, and the Brookside country being taken over, the name of the Brighton Harriers was changed to that of 'The Brighton and Brookside.' This pack, consisting of twenty couples of 20 in. hounds, is a very smart one. The territory hunted by the Brighton and Brookside is a large one, extending westward as far as the River Adur, and north-west to Stanmer Park; while to the eastward hounds hunt to Newhaven, Telscombe, and Kingston, near Lewes. The minimum subscription is £10 10s.; a cap of 5s. is taken from non-subscribers.

The Bexhill.—These hounds have a history of nearly a hundred years. In the early part of last century they were started by 'Squire' Brook, of the Manor House, Bexhill, who got together a pack of real old-fashioned English harriers, which showed strong traces of the Southern Hound. Squire Brook hunted them with great success for many years, and after his death they were continued for a short time by his son and successor, Mr. A. J. Brook. Upon the decease of the last named gentleman, the pack was acquired by Lord Cantelupe. His lordship found that owing to in-and-in breeding, which had been persisted in with the idea of preserving their ancient characteristics, the hounds had lost much of their former dash and energy. He therefore introduced a strain of the bloodhound, with the result that in a few years' time he formed an extremely fine pack of harriers, in colour all black and tan, having great pace, a fine deep note, and good hunting qualities. These hounds average from 21 to 22 in. They are kennelled at Cooden Down, Little Common, near Bexhill. They hunt a good country in East Sussex, including a considerable portion of Pevensey Marsh, the remainder comprising plough, grass, and woodland. The farmers are excellent friends to the pack, and there is very little wire. The Bexhill, which hunt two days a week, show fine

sport and kill a large number of hares. Lord Cantelupe's rule was followed by that of a committee for a short time. His lordship resumed the mastership in 1895-6. In the following year, having succeeded to the title of Earl De La Warr, he resigned office, and was succeeded by Mr. P. H. Trew, who carried on the hunt with much success till 1905, when he was followed by Mr. R. Guy Everard. Mr. Everard only remained for one season and was succeeded by Mr. C. Ward Jackson, of Woodside, Hailsham. Mr. Ward Jackson hunts the pack himself. His whipper-in and kennel huntsman is Carey Witherden, who has been with these harriers for 21 years, during great part of which period he has acted as huntsman. The minimum subscription to the Bexhill Harriers is £5 5s. Capping has been practised since 1898.

The Hailsham.—The forerunner of this old established pack was, as has been said, that of Mr. King Sampson, who kennelled his hounds at Hailsham in the early part of the last century, and thence hunted hare and fox over a wide extent of country. Some time after Mr. King Sampson gave up hounds, Mr. Algernon Pitcher, of The Dicker, near Hailsham, got together a pack of old-fashioned harriers, and for many years hunted the country surrounding Hailsham with great success. To Mr. Pitcher succeeded Mr. R. Overy, a well known yeoman farmer, of Hailsham, who showed excellent sport until 1893. Until this time the harriers had been hunted on horseback. On Mr. Overy's resignation, which was due to his advancing years, Mr. Holland Southerden, of Hailsham, who succeeded him, began hunting the country on foot. His huntsman was W. Bridger. Mr. Southerden was at great pains to improve his pack; he reduced the size from the 22-24 in. of the Old Southern Harriers used by Mr. Overy and his predecessors, and got his hounds down to the 19-20 in. standard of the present day. It has been the constant care of Hailsham masters, from early times, to retain as far as possible the purity of the old English harrier strain. Mr. Southerden got fresh blood from the Sandhurst and Guestling and other neighbouring packs, and purchased some old-fashioned blue-mottled bitches from Essex. The present pack now consists of typical old English harriers, showing much blue-mottle colour and strong traces of the old Southern hound. They have grand voices, great scenting qualities, and possess good pace, killing, as a rule, about sixty hares in the season.

In 1898 Mr. Southerden was joined in the mastership by Mr. Rupert Williams, who hunted the pack himself. Mr. Williams resigned in 1901 and Mr. Southerden carried on the pack during the following season, 1901-2, having as his huntsman and kennel huntsman James Holmwood. In 1902-3 Mr. Alexander B.

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Campbell, of Priesthaus, Hankham, succeeded Mr. Southerden as master, and hunting the hounds himself, has shown first rate sport ever since. In Mr. Williams' time hounds were hunted in the Down country on horseback; in the marsh and Weald country on foot. This arrangement has been continued by Mr. Campbell. The Hailsham country is a large one, comprising the western portion of Pevensey Marsh and running westward to the Downs above Eastbourne. Yet further west in the Down and Weald country, the limits of the hunt extend close up to Seaford and Laughton. Wartling hill and Boreham Street are the eastern boundaries. Mr. Southerden built new kennels for the pack. These were afterwards acquired by Mr. Campbell, and removed to the Battle Road, Hailsham, where various improvements have been effected. The country is well stocked with hares—in some places, indeed, hares are too numerous. One of the greatest runs ever known with this pack occurred on November 24, 1900, when a hare, starting near the sea, east of Pevensey, made a point of seven miles straight inland, and was killed at Foul Mile, beyond Cowbeech. This run lasted $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours; as hounds ran they must have covered 14 or 15 miles. Only four members of the hunt were anywhere near the finish, and they were a long way behind, the hare being saved from the pack by two countrymen. On 18 February, 1904, a hare, which had been hunted steadily over the downs for close on two hours, led the Hailsham pack from the Golf Links at Eastbourne to the down beyond Lullington, in the Cuckmere Valley, where they killed her after a hunt of three hours' duration. Mr. Campbell, the master, who was mounted, was the only one up at the kill. The point from Eastbourne Golf Links to the place where the hare was pulled down was $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. As hounds ran it was some 16 miles. The first part of this hunt was slow, with frequent checks; the last portion straight and very fast. On foot Mr. Campbell is a brilliant performer. Over the well dyked marsh country, where his running and leaping powers serve him well, few men in England can live with him. The Hailsham pack now number 25 couples. They hunt three days a week and have as kennel huntsman and first whip James Holmwood. The hunt subscription for foot members is £2 2s.; for mounted members, £5 5s. per horse.

The Iping.—This is a private pack, owned by Sir Edward Hamilton; it was established in 1893. The kennels are at Iping, near Midhurst, and the pack, consisting of 20 couples of 20 in. pure bred foxhound bitches, hunt a portion of the country formerly occupied by the Goodwood foxhounds. They hunt westward into the H. H. territory. Mr. Archibald Hamilton is the master, his huntsman being Fred Jarvis. The pack hunts on Tuesdays and Fridays. Good

sport is shown by these hounds, but there is a considerable amount of wire in the country.

Lady Gifford's.—These harriers were first established by Lady Gifford, in Northumberland, in the year 1895. In 1898 they were brought south and established at Old Park, Chichester. The country is a varied one, consisting of grass, plough, woodland, and downs. To the west the country is well grassed and open, with flying fences; in some places there are wide dykes. Lady Gifford herself hunts the pack, which consists of 24 couples of 19 in. harriers, and shows excellent sport. Her whippers-in are E. Dudley (kennel huntsman) and G. Stokes. The pack is a private one, owned and maintained by the master, who accepts no subscription. The days of hunting are Tuesday and Saturday.

The Fordcombe.—This pack consists of 10 couples of 18 in. pure harriers, which hunt in Kent and North Sussex, in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells. They were established in 1870 and are a subscription pack. The kennels are at Fordcombe. The master is Mr. W. Hollomby of Hickman's Farm, Fordcombe, and the hounds are hunted by Mr. C. J. Hollomby. They are followed on foot.

The Romney Marsh.—These make occasional incursions over the border into Eastern Sussex; but as they are strictly a Kentish pack, they do not claim notice here.

POINT-TO-POINT RACES

Point-to-point steeplechases, which have so much developed in the last score of years, are popular among Sussex sportsmen, and for some years the South Down, East Sussex, and Eastbourne Hunts have held meetings which have all been extremely successful. Lady Gifford's Harriers have held point-to-point races for some few seasons. In 1906 the Bexhill Harriers for the first time held a point-to-point meeting, which is now an annual fixture.

BEAGLES

The Brighton.—Numbering 17 couples of $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. hounds, hunt the country about the town and show very good sport. The master is Mr. Delamere B. Roffey; and the huntsman, Mr. C. W. Nye.

Mr. L. L. Constable's.—A 13 in. pack, kennelled at Ifold, Billingshurst, number 8 couples, and hunt the neighbourhood. The master carries the horn.

The Shopwyke.—A private pack, kennelled at Shopwyke, Chichester, the residence of the master, Mr. T. Guy Paget, Scots Guards. It consists of 15 couples of 12 in. Stud Book Beagles. The pack was established in 1903 to hunt the country round Bognor and Barham Junction, in

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the old Goodwood territory. The master carries the horn.

The Wooddale.—Established in 1900, have quickly developed into one of the smartest packs in England, and have established a great reputation. They consist of 16 couples of 15 in. Stud Book Beagles, are kennelled at Wooddale, Billingshurst, and hunt an excellent country, part of it occupied formerly by the Storrington Beagles. In 1902 they took over the country between Arundel and Worthing, previously hunted by the South Coast Harriers. The master, Mr. Ewen C. R. Goff, of Wooddale, is his own huntsman and kills a large number of hares during the season. He receives a subscription and is well supported.

OTTER HUNTING

Otter hunting, under modern conditions, is of quite recent growth in Sussex. The only pack at present existing in the county is *Crowhurst*,

established in 1903, with kennels at Edenbridge. The pack, which consists of 15 couples, is supported by subscription, but the hounds are the property of Mrs. Walter Cheeseman, who lends them to the hunt. The first master was Mr. H. K. Mantell. For two seasons Mrs. Cheeseman officiated in that capacity, with Mr. S. W. Varndell (now master) as acting master and huntsman, Fred Theobald being kennel huntsman. The *Crowhurst* hunt two days a week, usually on Wednesday and Saturday. The rivers hunted lie in Kent as well as Sussex, and include the Rother in east and west Sussex, the Cuckmere, Ouse, Adur, Arun, Medway, Eden, Darenth, Stour, Rover, Rudwell, and various tributaries. Although these rivers are hardly to be compared for hunting purposes with the clearer streams of the west of England, Wales, and the North Country, the sport shown has, on the whole, been very good. Otters are plentiful and the pack is extremely popular with the inhabitants of the districts hunted.

COURSING

A great portion of the county is well adapted for coursing, although much of the land is agricultural, and the going somewhat heavy. Many greyhounds are now kept in the county, more particularly in the neighbourhoods of Brighton, Worthing, Bognor, Lewes, &c., and the most flourishing of the clubs is the Sussex County, organized in March, 1899, and affiliated to the National Coursing Club. Some years before this, and previous to the passing of the Ground Game Act in 1880, meetings were held in the neighbourhood of Ford, Arundel, and Littlehampton, being supported principally by local coursers. When the club was originally established membership was open only to residents in the county; but in 1905 the privilege was extended to coursers residing in the adjoining counties of Surrey, Kent, and Hants. The first president was Mr. H. J. Infield, J.P. of Brighton, who held office until 1906. At the present time Mr. W. H. Smith, of Walton-on-Thames, is president, and Captain A. B. S. Fraser is deputy president. The head quarters of the club is at the William IV Hotel, Church Street, Brighton, and the honorary secretary, to whom the writer is indebted for the above information, is Mr. W. M. Tebbs. There are now about 200 members, and the meetings average about twelve in the season, aggregating about sixteen days.

The coursing takes place either at Ford and Climping, or at Barnham, all being within a short distance of Littlehampton and Arundel. The ground is all flat and open; hares are always found in abundance, thanks to the owners

and occupiers of the soil, who do all in their power to preserve them, and forward the interest of the sport. The hares are famed for their stoutness.

Owing to the absence of any covert or wood which would enable the coursed hares to escape, some of the trials were very severe; the executive have therefore made several 'escapes' where the hares may find safety from the greyhounds after a course sufficiently long for a legitimate trial. The coursing at Ford and Climping is by permission of Messrs. C. H. Boniface, J. Loveys, A. Collyer, I. and R. Coote, and John and Walter Langmead; at Ford the owners or occupiers over whose land sport is enjoyed are Messrs. Joseph Harrison, A. E. Woodbridge, C. F. Lanaway, R. Sadler, and W. Harrison.

In 1877, about three years before the passing of the Ground Game Act which brought about the abandonment of so many meetings owing to the scarcity of hares, Mr. T. K. Case organized the Plumpton meeting on the inclosed system,¹

¹ For an 'inclosed' meeting in the early morning the hares which have been kept on the 150 or 200 acres of the inclosure and taught to find safety through the escape are driven into a small covert at the lower end of the ground. When the coursing begins they are driven out one at a time through a trap door: the hare faces a screen which conceals the slipper, and having been given plenty of law, the greyhounds are slipped: as often as not the hare eludes her pursuers at the top of the ground, the escape being so constructed that she can run underneath the fence which is too high for the greyhounds to jump. This must not be confused with trapped hare coursing, which is

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the first fixture being on 26 October. It was well patronized by owners of greyhounds and the general public, being very convenient for spectators, who could view all the running from the stands (the inclosure being also a race-course).

After a time interest in inclosed coursing gradually died away, and although a number of valuable stakes were offered, attendances fell off, until eventually coursing was abandoned at Plumpton in 1889.

After a lapse of thirteen years it was re-established, a meeting being held on 3 January, 1902. The ground is the property of Mr. W. Hodgkinson, of Ashurst, Plumpton. The extent of the inclosure is about 150 acres, and the Station field, in which the coursing takes place, is 55 acres. About half of the number of the hares coursed are bred on the estate, the others coming from Norfolk; these are crossed with Hungarian hares every two years. The club consists of about fifty members, and is governed by a committee. There are usually about three meetings in the season, the first being early in September, when the Produce Stakes are run, one in December, one in March or April, when stakes for saplings are added to the programme. In the season 1906-7, the Sussex County Club held their Boxing Day meeting, by permission,

on this ground. Great attention is paid to the ground, which always carries good herbage, consequently coursing can be held as early as September, and as late as April, even in frosty weather, without ill effects to the dogs. The facilities for coursing when other lands are frost-bound renders Plumpton a very popular place for running trials; many Waterloo Cup candidates are put through their facings here. At the last club meeting for saplings when only buck hares were run, out of thirty courses only two hares were killed. The ground is on a gentle upward slope from the slipper's screen to the escape; this gives the hares an advantage, and also tries the speed and stamina of the greyhounds.

Mr. Hodgkinson writes:

I renewed coursing at Plumpton on the proposition of the late Mr. T. Graham, the celebrated and successful Cumberland courser, who always said it was the best trial ground in England, the trials always being of a uniform character without unduly distressing the dogs.

There is no doubt the sport is gaining ground in this county; there are more owners of greyhounds than in previous years, and their number continues to increase.

RACING

Racing has been popular in Sussex since the early days of George II, and although few if any records exist earlier than 1727, there can be little doubt that race meetings of a kind were held here and there in the county as far back as the reign of Queen Anne, or even earlier. Lewes is the first Sussex meeting of which the old Racing Calendars contain mention.

In 1727 Lord Halifax's Sampson walked over for His Majesty's Plate of 100 guineas at Lewes. Races for King's Plate in those days were run in four-mile heats, the weight carried being 12 st.

There were three days' racing at Lewes in 1729.¹ On 7 August Mr. Henley's Thunderbolt walked over for the King's Plate. On the 8th a £20 plate for Galloways was won by Mr. Trower's Sweetlips. On 9 August a plate of 50 guineas was won by Mr. Fleetwood's Fair Play, with Sir Robert Fagg's Alexander second and Sir William Gage's Plowman third. For many years Lewes races underwent little alteration in value of stakes or character

not sport, the hares having no chance to save their lives. On the inclosed system she has the run of a hundred or two of acres, and has learned the way to safety. The proportion of kills in a day's inclosed coursing is often less than at an open meeting.

¹ John Cheny, *Historical List of Horse Matches run, and of all Plates and Prizes in England and Wales*.

of sport. The King's Guineas sometimes produced a contest, sometimes only a 'walk over.' Usually a race for a £50 plate was the only other event at the meeting. Occasionally a match took place. Thus in 1760 the Duke of Richmond's Muley Ishmael, carrying 8 st., beat Sir M. Fetherston's Sally, carrying 8 st. 7 lb., for 200 guineas, while the duke paid forfeit in another match to the same owner. In 1765 the meeting, which had long been a two-day fixture, was extended to three days again, the events consisting of the King's Guineas on the first day, and a £50 plate on each of the other days of racing. In 1770 the Duke of Richmond gave a £50 plate for horses bred in Sussex, weight for age. There were seven starters, and Sir Frederick Poole's Sharpshins was the winner. The races attracted many of the prominent racing men of the period, 1727-75. Among those who ran horses were the Dukes of Richmond and Bolton, the Earl of Essex, Lords Craven, Portmore, and Ossory, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Sir John Shelley, Sir Michael Newton, and Messrs. Cowper, Martindale, Holbech, Curzon, and Vernon. As Brighton became fashionable, there was a great exodus of visitors and townsfolk from that place to Lewes on race days. This was especially noticeable from about the year 1760. Local interest is evidenced by the fact that in 1774 a 'Brighthelmstone

Plate of £50' was raised by subscription and run for on the last day of the meeting. The winner was Sir John Shelley's Fantail, who beat five others. This plate was given by the Brighton folk down to the year 1783, when 'Brighthelmstone' had become of sufficient importance to support a race meeting of its own.

In 1775 the meeting was flourishing. In addition to the King's Plate, run on the first day (3 August), there was a sweepstake of 15 guineas each and the Lewes Plate of £50. On the second day no fewer than five races were contested, the Member's Plate of £50, a sweepstake of 25 guineas each, the Duke of Richmond's Plate of £50, the aforesaid 'Brighthelmstone' Plate of £50, and another sweepstake of 25 guineas each. In 1780 famous owners like Mr. O'Kelly, owner of Eclipse, and Sir Charles Bunbury were running horses. In 1790 the Prince of Wales, who at that time owned a large racing stable, won a sweepstake of 25 guineas with Smoker, while his Pegasus walked over for the King's Plate. In 1800 the Prince again won the King's Guineas with Knowsley, by Sir Peter. In 1810 Lewes had two days' racing and was well patronized. The Earl of Egremont, then at the zenith of his racing career, won the King's Plate with Election, as well as a sweepstake of 10 guineas with £20 added, and the Ladies' Plate of 60 guineas. In 1816 there were three days' racing. Lord Egremont gave two prizes of 50 guineas each, and was himself among the winning owners, carrying off the King's Plate with Wanderer, a sweepstake with the three-year-old Scarecrow, and a 60-guinea cup, given by the town and vicinity, with the same horse.

While various race meetings sprang up like mushrooms in Sussex during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, only to die away after a more or less brief career, Lewes, with one short period of depression, was always maintained; and formed, with the more important meetings of Goodwood and Brighton, the backbone of the county racing. In 1830 there was little change in the nature of the sport, or the value of the stakes. Lord Jersey's Glenartney, ridden by J. Robinson, was an important winner and carried off the Ladies' Plate of £50. During the 'forties, Lewes declined; and the racing in the year 1842 was reduced to the Queen's Plate; while in 1844 the Queen's Guineas was the only race, the winner being the Duke of Richmond's well-known horse, Red Deer. By 1850 the meeting was reviving again, and in its one day offered three races, a sweepstake of £5 with £50 added, the Queen's Plate won by the Duke of Bedford's St. Rosalia, and a sweepstake of £3 with £40 added. In 1855 Lewes was distinctly recovering, and again supported two days' racing, with five events on each day. The Queen's Plate was won by Mr. Pattison's Joshua (ridden by Wells) from four other horses.

In 1864 a spring meeting was held as well as the August fixture. There seems to have been fair racing at the new meeting, the principal event being the Spring Subscription Handicap of £10 with £100 added, which was won by Mr. Samuel's Fontenoy. These two meetings have been held regularly ever since. In 1874 Lewes advanced further and held three race meetings in the year. After 1877, when the Jockey Club made the rule that £300 must be given on each day and not less than £100 to any one race, Brighton, Goodwood, and Lewes were the only meetings under Racing rules which survived. In 1880 there were still three meetings at Lewes, the principal one being the old summer gathering, held in August. By this time the value of racing stakes was rising in all parts of the country, and Lewes had considerably increased its prizes. At the summer meeting the more important stakes included the De Warenne Handicap, sweepstake of £20 each with £200 added, won by Donato; the Astley Stakes, £25 and £500, won by Prince Soltykoff's Scobell; the South Down Club Welter, £15 and £250, won by Mr. R. S. Evans' Mr. Dodd, ridden by the famous gentleman rider Mr. W. Bevil; the Lewes Plate of £350, won by Montrose; the Priory Stakes, £15 and £300, won by Althotas; the County Cup of £200, won by Essayez; and the Lewes Handicap, £15 and £200, won by Mr. Dodd. Lewes at this period attracted a fair class of horse, and its position has been ever since maintained. In 1900 the Lewes Handicap, run for at the summer meeting, of the value of £439, was won by Mr. G. Edwardes' Santoi. In 1906, still following the modern tendency, a further addition was made to the value of stakes. At the summer meeting the Lewes Stakes were worth to the winner £2,245, while owners of the second and third horses took £450 and £200 each. In addition, the nominators of first and second horses received £150 and £70 respectively. The race was won by Mr. Arthur James's Gorgos, a prominent Derby horse of the year, which beat Prince William and six others. At the same meeting the Astley Stakes, worth to the winner £640, was won by Mr. W. Hall Walker's Polar Star. The race-course, which lies on the down, above the town, is open to the public, and ranks, with Epsom and a few others, among the old unclosed meetings.

Brighton racing dates from the year 1783, when, on 26 and 27 August, three events were contested, one being a pony race. A £50 plate for four-year-olds—two-mile heats—was won by Mr. Adams' Puff, with Mr. O'Kelly's Adjutant second, and the Duke of Richmond's Trentham third. A sweepstake of 5 guineas, with an added purse of 30 guineas, for ponies, wound up the first day's sport. On the second day a £50 plate, for horses of all ages, 'the best

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of three four mile heats,' was won by Sir C. Bunbury's Eliza. At this period there was no permanent race-stand. The gentry attended and watched the races from horseback or their carriages. Among those who took an interest in early Brighton racing were the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Egremont, Lord George Cavendish, Sir Charles Bunbury, and Sir H. Fetherston. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland were present at this meeting.

In the next year, 1784, 'Brighthelmston' races were held on 2 and 3 August. On the first day a plate of £50 and two sweepstakes of 50 guineas and 30 guineas respectively were run for. On the second day a sweepstakes of 30 guineas, a plate of £50, won by Lord Egremont's Trentham, and a match for £50 between the horses of Sir Harry Fetherston and Mr. Vegierski, formed the programme. The racing was not good, but the large company included the Prince of Wales, who had made his first appearance at Brighton in the previous September, and who was accompanied by the Duc de Chartres, Duc d'Orléans, and many of the nobility and gentry. The Duke of Queensberry ('old Q'), Sir F. Evelyn, Sir C. Bunbury, and other well-known owners ran horses. From this time dates the heyday of early Brighton racing. In 1785 a series of matches took place, as well as other events. There were four days' racing, and among prominent owners running horses were the Duc de Chartres, Duc de Lauzun, the Duke of Queensberry, Lords Grosvenor, Egremont and Clermont, Sir C. Bunbury, Sir F. Poole, Lord G. Cavendish, Sir F. Evelyn, and Sir H. Fetherston. On the first day's racing were two matches. On the second day a £50 plate, the Constans Stakes of 50 guineas, a sweepstakes of 50 guineas, another of 25 guineas, and two matches. On the third day a £50 plate, a sweepstake of 25 guineas, and four matches ranging in value from 120 to 25 guineas a side. On the fourth day two matches of 50 guineas each were decided. In this year took place the first of a long series of Brighton race balls, one being held on each of the four nights of racing.

In 1786 the Prince of Wales was again present, and thenceforth was a familiar figure on this race-course. The Duc d'Orléans accompanied him, as did Charles James Fox, who, it is stated, 'was a heavy loser by several races.' In 1788 a new stand was used for the first time. In 1790 the Prince of Wales was on the hill in an open landau, drawn by six black horses, Sir John Lade driving. The prince, we read, was splendidly attired in the uniform of the 10th Light Dragoons. On this occasion His Royal Highness gave a plate of 50 guineas, which was won by Mr. Hyde's Goliah, and himself won the Constans Stakes with his famous horse Smoker. In 1790 and 1791 the Duc d'Orléans gave a stake of 50 guineas to be run for. In

1795 Lord Egremont, who was one of the most successful owners of racehorses of his time and maintained a huge stud, won no less than seven races and matches at Brighton meeting; the victories of so popular a Sussex notable could scarcely fail to be well received. In 1798 Brighton races narrowly escaped temporary extinction by a somewhat ludicrous omission. The farmer who was in possession of the race-course was entitled to receive each quarter, by way of rent, a pipe of wine. Not having received his dues, he attended the Race Committee, then sitting at the Castle Inn, and informed them that unless they paid him 100 guineas, he should plough up the course. No satisfactory reply having been received by the next morning, he actually started his men with their ploughs. The committee, however, were equal to the occasion. Scarcely had the ploughmen begun their labours, when a press-gang appeared; whereupon the yokels incontinently fled. Matters were subsequently arranged, and the race-meeting took place. In 1803 the original race-stand, a very humble structure, was destroyed by fire. Another modest building erected in its place stood till 1851, when the modern grand stand was built at a cost of £6,000. To this two wings have been subsequently added, at a total cost, with other improvements, of £15,000. These improvements were made by the race-stand trustees, to whose energy and foresight the present satisfactory position of Brighton Races is almost entirely due.

In 1810 Brighton supported three days' racing, which took place in July. On the first day the principal event was the Pavilion Stakes of 100 guineas each. A £100 plate was postponed, owing to the very high wind and heavy rain. On the second day, in addition to this plate, there were the Petworth Stakes, and a sweepstakes of 10 guineas each with 25 guineas added. On the third day were run a match for 100 guineas, a £100 plate, and a Ladies' Plate of 60 guineas. In 1820 the races were held on 3, 4 and 5 August. On the first day the Gold Cup, value 100 guineas, presented by King George IV, a two-mile race in one heat, was won by Mr. Bouverie's Zadig. The Brighton Club Plate (2½ miles) was won by Lord Egremont's Caroline, and the Town Plate of 70 guineas by Mr. King's Philip. On the second day a sweepstake of 50 guineas (half a mile) was taken by Lord Egremont's Octavius; the Brighton Stakes, a sweepstakes of 10 guineas with 60 guineas added, by the same owner's Robin Hood, and the Ladies' Plate by his same lordship's Little John. On the third day Lord Egremont won a sweepstakes of 25 guineas with his good mare Caroline. The Waterloo Stakes (60 guineas with a 5-guinea sweepstakes) was won by Mr. King's Wouvermans, while a sweepstakes of

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5 guineas with £50 added was carried off by the Duke of Richmond's Roncevalles.

From this time forward the Brighton Meeting usually provided three days of fair racing. In 1840 it was again reckoned a fashionable gathering, and some well-known owners ran horses. Lord Chesterfield's Gambia, for example, won the Brighton Stakes, Her Majesty's Plate was taken by the Duke of Richmond's Mus, while Captain Rous, afterwards the famous 'Admiral' of the Jockey Club, won the Old Steine Club Plate with Nicholas. The prizes at this time were of no great value, the Brighton Stakes, a sweepstakes of 25 guineas with £100 added, being the most important. By the year 1850 two meetings were held; one of three days in August, the other, a two-day affair, in October. The stakes were of no great importance. The Brighton Cup now appears for the first time; it was worth £100, with a sweepstakes of £10 each, and was won by the Duke of Bedford's St. Rosalia. The third day of the August Meeting was now devoted to the racing of the Brighton Club, which took over the sport on the last day of the summer meeting for many years to come. In 1860 Brighton had declined again to one meeting, the old summer fixture with the club racing on the last day. By the 'seventies the lost ground had been recovered and two meetings were again held. In 1876 the last races of the Brighton Club, which had existed and shown good sport during a quarter of a century, were held. The last Brighton Club Stakes were won by Sir George Chetwynd's Chypre, a useful horse, ridden by Mr. Crawshaw, an experienced gentleman jockey. In the following year, 1877, the American horse, Preakness, by Lexington, walked over for the Brighton Cup. The Marine Stakes were won by Lord Rosebery's Bras de Fer, ridden by Constable, who died not long afterwards. By 1880 the value of the stakes showed an increase, as at other meetings. The Brighton Stakes, won this year by Mr. R. Jardine's Humbert, was worth £500, with a sweepstakes of £10. The cup, won by Mr. W. S. Crawford's Bay Archer, was worth £300, with £100 to the second, and £50 to the third horse. The Stewards' Cup, won by Prince Batthyany's Cannie Chief, was of the value of £300, with a sweepstakes of £10 added. Three days' racing continued to be provided at the summer meeting, notwithstanding that the club races were defunct.

In 1890 a spring meeting was substituted for the autumn fixture, and thenceforth Brighton racing has consisted of six days in each year, divided between the spring and summer meetings. The summer meeting, as of old, has always been the more important and attractive gathering. At the August meeting in 1900 the Brighton Stakes, worth £437 to the winner, were taken by Lord Farquhar's Japonica; the Brighton Cup, of the value of £485, by Mr. G. S. Edwards's Santoi; while

the Brighton High Weight Welter, worth £442, was won by Mr. A. Stedall's La Lune. In 1906 the Brighton Stakes, worth £437, fell to Mr. L. de Rothschild's Chicot; the Brighton Cup, value £485 (the actual trophy being reckoned at £100) was won by Lord Howard de Walden's His Eminence, a good horse, ridden by M. Cannon. The Sussex Plate, of £374 value, was taken by Major J. D. Edwards' Shy Lord; and the Brighton High Weight Handicap, worth £442, by Lord Derby's Glucose. The meeting was a good one, and fair fields were attracted.

The Goodwood Meeting is, and has been for the better part of a century, the best in the county. Though not so ancient as the Lewes gathering nor that of Brighton, it quickly attracted the attention of the racing public, and thanks to its aristocratic support, magnificent local advantages, and the generosity with which it has always been supported by the Dukes of Richmond, it has long taken its place as one of the most important meetings of the racing year. The history of Goodwood begins with the year 1802, when, on 28, 29 and 30 April, three days' racing took place in the ducal park. The meeting, however, at this time, partook more of the character of hunt races than a purely flat-racing affair. It was organized for the recreation of neighbouring landowners and hunting folk. The first event consisted of a Hunting Club subscription of 20 guineas each, two-mile heats, the horses to be 'rode by subscribers'; it was won by Mr. Newbury's Pantagruel. Then followed a sweepstakes of 10 guineas each, for maiden horses carrying 10 st. gentlemen riders, the distance two miles. This was won by the Duke of Richmond's Cedar, with Mr. Byndloss's Bread second, and Lord Egremont's Jess third. A Hunters' Plate of £50 was won by Mr. Gage's Elevator. On the second day the principal events were the City of Chichester Plate of £50, for three-year-olds, two-mile heats; a sweepstakes of 10 guineas, another of 20 guineas, and the Ladies' Plate of 10 guineas. On the third day were contested another City of Chichester Plate of £50, and a Hunters' Plate of £50, won by the Duke of Richmond's curiously-named 'You Know Me.' Then followed a match for 100 guineas, in which the Prince of Wales's Rebel beat the Duke of Richmond's Cedar. Another match and a maiden plate wound up what seems altogether to have been a most successful meeting.

The *Sporting Magazine* of 1801 has a brief notice of 'the New Racecourse on the Harrow-way, near Goodwood, the seat of His Grace the Duke of Richmond, which,' it remarks 'is now completely formed for sport and much admired by the Amateurs of the Turf.' The third Duke of Richmond, though nearly seventy years of age, was apparently determined to establish Goodwood racing on a firm basis. He built a wooden stand, which was placed not far from

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where the half-mile starting-post now stands. The duke, who died four years after having successfully inaugurated the meeting which was destined to become so famous, inherited his love of racing from his Stuart ancestry; his great-grandfather, Charles II, having always been keenly interested in the turf and blood horses.

In 1805 Goodwood was a two days' meeting, with three races a day, mostly of a hunt character. The Duke of Richmond won two events, and Miss Le Clerc, a famous Sussex sportswoman of that period, ran a couple of horses. All the events were two-mile races. In 1810 affairs looked scarcely so prosperous as in former years. Of five events no less than three produced 'walked over.' In July, 1816, Goodwood offered for the first time a gold cup, 'value 100 guineas.' This was provided by ten subscriptions of 10 guineas each. It was a three-mile race, and the winner was to be sold, if demanded, for 400 guineas. Lord Egremont was the winner with his horse Scarecrow. A maiden sweepstakes of 10 guineas each followed. Then came three matches, and the Goodwood Club Stakes of 10 guineas each, and 25 guineas added by the club, gentlemen riders. On the second day's racing (27 July) a sweepstakes of 50 guineas each, another of 10 guineas each, and the Ladies' Plate of £50 wound up the meeting. Henceforward Goodwood continued as an annual fixture, and gradually assumed a leading, it may almost be said a unique, position in British racing. In 1820 there were two days' racing, but only five events were on the programme.

By 1830 the meeting began to assume a more business-like aspect. The old hunt races had been abolished, and the list of events is as follows:—The St. Leger, Cowdray, Drawing Room, Lavant, and Goodwood Stakes; a Sweepstakes; the Ladies' Plate; the Gold Cup; the Produce and a Handicap Sweepstakes; the Waterloo Plate; Molecomb Stakes; Duke of Richmond's Plate, and a Handicap Sweepstakes. It will be noticed that a considerable number of races are identical with those of the present day. The Gold Cup, value £300, with surplus in specie, by subscription of 20 sovereigns each, with 100 added by the City of Chichester, was won by His Majesty's Fleur-de-Lis, ridden by Nelson. Zinganee and the Colonel, the second and third horses, were also owned by the king. Six other horses ran. George IV, it is to be noted, died on 26 June in this year. From about this period date the palmy days of the Goodwood Cup, when in addition to that good mare, Fleur-de-Lis, such giants as Priam, Glencoe, Hornsea, Harkaway, Charles XII, Alice Hawthorn, the Hero, Van Tromp, and Canezou, carried off this coveted trophy. In 1835 there were four days' racing. The Goodwood Stakes were won by Lord Chesterfield's Glaucus, with Mr. Greville's Preserve and

Dacre second and third. Mr. Greville's Elis (the 'beautiful Elis') took the Molecomb Stakes for two-year-olds, and Mr. Theobald's Rockingham, ridden by Robinson, won the cup. At this time there were racing at Goodwood the Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Tavistock, Lords Jersey, Eglinton, Uxbridge, Chesterfield, Egremont, and Exeter; Colonel Peel, and Messrs. Greville, Gratwicke, Gully, Goring, Shelley, Theobald, Rush, Kent, Forth, Chifney, John Day and many other well-known owners. The fifth Duke of Richmond had for a time as racing confederate, Mr. Gratwicke, a shrewd and famous owner of the period; the horses owned by them being trained by Kent at Goodwood; but some dispute arose and by the duke's request Mr. Gratwicke's horses were removed and the confederacy terminated. In 1840 there were no less than forty-four subscribers to the Goodwood Cup, which fell to the Duke of Orleans' Beggarman, with Robinson up, such great horses as Lanercost and Hetman Platoff being second and third. It is curious to notice that the cup of 1839, which had been won by Mr. Ferguson's Harkaway, was also run for this year and won by Lord Eglinton's Potentate. The stakes were won by Mr. Allen's Orelia, 4 years 6 stone, who defeated the favourite, Hetman Platoff, also a four year, when endeavouring to concede her 3 st. 7 lb. ! This year appears the Stewards' Cup, worth £300, with a sweepstakes of £5 added. It was won by Mr. Bowes' Epirus, which beat Mr. Thornhill's Euclid and a big field. In this year (1840) the Nassau Stakes, a new event, was won by Lord George Bentinck's Rosa Bianca.

Lord George Bentinck's connexion with Goodwood is so famous that it deserves some mention. In 1841 he removed his horses from Danebury, and, by arrangement with the Duke of Richmond, had them trained at Goodwood by the duke's trainer, John Kent, senior. Lord George had an immense affection for Goodwood, and spent a great deal of his time there. Largely owing to his influence, the Duke of Richmond was induced to make great improvements in the course during this period. The value of the stakes was also very largely augmented, and the quality of the racing proportionately improved. During this period, in fact, Goodwood Races may be said to have reached the zenith of their prosperity. The increase in the value of the stakes was enormous. In 1832 the total value was £4,275; in 1839 £10,295. In 1841 the amount rose at a bound to £18,270; while in 1844 and 1846 the values of the stakes were, respectively, £23,949 and £24,109. These are enormous figures, if we remember the period and the value of stakes at other meetings. In 1851, after the death of Lord George Bentinck, the amount fell to £13,215. Lord George himself conducted his racing on a Napoleonic scale.

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In 1844 he ran no fewer than forty-nine horses at Goodwood meeting; while for the week his stakes and forfeits amounted to no less than £6,155, a sum said to be unparalleled in the case of any single owner. Lord George's influence may have pushed Goodwood to a point of importance at which it was impossible to remain; yet to him is undoubtedly due much of the general improvement in racing, and in racing morality, not only at Goodwood but throughout the country. Lord George gave up racing for politics in 1846. He had known Goodwood intimately since 1824, when he rode and won his first match there on Mr. Poyntz's Olive, after two dead heats and a severe struggle in the deciding heat. In 1844—one of Goodwood's greatest years—Lord George Bentinck won the Craven Stakes, with *Discord*; the Innkeepers' Plate, with *Farthing Candle*; the Goodwood Stakes and Goodwood Cup with *Miss Elis*, a sweepstakes of 200 sovereigns with *Princess Alice*, the Anglesey Stakes with *Coal Black Rose*, the challenge for the March Stakes with *Naworth*, and the Bentinck Stakes with *Best Bower*—in all eight races—a good haul for one owner. But then, as we have said, Lord George ran forty-nine horses that year.

The Duke of Richmond's *Red Deer*, a famous stayer of that period, won the Queen's Plate and the Maidstone Stakes. The Sussex Stakes and the Chesterfield Cup appear in the programme for this memorable year. In 1850 some famous horses ran at this meeting. Lord Eglinton's *The Flying Dutchman*, then a four-year-old, starting at 12 to 1 on, won a 300-sovereign sweepstakes; Sir Joseph Hawley's *Teddington* (winner of the Derby in the following year) took the Molecomb Stakes; and Lord Stanley's *Canezou* beat seven others for the cup. In 1855 Baron Rothschild's *Baroncino*, ridden by *Fordham*, carried off the cup, beating a field which included such good horses as *Oulston*, *Rataplan*, *Lord of the Isles*, *Neville*, and *Homily*. The Stakes were won by Mr. Greville's *Quince*, ridden by *Ashmall*; while Lord Wilton's *Pumice-stone*, steered by *Flatman*, took the Chesterfield Cup.

It would be impossible, within the limits of this chapter, to trace the history of Goodwood, interesting though it is, step by step to the present day. The 'sixties saw plenty of good sport, though the value of the stakes had declined considerably since the 'forties. In 1871 the meeting was an excellent one. The Stewards' Cup, of the value of £300, was won by Mr. T. E. Case's *Anton*, from a large field. The Goodwood Derby and the Twentieth Bentinck Memorial both fell to Mr. Merry's *King of the Forest*. The Stakes were won by Mr. Bowes's *Taraban*, a good stayer, who had to be fortified before his races with a bottle of port. In the Goodwood Cup a great surprise took place, *Favonius*, winner of the Derby of that year, being defeated by

Shannon, with *Mortemer*, a great French cup horse, third. The Chesterfield Cup was taken by Mr. F. Pryor's *Botheration*, which defeated a field of twenty-six horses. In 1880 we may glance at the value of the stakes and the quality of the winners. The Goodwood Stakes of that year, worth £685, were taken by Mr. Jardine's *Reveller*, a fair racehorse. The Richmond Stakes, of the value of £158, for two-year-olds, were won by Lord Falmouth's *Bal Gal*, a very smart filly, which also won the Rous Memorial, worth £1,207. The Gratwicke Stakes, value £650, were taken by Prince Soltykoff's colt *Mask*. The Ham Produce Stakes (£1,000) fell to Mr. Crawford's grand mare, *Thebais*. The Lennox Stakes were worth no more than £315. The Sussex Stakes, value £1,572, were won by *Mask*, while the Lavant Stakes, worth £860, were won by the American colt, *Iroquois*. The Stewards' Cup (£782) was won by Mr. Crawford's *Elf King*; and the Findon Stakes (£390) fell to Mr. Chaplin's filly, *Wandering Nun*. In the Drawing Room Stakes (£260) *Mask* was for the third time victorious. The Racing Stakes were worth £260, and the Singleton, won by *Peter*, £577. The Goodwood Cup (£470) was taken by a moderate mare in Mr. Perkins's *Dresden China*. The Chichester Stakes were worth £497. The Prince of Wales' Stakes (£1,000) fell to Lord Bradford's *Limestone*. In the Molecomb (£975) another American horse, *Paw Paw*, was victorious. The Chesterfield Cup, worth £682, was carried off by Mr. Bragg's *Victor Emanuel*, a fair performer. The Goodwood Corinthian Plate (£457) was won by Lord Bradford's *Grey Hen*, and the Nassau Stakes (£670) by Lord Falmouth's *Muriel*, neither of them being of much account. Finally the Queen's Plate of 200 guineas, was taken by Prince Soltykoff's *Thurio*, a winner of the Grand Prix de Paris. The total value of the principal races, thus set down, was £13,549. A few other races of small value were also run.

In 1890 a new race was introduced, afterwards omitted from the programme, viz. the Arundel Cup, worth £300 in specie. This was taken by Mr. A. James's *Dog Rose*. The Goodwood Cup this year (worth £357) was won by Colonel North's *Philomel*, a moderate performer. In 1897 the Gold Cup was worth altogether £625, the trophy itself being valued at £151 5s. The winner was Mr. R. Lebaudy's *Count Schomberg*, a good racehorse. In 1900 the Cup had been considerably advanced in value, and was worth to the winner £1,570; the trophy itself being put down at £132 15s. The second and third horses also took £300 and £100 respectively. Mr. D. Baird's *Mazagan*, a four-year-old, carrying 9 stone 3 lb., won the race from seven other starters. The Goodwood Plate, a new race, inaugurated in 1898, of the value of £710, was won by *Jiffy II*, while the

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Rous Memorial fell to Lord W. Beresford's well known Volodyovski, then a two-year-old. In 1906 some fair racing was witnessed. The Gratwicke Produce Stakes (£800), for three-year-olds, went to the Duke of Portland's Greendale, with Gorgos second; the Stewards' Cup (£457) to Captain Greer's Rocketer; the Ham Produce Stakes to Sir E. Vincent's Amber. Lord Ellesmere's Winwick won the Goodwood Plate, value £825. The Sussex Stakes were taken by the Duke of Westminster's Troutbeck, a sterling horse, third for the Derby and winner of the St. Leger in that year. For the Goodwood Cup (£1,570) Plum Tree beat Plum Centre, with Gorgos third. The Prince of Wales' Stakes, a two-year-old race, worth £3,000 to the winner, were taken by Lord Wolverton's colt by Florizel out of Marsh Marigold, with Lord Rosebery's Traquair second. The Drayton Handicap (£576) fell to Brother Bill, and the Rous Memorial (£1,105) to Bellavista. The Gordon Stakes, for three-year-olds, was won by Lord Derby's Victorious; the Chesterfield Cup (£522) by Mr. Bass's Gold Riach. In the Molecomb Stakes, worth £805, Mr. Raphael's My Pet II was the winner. On the whole the meeting was a good one; fair fields contested the events and the sport was above the average. It has been said that Goodwood of late years has shown symptoms of decline. It is true that the meeting has been affected by certain developments of modern racing; but the fixture is unique in the sporting world; and the lovely surroundings of the place, the fine air, and the freedom of the Down country are and will be always things of real delight to all classes of race-goers. The public spirit and generosity of successive Dukes of Richmond during a hundred years have placed all these good things freely at the pleasure of the public; and to these noblemen a deep debt of gratitude is due, not only from all Sussex, but from all England.

In addition to the three principal Sussex race meetings—Lewes, Brighton, and Goodwood—with which we have thus dealt, various small gatherings have, from time to time, been held in different parts of the county. There were races at Midhurst as far back as 1729. They were of but small account and came to an end after the meeting of 1738; 'East Bourn' had also a meeting in 1729, at which plates of £10 and £25 were contended for. In 1730 the £10 Plate was won by Mr. Gilbert's Hobler from Mr. Bruce's grey gelding 'after a dispute.' A purse of £25 at the same meeting was won by Sir Walter Parker's Silver Tail, which defeated Mr. Lidgiter's 'Sweep Chimley' (*sic*). In 1737 the old Eastbourne meeting was held for the last time until 1866, when a temporary revival took place; from that year the Eastbourne Hunt Flat and Hurdle Races were held until 1875, after which they ceased.

In 1735 there were races at Chichester and Steyning. These seem to have been of very small importance; the Chichester meeting was again held in 1740 and Steyning in 1745. Shoreham had a two-day meeting in 1760; on the first day a silver cup was run for in heats, a heat being 'three times round the Sheep Field.'

In 1785 an aristocratic, but short-lived, meeting was held at Up-park, a private estate near Goodwood. The Prince of Wales, Lord Grosvenor, Sir H. Fetherston, Mr. Delmé, and other owners ran horses in various matches. The principal event was a cup, value 120 guineas, which was won by Sir H. Fetherston's Epaminondas, 'rode by himself.' Up-park racing actually commenced with a few matches in 1782. It was held again in 1784, but ceased in 1786. In 1787, at Alfriston, a silver bowl and a subscription purse of £50 were offered. Mr. Bird's Highflyer won both events. This was the solitary adventure of this quiet village in the world of racing. In 1816 a meeting was also held at Michel Grove. This seems to have been got up mainly by a Mr. R. W. Walker, master of a pack of hounds, and every race was won by him or by his relations. There was, it is true, a race for 100 guineas, the gift of this gentleman, 'for horses that had taken seven tickets with his hounds.'² This was won by Mr. Gilbert's Omphale, which however, with the second horse, was disqualified for not being able to produce the necessary certificates. Mr. Walker's own horse, Ippogriffo, was eventually awarded the prize. As a racing curiosity, this meeting of Michel Grove—never again repeated—is worthy of note.

In 1826 Hastings and St. Leonards held a small meeting, which had increased in 1830 to two days' racing, with five events. Hastings races never attained to any importance, and, after a chequered career, were dropped in 1846, to be revived in 1849; after that year they ceased till 1865, when they were revived for two seasons. In 1829 the old East Sussex Hunt, the forerunners of the present South Down Hunt, held a meeting which continued until 1844, when they were discontinued, the hunt having come to an end. Worthing was another small meeting, which began in 1860 and was last held in 1864. From 1870 to 1872 Rotherfield held a minor meeting, which, however, is not of sufficient importance to demand notice in detail. In 1871 the Honourable Artillery Company brought off a meeting on Brighton Race-course, in which a flat race and some hurdle races were contested. This meeting ceased after 1873. The legislation of

² Tickets entitling the purchaser to hunt with a pack of hounds formed a method of collecting subscriptions to hounds in those days in a manner similar to the modern 'cap.'

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the Jockey Club in 1877 made an end of small race gatherings, and henceforth, in Sussex only Lewes, Brighton, and Goodwood held the field.

In cross-country racing Plumpton Steeplechases have, in more recent years, attracted fair fields and attendances, and have been productive of fairly good racing. The Eridge Hunt Races have for some years enjoyed deserved support from hunting people.

Among Sussex training grounds, some of which have been in use for many years, the best known are Lewes, Alfriston, Jevington, Findon, and Michel Grove. The later Dukes of Richmond have given up racing, and the famous Goodwood training-grounds are no longer used. One of the principal establishments in Sussex for the breeding of thorough-bred stock is that of the Duke of Devonshire at Polegate, where a very

complete stud farm was laid out and opened about eight years since. Other breeding studs in Sussex are those of Mr. Buchanan, at Petworth; of Mr. Bass, at Rotherfield; and of Mr. H. Bottomley, at Dicker. The most celebrated Sussex owner and breeder of thorough-bred stock was the third Earl of Egremont, whose establishment at Petworth included at one time close on seventy brood mares. Lord Egremont, who died in 1837 at the age of eighty-six, was for fifty years an owner of racehorses. He won the Derby in 1782, 1804, 1805, 1807, and 1826 with Assassin, Hannibal, Cardinal Beaufort, Election, and Lapdog; and the Oaks in 1788, 1789, 1795, 1800, and 1820 with Nightshade, Tag, Platina, Ephemera, and Caroline. His stock were renowned for their stoutness, and he was extremely partial to the blood of his favourite sire Gohanna.

POLO

The Sussex Club was founded about 1875 or 1876; and during the days of its prosperity the team representing this club carried all before it. Captain Philip Green, the Earl of Lewes, and the Messrs. Murietta were instrumental in establishing it, and the ground was at Bayham Abbey, on the borders of Sussex and Kent, the property of the Lady Camden, wife of Captain Green. There were about fifty playing members on the club books, and these included some of the finest players of their time in England. They were among the earliest to recognize the supreme importance of combined play, and for many years the Sussex team was the most formidable in the Hurlingham tournaments. The Hurlingham Champion Cup was first won by the club team in 1880, when five men formed the team. The Earl of Lewes, Messrs. A. Peyton, J. E. Peat, A. E. Peat, and A. Peat represented Sussex on this occasion, and the same team was successful in the following year. In 1882 Messrs. J. Peat, Kenyon Stow, A. Peyton, A. Peat, and J. Babington formed the winning team in the championship tournament. In 1883 the new rules had come into force, and the

Sussex team of four, Messrs. Phipps Hornby and the three brothers Peat, found none to dispute their possession of the cup. In 1885 Mr. F. Mildmay and the three brothers were again successful, and three years later these four players won the first of the remarkable series of victories at Hurlingham which gave Sussex the foremost place among the clubs of the kingdom. Four years consecutively—1888–1891—the same team carried off the championship. In 1892, Lord Harrington taking the place of Mr. A. Peat, Sussex was again successful, and in 1893 the team, consisting as in the years 1888–91 inclusive, once more ‘walked over’ for this the chief event of the polo year. With the retirement of the invincible brothers Peat from active part in the game the prowess of the Sussex club waned; it ceased to be represented in the great tournaments, and was soon afterwards dissolved.

In the spring of 1907 the Brighton and County Club was formed, the ground on which it plays is that in Preston Park, placed at its disposal by the mayor and corporation. The Inniskilling Dragoons and 20th Hussars played polo on this ground.

SHOOTING

No counties can compare with Norfolk and Suffolk for shooting, but probably no county can command the rent for shooting which is obtainable in Sussex, namely from 3s. to 5s. per acre. This is a result not only of the great improvements that have been made in the shootings themselves, but because of the accessibility of the country from London. It is quite an easy matter for a dweller in the metropolis to break-

fast in London at eight o'clock, look through his letters, and begin shooting on his Sussex ground at 10.30.

Shooting in this county was held of little value one hundred years ago. There is an authentic anecdote of two sportsmen from the neighbourhood of Horsham who, wanting to do some business in Chichester, shot their way to that town, taking two days over the journey. After

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staying one day at Chichester they shot their way home again without interference.

There do not appear to be many records of bygone sport in Sussex. It has always been a county where nearly every sort of game was found, especially wild fowl. It is recorded that six brace of black game were killed on one day in St. Leonard's Forest as recently as 1840, but since that date they have died out. Several attempts have also been made to introduce grouse on certain estates where there is a large quantity of heather, but the birds have always disappeared after about the second year. Sussex is no doubt well adapted for pheasant and partridge shooting. In the olden days there was always a certain amount of game over the whole of the county, but when, some fifty years ago, it became the fashion to rear tame pheasants, advantage was taken of the system to stock a great many of the large woodland tracts. There were practically no wild pheasants in the middle of these coverts, but if the owner is willing to spend money he can rear as many as he pleases.

The writer knows of one estate of about four thousand acres where, previous to 1840, it was thought a good year if they killed 500 pheasants; whereas about 1900 the bag was about ten thousand for the season. This is representative of the case on many estates, but whereas pheasants have increased, hares generally seem to have decreased, not solely owing to the Ground Game Act, but also, in this county, because the farms have been divided up into so many small holdings. A little combination amongst landlords and tenants is the only essential to the preservation of hares on the scale of olden times. This has been proved where the combination has taken place, and there are in three or four districts certainly as many hares to-day as there were fifty years ago. In some parts of the county partridges have greatly increased in numbers, especially where the owners or shooting tenants have insisted on the systematic destruction of the bird's great enemy—the rat. The following facts show what the killing of this vermin means in preservation work.

Some three thousand acres were rented principally for the pheasant shooting, and there being some good open land the tenant was surprised to find that the average bag of partridges was only ten or twelve brace a day. Having an old spare keeper he commissioned this man to kill down the rats, with the result that the next year the average bag was about twenty-five brace a day. The following year and for many years it was fifty brace a day, some walking and some driving. After the tenancy ended the old ratcatcher was not thought necessary. In two years the bag fell to twelve brace. The estate was shot for partridges about six days each season.

Quite two-thirds of the partridges killed in Sussex to-day are driven; and although at first

sight such a wooded county does not appear very suitable for driving, on some of the large estates some splendid bags have been made.

Many species of wild fowl are to be found on the rivers and marshes near the sea, and for several years past large numbers of so-called wild duck have been hand-reared, but as the latter afford very indifferent sport the quantity reared is being gradually reduced. In the marshes and brooks at certain times of the year snipe are numerous.

Woodcock are common all over the county, but of course they have their favourite localities. On one shoot near Lewes forty-four were killed in 1906, twelve in one day. There is no doubt that the birds breed in several places in the county. Young cock have been seen in St. Leonard's Forest, and in woods on the sides of the Downs. There are always thousands of wood pigeons in the many localities suitable to them.

Although the Hares and Rabbits Act and the small holdings have apparently reduced the hares, rabbits are as plentiful as ever they have been within living memory.

The greatest advance in the system of shooting has been in the way in which the coverts have been altered and arranged so as to encourage the rocketing pheasant; and, owing to the undulating character of the ground on a great many of the best shooting estates, a good keeper can now show birds as 'tall' as those in any county in England. In fact, the writer has occasionally seen the birds shown out too high, even for the best guns of the time.

As regards bags the largest are made by shooting tenants renting parts of different estates, but the following refer to estates where owners shoot over their own property:—

At Petworth Park the shooting in hand comprises some 10,000 acres; pheasants are not extensively reared by hand, the average bag being about 3,000 pheasants and 500 partridges; very few hares.

On West Dean Park, where there are 1,000 acres of woodland, the average bag is about 4,000 pheasants, and 1,000 partridges (always driven). In October, 1906, seven guns killed 442 partridges in one day's driving.

At Paddockhurst, 1,000 acres of covert land, the average bag is 3,000 pheasants.

At Knepp Castle there are 180 acres of covert, and 3,500 acres of partridge ground. The average bag is 1,600 pheasants, and 1,000 partridges. On this estate in 1906 a party of seven guns killed (driving) 385 partridges in a day.

At Buchan Hill, which is purely a forest shoot with very little arable land, the average bag has been about 2,000 pheasants from about 2,000 acres of covert. Thirty years ago fifty hares a day were often killed on this estate. Now a hare is rarely seen.

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West Broyle, about 1,000 acres; bag 700 pheasants, 170 partridges, 35 hares; a great home for wood pigeons, over 200 having been killed in a few days last year.

At Danehurst, where there are 800 acres of covert and 1,200 acres of partridge ground, the average bag is 2,400 pheasants and 700 partridges. Since driving has been introduced on this estate, the owner has greatly increased his bags.

On the Worth Park estate, Crawley, which consists of about 1,000 acres of covert, 700 acres of partridge ground, and a couple of hundred acres rough land, the average bag is 5,000 pheasants and 300 partridges. The pheasants are hand-reared; the partridges are driven. About 2,000 rabbits and hares are killed each season. Woodcock are comparatively rare. About 400 wild duck and snipe are shot, and as many wood pigeons and other 'sundries.'

On the Searles' estate Hungarian partridges have been turned down with very good results.

The writer has shot from east to west Sussex on a great many estates during the last forty years, and although the head of game reared and killed has increased enormously during that time, there is no doubt that in recent years vermin generally have also greatly increased.

The art of trapping appears to be dying out, and nowhere is this art—for it is a very real one—of more vital importance than in such a wooded county as this. The head of game killed has actually decreased to some extent during the last few years owing to the neglect of trapping.

There are now many small properties where the vermin have got the upper hand, and on these shoots practically no wild pheasants or partridges survive the season; and, were it not for the hand-reared birds a good many parts of the county would be very bare of game.

ANGLING

Possessing few rivers of any size Sussex abounds with streams and estuaries containing trout and coarse fish of every description. Not many years ago all forms of poaching were carried on with impunity; tons of fish were netted out to supply bait for the lobster and crab pots and many waters were almost decimated. Of late years, thanks to the Boards of Conservation, river preservation societies and angling associations, the majority of our rivers are well stocked and afford sport to the ever-increasing body of anglers. There are also in Sussex many lakes and ponds that hold monster pike, with big carp and tench. The harbours and estuaries afford good sport with rod and line or hand lines—almost every description of sea fish is to be caught in its season from the banks or piers.

The principal rivers are the Arun and the Ouse, but taking the country from east to west the Medway first comes under notice. Rising at Turners Hill it flows on to near Groombridge where it passes into Kent. It holds a few trout, roach, bream, and other coarse fish, but the river here has small angling importance. The Grand Military Canal, which traverses the marshy low land of East Sussex, holds pike and coarse fish generally. The Rother (eastern), rising in the forest ridge near Rotherfield, holds in its upper waters a few trout and coarse fish; but the stream is a succession of pools and shallows with thick underwood on the bank, and fly fishing is out of the question; dapping with natural or artificial fly and fishing with worm or minnow are the usual methods of taking trout. From Robertsbridge downwards the water, a succession of round or long pools and quick-running shallows, can be fished and is well worth fishing, for the

pools hold big chub and roach; there are also eels. Near the first main bridge is Udim which has some fine large pools connected by reaches less rapid. Here large trout are occasionally killed; good pike also occur, but roach, bream, and chub are the principal fish frequenting this portion of the water. Small trout are taken in the tributaries. After leaving Udim there is some likely water, but in the summer months weeds block the river. There is good depth of water at the bridge to permit the barge-traffic to Bodiam wharf, and coarse fish of all kinds are caught in this portion; the best pike-fishing is above Knelle Dam—below bridge the influx of salt water forbids the presence of pike, but bream, roach, and eels are numerous. At Northiam Station, close to Newenden, large carp haunt the deep holes below the bridge. The smaller waters, the Tillingham and Brede, hold trout and coarse fish. Sea trout, so called,¹ ascend both these tributaries, and at spawning time come right up the estuaries; these waters join the Rother at Rye, flowing into Rye harbour.

It was in 1871 that a meeting of the riparian owners and occupiers was held at Bodiam to consider means whereby the netting and other

¹ There is much diversity of opinion concerning the identity of the large trout which occur in the rivers of the south and east coast. They are not true sea-trout; many good authorities hold the view that they are ordinary brown or river trout (*salmo fario*) which have developed with unusual rapidity and have acquired the habit of haunting estuarine waters. The colouring of the trout varies very widely in accordance with the nature of the water and perhaps in some degree also with the nature of its food. The variety referred to in this chapter is frequently called *s. estuarius*.

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poaching in these waters could be put down. Lord Ashcombe, then Mr. George Cubitt, was the moving spirit, and his endeavours resulted in the formation of the Rother Fishery Association, acting under the Board of Conservancy of the Rother fishery district. The association has done excellent work; the Rother, Tillingham, and Brede are now well watched and protected, and anglers obtain fair sport.

A small stream, the Asten (or Arton) which rises near Battle, holds a few trout and coarse fish and once formed the port of Hastings. The Ashburn (or Ashbourne), rising at Ashburnham, contains trout and coarse fish, including a few pike. The Ashburn enters the sea without visible outlet near Pevensy. Travelling westward we come to the Cuckmere, rising near Heathfield. Several miles of fishing are available with the exception of portions reserved by the landowners, who as a rule grant permission when applied for. Licences are required only for trout fishing. Trout occur in the upper waters but the principal fish are rudd, dace, bream, roach, pike, and eels. The best angling reaches are Michelham Priory, Chilver Bridge, High Corner, near the railway bridge, Lock Hole and Road Hole. Heavy bream are occasionally taken, but sport has fallen off considerably of late years. The water is tidal to Alfriston.

The Ouse is a more important river, and by reason of its proximity to Brighton is much fished. It rises at Ardingly and is fed by several small streams. Between Lindfield and Fletching Mill some good trout are caught; trout up to 3 lb. have been taken from the Black Brook stream; the Black Brook has a number of good pools, but is thickly wooded on both banks. The angler must use a short stiff rod, running tackle and strong gut, the line wound up to the rod point, pushed through a gap and paid out with fly, worm or minnow. When a good fish is hooked it must be lifted bodily through the gap; thus many heavy fish are lost. The river, which is somewhat narrow in this reach, holds some good chub, dace, roach, trout, and pike. It receives the stream from the lakes at Sheffield Park. The lowest lake was formerly noted for the size of its pike; some years since the writer in an hour and a-half spinning from the iron bridge with small trout, landed three, weighing respectively $18\frac{1}{2}$, $17\frac{1}{2}$, and $16\frac{1}{2}$ lb. One fish when hooked took the line round a sunken pile and broke away, to be captured an hour later with the tackle in its mouth. The streams leading to the lakes hold some good trout. One of the best waters for big river trout is Ruston Brook, a stream running from Mr. Wilson's water at Searles and joining the river just above Gold Bridge, Newick. It is a succession of pools and shallows. Trout up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. and river trout of 9 lb. have been killed in this water. A good plan adopted when the mill at Searles was

not running was to get a small boy with a pole to stir the top pool, when the gentle stream soon clouded the water downwards. Fishing with well scoured brandling on Stewart tackle and the boy stirring up each pool in turn, many a good trout was killed. The trout are partial to this stream, entering it for spawning purposes, but the presence of perch considerably retards their increase. Chub up to over 1 lb. are taken here.

Nearing Fletching Mill heavy chub abound; there is also a fair quantity of good roach and pike; dace often give good sport with fly, and have been taken even on bare hooks when the angler was wetting a cast. The sunken timber is a drawback when chub fishing, which must be fine and far off; strong tackle and a short shrift are necessary both with chub and pike. Some heavy roach up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. are to be found just above the mill. At Fletching Mill Pool Sir Spencer Maryon Wilson a few years since experimented with a small hatchery, hoping to improve the breed of trout and introduce, or rather re-introduce, salmon to the Ouse. There is great diversity of opinion as to whether salmon ever used the river for spawning purposes. Yet the weirs which have been done away with for many years now gave a more rapid stream, and with its pools and shallows the river is materially improved from an angler's point of view. The salmon were hatched and turned out, but not one has been seen since, and as there is no evidence of their reappearance, or that they ever survived the polluted water near Lewes, the experiment must be considered unsuccessful.

The pool at Fletching Mill looks a likely spot for trout or pike, but there is nothing noteworthy recorded from this water. From the river, in its course towards Uckfield, trout up to 2 lb. have been taken, and river trout up to $9\frac{1}{2}$ lb. A famous poacher of trout and chub, now dead, has often boasted that with his retriever he would take more of these fish in an hour than an angler would catch in a day. His appliances were a short blow tube and some pellets made with an infusion of *coccus indicus* ('indiberry,' he termed it), and with his dog he would walk down stream. Noting a good trout or chub he blew a few pellets behind the fish, which generally devoured them: then on the return journey the intoxicated and floundering trout was an easy prey to the retriever. Many a brace of good fish were thus taken by this poacher with the blow tube or by tickling.

From Uckfield to Isfield about four miles of water is rented by the Sussex Piscatorial Society. Brown trout are to be found, as well as a few rainbow, placed in the water by the Ouse Preservation Society, whose head quarters are at Lewes. Several roach of over 2 lb., bream weighing 4 lb. $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and carp of $8\frac{1}{2}$ lb. have been killed in this reach.

Much heavier fish are to be seen, especially

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chub, which have been estimated at 8 lb. Pike play havoc with the trout, and all up the river otters are numerous. The Ouse Preservation Society control the river from the old Hamsey Lock, just above Lewes, to beyond Isfield. The portion from Hamsey Lock to Cooksbridge Stream (below Barcombe Mills) is reserved for season-ticket holders, the remainder being fishable on payment of 1s. per diem. From Isfield to Barcombe Mills there is good fishing, roach of over 2 lb. are not uncommon. Barcombe Mills is a favourite resort. A fine roach of 3 lb. was recently taken (out of season) and returned to the water. A trout of over 6 lb. caught by spinning, was in poor condition. Good bags of roach are taken, also trout, dace, and heavy pike. There are locks at both the flour and oil mills, and at each lock is a salmon ladder. The stream that runs from Plumpton Mill to the Barcombe Oil Mill is a favourite for river and big brook trout, this and the Ruston brook being considered the best on the river. The water as far as Barcombe Mills is tidal and holds good roach, but as we approach Lewes the river is too often scarcely pure enough to contain fish. A few good roach are taken below Lewes, and nearing Newhaven codling, flat fish, smelt, and eels afford sport. In the winter months heavy floods occur, and in the Fletching district eels have been caught by the score while crossing the turnpike road. In this district are a number of lakes and ponds under the control of the Sussex Piscatorial Society, established in 1891, to promote legitimate freshwater and sea angling and kindred objects, including natural history, fish culture, aquarium keeping, &c. The Marquis of Abergavenny is the president. The society rents and stocks suitable waters, and purposes to establish fish hatcheries, &c. There are now over one hundred members. In addition to the reach on the Ouse the society rents Horsted Keynes stream and lake of about 11 acres stocked with brook trout; also Horsted Keynes, Broadhurst Manor Farm, Brewhouse and Stockyard ponds, containing pike, carp, tench, roach, and perch. Brewhouse pond is stocked with rainbow trout.

At Cuckfield there are about 27 acres of water and a mill stream, holding pike, perch, bream, tench, carp, roach, black bass, and gudgeon. There are also a few trout in the mill stream. Hillyfield pond at Uckfield contains carp, tench, and other coarse fish. At Lye Farm there are five ponds with king carp, pike, black bass, perch, carp, tench, rudd, and eels; the stream, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of fishing, contains trout.

Members of the society have access to a pond at Cuckfield holding carp and roach, also to two lakes at Cuckfield Park containing carp and king carp, bream, tench, roach, pike, and eels, where are about 6 acres of water and nearly a mile of stream holding trout; to Knepp Castle lake

containing carp, tench, pike, perch, roach, &c.; to Glyndebourne lake with perch, tench, and roach; to three lakes at Plashet Park near Isfield, holding pike, tench, roach, and perch; to the mill stream at Lindfield, with perch, chub, pike, carp, roach, and a few trout; to Piltdown pond, near Uckfield, holding pike, perch, carp, tench, and dace; and to Slaugham Mill pond, containing pike, carp, roach, tench, and eels. Three brace of trout is the limit per rod per day, all trout under 8 oz. must be returned to the water.

Thanks to the kindness of Herr Jaffe, of Osnabruck, the society has raised from the egg numbers of rainbows, steelheads, and black bass, and is now experimenting with pike-perch in the water at Pond Lye. The rainbows in their second year rose so freely (at Horsted Keynes) at any and every fly, that few were left at the end of the season. The steelheads were most difficult to confine, escaping from the water if given the slightest opportunity, but the few that were hooked gave very fine sport; they may be regarded as having ceased to exist in Sussex. There are a few black bass left in one of the ponds, but none have been caught for some time past. The pike-perch are scarcely large enough to identify or to take with hook and line, so that at present there is no proof among the host of small fry in the water of successful results with these fish. The best Sussex pike was taken from a pond by Mr. Gillam, the secretary, and weighed $32\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Mr. W. Booth, the treasurer, hooked and lost a big fish in the adjoining water; it was picked up dead a few hours later and weighed $30\frac{1}{2}$ lb. The best carp taken from the society's water with rod and line weighed 12 lb. Five tench were taken at Pond Lye, weighing 24 lb., and pike of 22 and 23 lb.

The Ouse Preservation Society have also done good work on the river. The Adur, within easy distance of Brighton, consists of a number of streams which unite near Henfield. It is for the most part preserved by the Adur Preservation Society and Henfield Anglers' Association. It holds a few trout and all kinds of coarse fish. The principal angling resorts are the Fork at Henfield, Mockbridge, Bines Bridge, Streatham Bridge, Horton Gravell, Steyning Sluice, and Church Hole. Steyning Sluice is noted for good dace and roach, and above Steyning good sport may be obtained among the carp. From some of the culverts in the vicinity of Shoreham trout have been taken up to 3 lb.; mullet come up in quantities, but few are taken with rod and line. Roach of 1 lb. 1 oz. and 1 lb. were taken recently, but these are exceptionally heavy for the water. The canal running from the harbour to Aldrington holds some good mullet, small bass, and other salt-water fish; mullet up to 10 lb. may be seen among the floating timbers: not to be caught with hook and line they are

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occasionally shot ; fish up to $9\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in weight have been killed in this way.

The Arun, the principal river of the county, rises near Horsham in St. Leonard's Forest. It was formerly connected by canal with Chichester Harbour, and by the Guildford Canal with the Thames ; also through the Rother with the Wye. The railways have made an end of the barge traffic and the Portsmouth and the Guildford canals are closed and filled in. Some portions of the old Guildford Canal on the Lee Farm fisheries hold coarse fish, and in the portions not filled in carp and tench are taken. A few trout are to be found in the upper waters, and the river is noted for good roach and bream. Tench are seldom taken, but a few good pike are recorded. This season at Timberley, near Pulborough, pike of 22 lb. 8 oz. and 19 lb. at Amberley were killed. Pulborough is a noted angling resort ; carp of 11 lb., bream 6 lb. 8 oz., roach of over 2 lb. are numerous. The river near Pulborough is joined by the Western Rother, and flows on through Hardham. Salmon trout and bass up to 8 lb. ascend the river and have been captured with dace. Roach of 2 lb. are frequently taken at Amberley, and pike up to 19 lb. have been killed in the present season (1907). Running on through Stoke, noted for good roach, the river passes the west and south of Arundel Park. The Blackrabbit is a favourite swim for big roach. Passing through Arundel, with the castle, lordly in its magnificence dwarfing the red tiled houses at its base, the Arundel Bridge is passed, and flowing on through Ford the river enters the harbour at Littlehampton. From these four miles of water heavy roach are taken near the culverts, which discharge refuse into the river ; flat fish, codling, and bass are numerous in the season ; mullet, for which Arundel is famous, are taken by the netsmen in great numbers. Heavy bass ascend the river as far as Pulborough and are taken with rod and line, nets hand-lines, and trimmers. Sea trout are to be found at Amberley and Pulborough. A few mullet are captured with rod and line under the railway bridge at Ford, but the pier at the harbour affords the best sport, baiting with boiled cabbage, silk weed, or ragworm. Experts make good bags on the morning tide, but the landing is difficult, fish of over 3 lb. invariably breaking away.

We now come to Chichester Canal, a branch of the old Portsmouth connexion with the Arun. The greater portion from Hunston Bridge to the Arun at Ford has been filled in, but the branch from Chichester Harbour at Birdham Locks to the Basin, within a few yards of the Chichester railway station, is still open for barges. The four miles of its course is considered one of the best stocked waters in the county. The basin is fed by a number of springs and culverts running from the Lavant stream. It has wharves on all

sides, with a depth of from 6 to 8 ft., and in the later months is a resort of the heaviest fish ; carp up to 14 lb., bream up to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb., some fine perch and roach, a few tench and eels up to 4 lb. are to be caught. A pike of $18\frac{1}{2}$ lb. was taken here some years since while roach fishing, on single gut and a roach hook, having taken the captured roach ; and after a long struggle the angler took a boat and the fish was netted out. The canal is fishable from the basin on the towpath side and is free to all. There are swims innumerable all down the water, the banks are fringed with rushes and reeds, and with the even current a swim cleared and baited will provide sport for several days. A few years since when carp were feeding ravenously heavy takes of fish weighing from 4 to 5 lb. were made. Then bream came on ; eleven fish taken before breakfast weighed 34 lb. ; takes of 45 lb. have been secured, the fish weighing 3 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each. The heaviest perch from this water weighed $4\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tench up to $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb. have been taken in the Donnington stretch. Over 200 pike, varying from 2 to $11\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in weight were taken three years since. Lower down the canal is the celebrated Ash-tree swim, which holds good bream and roach. Further on is Hunston Bridge, and in the bend heavy carp, bream, roach, and pike are caught. On the eastern side across the bridge beyond numerous beds of reeds, rushes, and water lilies, is Donnington. There are good swims all down the reach, indicated as a rule by the parted and trampled rushes. At Donnington heavy tench are to be found as well as pike and bream. The roach in this water have deteriorated in weight ; a fish of 14 oz. is now a rarity, but smaller fish are taken in scores. From Birdham Bridge on the opposite bank to the first locks is a nice stretch of water with a broad bed of rushes on the south side ; the holes under the banks on the towing path are noted as the haunts of pike ; four brace have been taken in a few hours by dropping the bait over the bank or spinning alongside the rushes. At the lock gate there is a deep hole with from 12 to 14 ft. of water where lie big carp and bream. The perch here are large and numerous, and in this reach between locks good tench occur. Pike up to $17\frac{1}{2}$ lb. have been captured. Down the four miles of water, when clear, myriads of fish of all sizes and descriptions may be seen. In fact, it is overstocked. The city council hold the right over the water-way, but little is done to improve the water for the benefit of anglers.

The West Rother rises in the parish of Priors Dean in Hampshire, and enters Sussex at West Harting. Down to Midhurst the angling is not particularly good excepting in private water. Trout and coarse fish are to be found, but below Midhurst on to Selham good trout are more numerous. A nice fish of 5 lb. was taken a few years since on roach tackle just above the

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picturesque Selham water-mill. Good roach, carp, and pike frequent the water, and in the straight stretch by the old lock gudgeon give sport, being utilized as live bait. Fittleworth is a favourite angling station. Trout and coarse fish are taken in this reach.

The streams in West Sussex are numerous, are all strictly preserved and well stocked, notably the canal on the Stanstead estate, from which trout up to 4 lb. are taken. A pool above Stanstead in a few hours' trouting produced 11½ brace of from ¾ lb. to 3 lb., taken by the writer principally with Black Palmer, and on netting the pool later on ninety brace were taken out and transferred to other water. The streams from Stanstead run through Emsworth to Chichester Harbour. Pike of over 20 lb. have been taken from a small lake on the estate.

During the close season Chichester Harbour is a favourite resort of anglers, and can be fished in many places from the bank, but in some parts a boat is necessary. Heavy fish are taken with rod and line, on hand lines, and bass up to 14 lb. are killed. Bass come all up the water; soft crab or rag worm are favourite baits. The 'school bass,' as they are termed, can be taken the season round, but the heavier fish come up later in the year. Mullet are taken at Pilsea piles, cod and pollock at harbour's mouth or Pilsea piles, plaice and dabs at harbour's mouth and Stocker sands.

For conger eels the upper Pilsea piles are a favourite spot. Smelt visit the harbour in myriads, and in a warm April or May give excellent sport to anglers using ragworm as bait, as many as 15 dozen having been taken per rod per tide. Herrings are caught at Appledram sluice in February and March. For flounders and eels the best water is the Chichester branch of the canal from Birdham to Dell Quay. In the summer months the harbour's mouth is noted for mackerel. Sea trout and salmon ascend the water, but are usually netted. Salmon computed at 20 lb. have been seen leaping between Dell Quay and Appledram sluice. Whiting and pout are taken at the mouth of the harbour and at Pilsea, and turbot, soles, and skate by long lining in Bracklesham Bay. For fresh- and salt-water fishing in close proximity Chichester canal and harbour are considered the best waters in the county.

On the coast a bass of over 16 lb. was caught at Beachy Head in September, 1906, and one of 13 lb. 8 oz. at Newhaven; another of 13 lb. 7 oz. at the Royal Crescent Groyne, Brighton, and one of 10 lb. from Brighton beach. A cod of 17 lb. was taken off Brighton with a long line, a conger eel weighing 37 lb. was killed off Eastbourne, also a skate of 66 lb. A turbot of 8 lb. 1 oz. off Hastings may be added to the list of fair takes by sea anglers.

CRICKET

The earliest allusion to an important cricket match in the county appears to be in 1730, when a game at Lewes between sides organized by the second Duke of Richmond and Sir William Gage was abandoned owing to the illness of Waymark. The earliest recorded meetings between Kent and Sussex, in 1734 and 1735, were due to the efforts of Sir William Gage. In the former match Kent was victorious; next year Sussex, having won at Lewes, lost at Sevenoaks. Richard Newland was the chief bat, and the earliest of the really celebrated cricketers of Sussex.¹ He and his two brothers played for England v. Kent on the Artillery Ground in July, 1745. On the same field—then the head quarters of cricket—in 1847, the Maids of Charlton and Singleton twice met the Maids of Westdean and Chilgrove, one of the earliest instances of a ladies' cricket match.

In 1752 Surrey beat Sussex at Longdown by 80 runs. Sixteen years later, the third Duke of Richmond captained Sussex against the historic Hambledon Club, losing by seven wickets. John Small had 'above four score notches in this match

and was not out when the game was finished.' The return match was a victory for the shire, and the duke won 'near a thousand pounds beside.' The residence of the Prince of Wales at Brighton proved a boon to Sussex cricket. He was a great patron of the game, and it is stated that 'He was esteemed a very excellent player, with great condescension and affability.' The prince showed his interest in the game by presenting the town, in 1791, with the cricket ground subsequently known as Ireland's Garden. One of the earliest matches there played was between Middlesex and Brighton. W. Fennex made 90 for the visitors, who won by 21 runs, J. Hammond with 50 being chief scorer for the home side. Next year Brighton beat Marylebone by three wickets, and won the supplementary match² by an innings and 44 runs, whilst the town defeated Middlesex by five wickets. One match between Middlesex and Brighton, begun in September 1792, was finished in May 1793. In July of the same year a combined eleven of Surrey and Sussex defeated England by an innings and 277 runs,

¹ He subsequently became a surgeon in Chichester, and died at Bath in 1791.

² Sir John Shelley, Hon. H. Fitzroy, and Lord Winchelsea were among the players.

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scoring 483, the bulk of the runs being credited to representatives of Surrey. It may be added that the earliest county match in which these counties met was on Micklam Downs in 1730, when each side had three players. The score is missing, as also are the scores of the three matches between Surrey and Sussex in 1745.

A few early local matches may be cited. In 1738 a match was played at the seat of the Earl of Wilmington between Eastbourne, captained by Lord John Sackville, and an eleven of the parish of Battle. At Alfriston, on 17 May, 1787, four men, whose united ages came to 297 years, played a cricket match with great spirit. At Esburn Park, in 1802, North Sussex beat South Sussex by eight wickets, all the runs scored, except one 3, being made by singles. In 1818 Brighton played Waldron for eleven new bats, and won. Far more important was the five-day match between Sussex and Epsom, played at Lord's in July and August 1816, when 625 runs were scored for thirty-eight wickets. In the return match, in which Mr. W. Ward, Mr. E. H. Budd, and Mr. Howard were among the bowlers, 1,047 runs were compiled for thirty-eight wickets, this being the first recorded match in which 1,000 runs were scored. For Sussex, who won by 427 runs, Mr. Osbaldeston made 106, and W. Lambert made 107 not out and 157, a feat long unrivalled. Lambert was a great hitter who always raised his bat over his shoulders, and he used to bowl high underhand twisting in from leg. His career was closed for matches of importance in 1817, when he was accused of having sold the England v. Nottingham match. By profession he was a miller and bell-ringer, and there is a tradition that he had the largest hands of any cricketer of that day. William Broadbridge who played for Sussex, scoring 61, was a hard hitter and the earliest of the first-class stumpers of the county. In 1826, for Sussex v. Hants and Surrey, he actually stumped seven and caught two. His brother Jem for some seasons in the twenties was the best all-round cricketer in England, and often walked from Duncton to Brighton—25 miles—to play in a match.

The year 1827 was momentous for Sussex and for cricket generally. At Darnall near Sheffield, Sussex for the first time played England, and actually obtained the first five national wickets for two runs, eventually winning by seven wickets. This was the earliest of the three trial matches designed to test the relative merits of underhand bowling and the new-fashioned round-arm bowling which Sussex desired to introduce. The second match, at Lord's, was won by the county by three wickets. After this, a manifesto was issued by nine of the England players declaring they would not play the third match unless 'the Sussex men bowl fair—that is, abstain from throwing.' The objection was

subsequently withdrawn, and England won the third match at Brighton by 24 runs, after being dismissed for 27. It is recorded that in this match James Broadbridge threw his bat at a wide ball and was caught at point. In this year F. W. Lillywhite made his first appearance. He did not play at Lord's until he was five-and-thirty, and he bowled finely for England v. Kent when sixty. A short stout man, he bowled with machine-like precision, slow round-arm, and was called 'the Nonpareil.' He eventually migrated to London where he died in 1884. On 20 August 1827, for Sussex against Kent, T. Pierpoint is said to have been seven and a half hours batting for 31 runs. Wides were first scored as such in the return match.

In 1828 there were fourteen ducks' eggs in the Sussex match with Kent. After the contest, drawn through rain, between Sussex and Surrey at Midhurst in 1830, there was no match between these neighbours until 1849. At Lord's in 1833 Morley, batting for Sussex against England, took three hours in making 9 runs. Curiously enough in each of the two following matches under this title six Sussex players were dismissed without scoring, each time in the second innings. In 1836 Sussex beat M.C.C. and Ground by five wickets, the first occasion when the bowler's name was inserted in the score after a catch, 'stumped, l.b.w.,' or 'hit wkt.' The earliest fixture between Sussex and M.C.C. had been on 9 June 1823, when Sussex won by eight wickets. The first match with Nottinghamshire was in 1835. After the victory in 1836 over Kent, who were without Mr. Alfred Mynn, Sussex lost ten matches in succession to their neighbours. In 1837 the vicar of Town Malling denounced all who attended the Kent and Sussex match from the pulpit. In this year Sussex with Fuller Pilch beat England by 79 runs.

At about this period Mr. E. Napper³ came into the county eleven, and played for some twenty years, being a free left-handed hitter. At Lord's, in the match against M.C.C. on 11 June 1839, there was a noteworthy no-balling incident. James Hodson, who made his first appearance for the county at Lord's, was six times no-balled by Caldecourt 'for being too high,' though in the first innings Good, the other umpire, had taken no notice. Mr. Kynaston was bowled by one of these no-balls. Another odd circumstance in the same match was that Lord Winterton came to assist Sussex, but had to play against them and made top score, the only incident of this nature in the history of the M.C.C.

For Kent v. Sussex in the same year Fuller Pilch hit nine successive threes in as many balls. At this time T. Box, a commanding batsman, was the county wicket-keeper. Kent did not

³ A professional of the same name used to play for Sussex at the same period.

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again meet Sussex until 1841, when the hop county won both matches with great ease. In the two second innings of Sussex there were only two contributions of double figures, G. Milliard on both occasions scoring 10. In 1843, at Brighton, Sussex turned the tide of defeat and beat Kent, who were without Mr. Felix, by 20 runs. Mr. W. Ward played for England at the same town, aged fifty-six, having appeared in big fixtures as far back as 1810. In August of this year Sussex beat M.C.C. by 86 runs in a match yielding 830 runs, the largest aggregate since the introduction of round-arm bowling. Of this total, Mr. C. G. Taylor, with 100 not out, scored his only century for Sussex. He was a finished and brilliant bat, quick on his legs with a remarkable variety of strokes, and bowled slow round-arm with effect. Box in this match contributed 60 not out and 65.

For some seasons, though the county team met with success, there were very few notable features in the Sussex matches. Scoring was generally low as a result of the marked superiority of the ball to the bat. Two keen amateurs, the brothers Napper, received invaluable support from Wisden and Dean, who were the backbone of the eleven; while Picknell and Hammond were also prominent as batsmen. In the match against England in 1849 Box was put on and obtained five wickets for 45 runs by slow lobs of the worst description, pitched anywhere and high in the air. He clean bowled George Parr when he had made 85. The encounter between England and XVI of Sussex in 1851 was somewhat of a scratch affair, and was played on 13, 14, and 15 October, being unfinished. In 1852 Sussex and Surrey at Lord's beat England by 51 runs;⁴ the first innings were respectively 34 and 48. G. Brown's score of 86 *v.* Surrey at the Oval in July 1852, was the largest for the southern shire for some seasons, but next year John Lillywhite, in the match against M.C.C. compiled 95, while the county took the last six club wickets for 4 runs. John Lillywhite, nicknamed the 'mud-bowler,' played for seventeen years in most of the big matches, and was the chief cover-point of his day. 'Tiny' Wells, a diminutive but very useful cricketer, came into the side soon after.

Sussex played England for the last time in 1853, when, helped by Clarke and Parr, the county won by 68 runs, Wisden taking eight wickets for 41 in the first innings. By a strange coincidence Sussex in 1855 beat both Kent and Surrey by the narrow margin of 2 runs, and had now beaten the former county on seven successive occasions. Sussex also won

the inaugural match on the Bramhall Lane ground at Sheffield, defeating Yorkshire by an innings and 117 runs, Wisden compiling 148. In the second effort of Sussex *v.* M.C.C. in 1856, the last five wickets fell for 6 runs, the aggregate being 23. England beat Kent and Sussex by 4 runs owing to the terrific bowling of Bickley, who took eight wickets for 7 runs. It was a curious coincidence that in each of the first two engagements of 1857, against M.C.C. and Surrey respectively, Sussex scored totals of 227 for twice out.

Ellis now succeeded the veteran Box as wicket-keeper. The county had a bad experience at the Oval, the two Surrey bowlers, Caffyn, nine for 28, and Griffith, ten for 34, sending the men of Sussex back for 35 and 31. Mr. F. P. Miller made more runs than either of these poor efforts in his solitary contribution of 64 for Surrey. Griffith and Wisden playing for the combined counties at Brighton, however, dismissed England for 33 and 51, the last match under this title for ten years. The season of 1858 saw Surrey opposing Kent and Sussex, and winning by 24 runs after being in a minority of 116 on the first innings, with Messrs. Lane and Burbridge unable to play. Southerton, a player long associated with Hampshire and Surrey, began his career in the Sussex eleven in this season. Assisting twenty-two Gentlemen of Sussex at St. Leonards, Hooker took sixteen wickets of the United England Eleven, a rare proportion. The county in September met Manchester and won by an innings and 41 runs, Ellis scoring 71 not out. A big victory by 169 runs in 1859 over Kent was notable for only one bye in a match of 539 runs, in which Stubberfield, with 7 for 10, was mainly responsible for dismissing the losers for 23. In 1860 the match with M.C.C. at head quarters was played practically on mud. Wells scored 55 out of 70 from the bat, and 11 out of 38. He was oddly out in the match against Surrey, breaking the handle of his bat, and the pod flying over his shoulders hit the bails. In 1866 in the Kent match he hit his wicket as the bowler was in the act of delivering his ball, and in 1865 he trod on the stumps; the only three occasions on which he ever was given out 'hit wicket.' Against M.C.C. at Lewes seven of the county team were run out. The next year showed nothing of note; but 1862 in the match with M.C.C. at Lord's, which Sussex won by four wickets, there was no change of bowling on either side, Stubberfield for the county sharing the attack with James Lillywhite, junior. This useful left-handed bat and slow bowler was wonderfully trustworthy during the low ebb to which the county sank. For North *v.* South in 1872 at Canterbury he took all ten wickets. When Kent beat Sussex by ten wickets at Brighton in June 1862 the honours went to Joseph Wells, who clean bowled Dean,

⁴ The match against England was for the benefit of William Lillywhite, who took part at the age of 61. Mr. C. G. Taylor re-appeared for this game, having been out of good cricket for seven seasons.

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Leigh, Ellis, and Fillery, with four successive balls.

The encounter with Surrey on 13 July 1863 was the earliest occasion in which 1,000 runs were obtained in an unfinished match. Ellis with slow lobs bowled eight for 96 and seven for 201, and made 83, and John Lillywhite scored 91. Griffith compiled 89 and 142, his first innings being made in about an hour, while Mr. Burbridge scored 101. Wootton for M.C.C. v. Sussex took eight wickets for 9 runs. In 1864 the county declined to come to Lord's owing to the roughness of the ground and because M.C.C. always sent 'a tail' down to Brighton. In 1863 Wootton and Mr. R. S. Foster added 106 for the last wicket. Scoring about this period became notably bigger.

Between 1886 and 1889 Sussex won seven consecutive matches against Hampshire, and from 1851 to 1855 the same number against Kent. The southern county suffered nineteen successive defeats from Nottinghamshire between 1884 and 1893, and between 1881 and 1893 lost twenty-four and drew one match. Sussex lost ten successive matches with Kent from 1837 to 1842, and with Yorkshire from 1873 to 1882.

It may be noted that in 1901 Mr. C. B. Fry scored six consecutive centuries, and four in 1900, in which year K. S. Ranjitsinhji just failed to perform the feat. The latter, however, twice scored three consecutive centuries for Sussex in 1900 and once in 1896. The following are the four principal scorers for Sussex up to 1907:—

	Matches	In-	Not	Runs	Most	Average
		nings	out		in an	
					innings	
K. S. Ranjitsinhji	184	299	40	17,062	285	65.227
C. B. Fry . .	212	347	21	16,962	244	52.10
G. Brann . .	278	464	38	11,458	219	26.382
W. Newham .	347	602	46	14,249	201	25.349

The following are the principal bowlers for Sussex:—

	Matches	Balls	Runs	Wickets	Average
J. Lillywhite, jun.	163	43,729	13,534	917	14.696
F. W. Tate .	313	66,537	27,994	1,231	22.712

James Broadbridge and H. Morley represented Sussex during four successive reigns, namely those of George III, George IV, William IV, and Victoria. T. Box assisted Sussex for twenty-four successive seasons without missing a match, and James Lillywhite, junior, for twenty.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CRICKET AT HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS

A map in the possession of the Rev. W. C. Sayer-Milward of Old Hastings House, dated 1760, shows that cricket was played in Hastings about the middle of the eighteenth century, a piece of ground on the West Hill being marked as the 'Cricket Field.'

It was not, however, till 1825 that Hastings may be said to have commenced its connexion with first-class cricket. That year saw the birth in the premier Cinque Port of Mr. Arthur Hogarth, the well-known cricketer who continued *Frederick Lillywhite's Scores and Biographies*; in the same year also Edward Thwaites, a tallow-chandler of Hastings, assisted England at Lord's. In the next year a single-wicket match was played at Benenden in Kent between E. Thwaites, Fielder, and Sawyer, of Hastings, and three of Benenden for £40, when J. G. Wenman, one of the Benenden three, was in nearly two days, scoring close on 100 runs.

The first Hastings Cricket Club was formed in 1840, having amongst its members E. Thwaites, G. Standen, Sawyer, Baxter, Burchell, and Tutt, and in this, the first year of its formation, the club played two important matches with Tunbridge Wells. The home match was played on the West Hill at Hastings, in the field then known as Thwaites's (now Breeds's) field, when the Hastings club, with Fuller Pilch and Lillywhite, defeated the visitors, who had Mr. Alfred Mynn and Box to assist them. The return match was played on the common at Tunbridge Wells, when Hastings again proved victorious. In both matches George Standen assisted his town eleven; he was a good cricketer, who played regularly in matches in the eastern division of Sussex. On 18 and 19 July 1848 Hastings, with J. Lillywhite, Adams and Barton, played Brighton with G. Picknell on the East Hill at Hastings. In the visiting team is the name of C. H. Gausden,⁵ founder of the ground of that name at Hove. About this time Hastings used to play out and home matches with Battle, Bexhill, Eastbourne, Robertsbridge, Westfield, Northiam, and other places in the neighbourhood, the home matches usually coming off either on the old race-course at Bopeep, on St. Leonards Green, or on the East Hill at Hastings.

In 1857 the first East Sussex Club,⁶ composed of residents at St. Leonards, and of gentlemen living in the neighbourhood, was started, having for its ground the old race-course at St. Leonards, and for professional George Hooker of East Grinstead. No name was for many years better

⁵ He afterwards went to live at Hastings, and served his adopted town as mayor.

⁶ Among the members of the club at that time well known in Hastings and St. Leonards and the neighbourhood were: Sir Anchtel Ashburnham, Mr. L. Ashburnham, Mr. H. M. Curteis, Sir Augustus Webster, Mr. V. B. Crake, Mr. D. Papillon, Mr. A. R. W. Day, Mr. W. M. St. Aubyn, Mr. C. T. Lawrence, Mr. W. E. M. Watts, Mr. C. Musgrove, Mr. C. Farncombe, Mr. E. Farncombe, Mr. R. C. Stileman, Mr. E. Hume, Mr. W. P. Beecham, Capt. Parish, Mr. W. D. Parish, Mr. W. Shadforth-Boger, Mr. H. Bally, and Mr. E. T. Booth.

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known in Hastings cricket than that of Mr. Herbert Mascall Curteis of Windmill Hill Place, Herstmonceux, and Peasmarsh Place, near Rye. 'The Squire,' as he was generally called, was in his school eleven at Westminster, and also gained a place in his University team, playing for Oxford against Cambridge in 1840-1; he also for many years assisted his county in their matches. It was in 1857 that Sussex met M.C.C. and Ground at St. Leonards on the new East Sussex Club ground, Mr. H. M. Curteis and Mr. W. P. Beecham assisting Sussex in this, the first county match played at Hastings.

On 19 and 20 August 1858, a United England Eleven contended at Bopeep against twenty-two of the East Sussex Club, with James Lillywhite and George Hooker. On this occasion Hooker greatly distinguished himself by obtaining as many as sixteen wickets in the two innings of the England eleven. United England appeared at St. Leonards again the next year, contending this time against twenty-two of East Sussex, with Stubberfield and Hooker. In this match Mr. Edward Hume formed one of the East Sussex team. He was at that time in the Marlborough College eleven, and proceeding to Oxford in October of that year, played the next season for his university against Cambridge. He for some years rendered most signal service to the Hastings United Club.

The East Sussex Club was dissolved at the end of the season of 1860, and a town club,⁷ generally known as the Hastings United, was formed under the presidency of Mr. Edward Hewitt, the club ground being on the East Hill at Hastings. E. Foster of Hastings was engaged as professional bowler, in which capacity he served the club for many years. Long scores will be found against the name of Mr. A. J. Brook as far back as 1860, and he was still playing in 1902. The steadiest of batsmen, but with great hitting powers, many a century has he made and many a match has he won for the Hastings and Bexhill clubs. It was in connexion with this new Hastings club that the remarkable cricketing family of Phillips came into notice, and the help they have given to their native town cannot be over-estimated. The five brothers, Messrs. Albert, William, Henry, James, and Peter, were all good exponents of the game, and on two occasions all five brothers were found playing on the same side. In the first match in 1874, for Hastings against the East Sussex Club at St. Leonards, the brothers scored 174 out of a total of 241 runs.

⁷ The best known members of the club were: Mr. E. Hume, Mr. C. J. Coventry, Mr. T. Harris, Mr. J. S. Parkin, Mr. E. L. Owen, Mr. J. E. Raven, Mr. W. G. Custard, Dr. T. Trollope, Mr. W. Burfield, Messrs. Albert, William, and Henry Phillips; Russell Hood, and A. J. Brook.

In August of 1860 twenty-two of Sussex, with G. Wells and Hooker, played the United England Eleven at Bopeep. Two years later twenty-two of the Hastings United met F. Cæsar's All England Eleven on the East Hill. Mr. H. M. Curteis was captain of the local team, which had the assistance of two professional bowlers, viz. E. Foster of Hastings, and N. Dunk of Hawkhurst, and the next year a match took place on the East Hill between twenty-two of the Hastings United, with J. Lillywhite and Foster, and a United England Eleven.

In a match played at Northiam on 9 June 1864 between an eleven of that place and Hastings United, Albert Phillips carried his bat through the second innings of the visiting team for a score of 127 runs, and in the return match on the East Hill at Hastings he went in first wicket down for the home team, and was not out with a score of 104 runs. These, the first two centuries scored in the Hastings neighbourhood, are notable feats when the rough state of the cricket grounds of those days is taken into account. Albert Phillips subsequently scored many three-figure innings for his native town. A right-handed batsman, he was a left-handed bowler of much ability, and exceedingly good in the field at 'point.'

In 1864 the new Central Recreation Ground was opened, and in the month of September the first grand match was played on the new ground, when a United England Eleven contended against twenty-two of Hastings and St. Leonards with George Bennett. This match is memorable for the feat performed by George ('Ben') Griffith of Surrey, who hit four consecutive balls out of the ground in one over off 'Farmer' Bennett, the Kent professional, scoring 6 for each hit. In this match Henry Phillips assisted the home team; as a wicket-keeper he was one of the best that the southern counties have ever produced, playing in that capacity for Sussex through a long series of years, and in 1886 receiving a 'benefit match' after twenty years of continuous service. He was also a really good bat, as his century against the Australians at Brighton showed. In the match, Sussex *v.* Surrey, on 27 June 1872, he stumped 5 and caught 5, securing no less than half the wickets of his opponents. He is said to have been the first stumper who in first-class cricket stood up behind the sticks without the aid of a longstop. Early in September 1865 Sussex met Kent at Hastings, this being the first county match ever played on the Central Ground.

In 1867 twenty-two of Hastings and St. Leonards, with Stubberfield and Wootton, played the United South of England Eleven, Mr. E. L. Owen assisting the home team. He made many long scores for the Hastings club and in matches in the neighbourhood, and his younger brother, Mr. H. G. Owen, acted for some years as captain of the Essex County team. On

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22 June and following days the Aboriginal Blacks of Australia, with Mr. W. S. Norton as captain, played Hastings on the Central Ground.⁸

In 1872 the dissolution of the Hastings United Club caused the Hastings Central Club to come to the fore, and in the next year this club, now the principal one, changed its name to that of the Hastings and St. Leonards Cricket Club, the first president being Mr. A. J. Brook. He was followed by Mr. F. Ransom, and Mr. S. T. Weston, and for the last ten years of the club's existence the office was filled by Mr. T. Parkin. James, the third brother of that great cricketing family of Phillips, was the most useful player in the new Hastings and St. Leonards C.C. A most brilliant field at cover-point, he was also a safe and stylish bat, and he headed the club batting averages nearly every season. A county player, too, of note, he stood in 1878 at the top of the batting averages for Sussex. In conjunction with his brother Henry, the Sussex wicket-keeper, he played on many occasions with the South of England Eleven. After the dissolution of the Hastings and St. Leonards C.C. in 1893, he brought out a most excellent little 'record' of the doings of the club. In September 1873 the United South of England Eleven again visited Hastings, playing twenty-two of the town and neighbourhood with R. Fillery.

The first East Sussex Club, as we have seen, ended its existence in 1857; in 1874 another East Sussex Club was formed with its ground at Bopeep, St. Leonards, having Mr. T. (now Lord) Brassey for its patron, and Mr. H. M. Curteis as president. In 1878 this club was dissolved, and a year or two afterwards a new club was formed, called the South Saxons, with its ground at Bopeep. This club, still in existence, has had a most successful career.⁹

⁸ The writer of this article played for his native town, and when in Australia in 1891, he saw recorded in the *Melbourne Press* the death of Mullagh, the best player by far in the Aboriginal team, and for many years the sole survivor of those who visited England.

⁹ Among those who have greatly contributed to the success of the South Saxons C.C. may be mentioned: Mr. W. H. Benthall, Mr. A. H. Trevor, Mr. Herbert Pigg, Mr. A. M. Sutthery, Mr. C. J. M. Godfrey, Col. W. A. Hankey, Mr. A. W. Soames, Mr. C. J. Ebdon, Rev. H. Von E. Scott, Mr. H. Curteis, Mr. R. M. Curteis, Mr. W. A. Young, Mr. A. E. Tillard, Rev. H. C. L. Tindall, Mr. G. G. Grundy, Mr. S. P. Bucknill, Mr. J. W. Knapp, Mr. R. W. Adamson, Mr. C. J. Smith, Mr. A. F. Smith, Mr. W. F. Langley, Mr. C. H. Von Roemer, Mr. C. H. Young, Mr. F. G. Chichester, Mr. A. R. Cowper-Coles, Mr. A. L. Sayer, Mr. W. Leigh-Smith, jr., Mr. E. T. Lambert, Mr. G. H. Bryce, Mr. G. K. Papillon, Mr. H. G. Papillon, Mr. W. Carless, Mr. H. L. Dunn, Mr. W. Leetham, Mr. J. E. C. Leslie, Mr. G. R. Murray, Mr. W. C. T. Beasley, Mr. W. Rogers, and Mr. T. Parkin.

One of the best known members is Mr. W. H. Benthall, who was in the Marlborough College and Cambridge University Elevens, and was for some years one of the finest bats of the day, taking part for many years in the annual contest between the Gentlemen and the Players. He was president of the Civil Service C.C., and has played for Devonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Middlesex. Another notable South Saxon is Mr. A. H. Trevor, who was in the Winchester and Oxford University Elevens. He has been very successful in the few matches in which he assisted Sussex, scoring over a hundred runs for Sussex against Kent in the first match in which he played for his county. He is, however, best known for his great batting feat for the Orleans Club against Rickling Green in 1882, on which occasion, in conjunction with the late Mr. G. F. Vernon, he helped to put on 603 runs for the second wicket (his individual score being 338 runs) which stood as a record partnership for thirty years, until beaten by that of Captain Oates and Private Fitzgerald of the Royal Munster Fusiliers, which realized 20 runs more.

It was in 1875 that Dr. W. G. Grace made his long score of 210 runs in the Central Ground when playing for the South of England against eighteen of Hastings and District. In his great innings 'W.G.' made a huge drive out of the ground which landed 118 yds. from the wicket. This was the first score on the Central Ground of over 200 runs made by any batsman. The 'record score' is the 234 not out by K. S. Ranjitsinhji, made in 1892 in the memorable match between Sussex and Surrey played on the Central Ground, when Sussex piled up the enormous score of 704 for eight wickets. Next comes the score of 227 not out by Mr. H. S. Johnstone, Mr. E. J. McCormick following with 212 runs to his credit.

In August 1878 the Australians played their first match at Hastings against eighteen of Hastings and District. In the following year the United North of England Eleven played eighteen of Hastings and District, and Sussex played Leicestershire, both matches on the Central Ground. In the county match Mr. E. J. McCormick made a successful 'first appearance'; he afterwards played for some ten years for Sussex, and in 1882 headed the batting averages for his county. He was a fine free bat, hitting well all round, and is one of the few cricketers who have scored over 200 runs in a single innings at Hastings.

In 1880 the Australians again visited the town; and in the same year a remarkable performance was accomplished by R. Standen of Hastings, who when keeping wicket for the local club in a match against the South Saxons, stumped 2 and caught 5, thus having a hand in securing seven wickets out of ten.

In August 1886 the Surrey Club and Ground

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met a Hastings and District team, E. Mills scoring 165 for the visitors, and James Phillips 119 for the home team; and in the month of September the Australians met a South of England Eleven in the Central Ground.

On 28-29 July 1887 Yorkshire played eighteen of Hastings and District, when Mr. Herbert Pigg for the latter played a grand innings of 180, without giving a chance.

August 1888 was notable for a fine bowling performance by Messrs. A. Clark and R. Baker, who, playing for the Alexandra Club against Lydd, dismissed their opponents for 7 runs (6 from the bat)—Clark obtaining 5 wickets for 2 runs, and Baker 4 wickets for 4 runs. This year the South Saxons at St. Leonards were able to put very strong teams into the field, and won nearly every match, the two old Cambridge 'blues,' A. M. Sutthery and Herbert Pigg, scoring consistently well throughout the season. A total of 414 was piled up by the club against Edmonton, A. M. Sutthery scoring 206, and A. H. Trevor 132, and a short time afterwards another score of over 400 was made, this time against Brighton College, when for the South Saxons H. Pigg made 159 and A. M. Sutthery 105.

About this time the Hastings Alexandra Club—formed out of the Caxton Club, with Mr. C. Eaton as president—was doing most excellent service in bringing out young players. H. R. Butt, the present Sussex county wicket-keeper, who succeeded H. Phillips in that position, first played for the Alexandra C.C. in 1889. His career has been one of great success. In 1890, his first year of county cricket, he only gave one 'bye' in an innings of 703 runs hit against Sussex. In 1895 he did a remarkable feat when keeping wicket for the county against Middlesex, Gloucestershire, and Somerset; in these three matches as many as 1,445 runs were scored against Sussex, and of this large total Butt, behind the 'sticks,' allowed only 2 'byes.' He has also acted as 'stumper' to totals of 505 and 503 runs without allowing a single 'bye.' Butt is a good bat as well, often getting runs at a critical period of the game. He has been on the ground-staff at Lord's since 1894, and in the winter of 1894-5 he made one of Lord Hawke's team which visited South Africa. The Alexandra Club has been the means of bringing out such players as A. Clark, H. Love, T. C. Brown, H. Mawle, and H. Owen, all of whom have represented Sussex in a county match; while W. J. Ransom, R. Baker, and C. Lavender have played in the Colts' matches at Brighton.

There was also a Silverhill Club playing many matches annually on its ground, and engaging many of the best players of the town and neighbourhood. The first president was Captain G. H. Moore, R.N., and among the vice-presidents were found the names of Mr. C.

J. M. Godfrey and Mr. C. J. Oakeley. Mr. Bernard Ellis acted as honorary secretary, Mr. G. Roberts being the treasurer; and Mr. H. G. Phillips, Mr. R. H. Nuttall, Mr. A. E. Young, Mr. H. F. Lott, Mr. A. E. Knight, and Mr. J. W. Rome were the greatest supporters of the club through a long series of years. There was also at this time at Hastings a Rovers' Club, which annually played many matches.

With all these clubs in Hastings and St. Leonards it was found impossible for the premier club to put anything like representative teams into the field; and in 1894 (after a run of twenty years) it was determined to dissolve the town club and form a new club by an amalgamation of the old members with those of the Alexandra and Rovers' Clubs, under the name of the Hastings and St. Leonards Club and Ground, engaging two professional bowlers, and playing both first and second eleven matches.

In 1896 Sussex played Kent in the Central Ground, and a little later in the year a South of England Eleven competed against a Hastings team; this was a local benefit match for the old Sussex wicket-keeper, H. Phillips. In September of that year during the annual cricket festival a testimonial was presented to Mr. William Carless. No one more deserved the honour, for Mr. Carless was the originator of the Hastings Cricket Festival, and through his instrumentality the town has the advantage of having a county match played annually in the Central Ground.

In 1897 the county match set aside for Hastings was that between Sussex and Notts. In the following year on their own ground against the South Saxons, the Silverhill Club made the large score of 496 runs for 4 wickets, Mr. J. W. Ashby scoring 195, and Mr. H. S. Johnstone 110, both of them being 'not out.'

The year 1900 saw Sussex contending against Lancashire on the Central Ground. In the same year Mr. H. S. Johnstone made 227 not out, the record highest individual score ever played at Hastings; and in the next year Mr. Johnstone established a second record by being the first cricketer at Hastings to score a century in each innings of a match. This feat he performed for the Hastings Club and Ground against Old Carthusians, scoring 131 in the first innings, and 103 not out in the second. The Sussex county match at Hastings next year was between that county and Leicestershire. On 12 September a match, 'Over 35' against 'Under 35,' was played for the benefit of G. McCormick, who had been for close on a quarter of a century the gate-keeper at the Central Ground. The veterans' team had in its ranks Messrs. G. Roberts (aged 64), Albert Phillips (61), Henry Phillips (56), Alderman Weston (58), Mr. T. Parkin (56), Mr. W. Carless (50), and Mr. F. Freeman Thomas,

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who completed his 35th year on the day of the match, played in the veterans' eleven.

Sussex against Surrey at Hastings in 1902 was a memorable and record-breaking match: no less than 1,427 runs were scored for twenty-one wickets, the home county piling up the huge total of 725 runs for eight wickets—Mr. C. B. Fry scoring 159, and K. S. Ranjitsinhji 234 not out, the Indian prince thus lowering Mr. H. S. Johnstone's record score of 227 not out, compiled in 1900.

An easy victory over Somerset next year preluded a wet festival only notable for a fine bowling performance, thirteen wickets for 9 runs apiece, by Rhodes. Rain ruined the match *v.* Kent in 1904, as well as the festival; Mr. G. L. Jessop scored 159 not out against the South Africans in two hours, Braund, King, Llewellyn, and Rhodes also making large scores. In 1905 a one inning's victory by Sussex over Hampshire in scant measure compensated for a further aquatic festival. The brace of county matches in 1906 presented some heavy scoring resulting in a draw and a defeat.

We cannot conclude this article without mentioning the names of some to whom these towns owe a debt of gratitude for their prowess displayed with bat and ball, or their work as secretaries. These are Messrs. C. C. Bethune, W. A. S. Sparling, Rev. H. C. Lenox-Tindall, H. G. Papillon, G. K. Papillon, J. W. Ashby, F. G. Langham, A. E. Howes, E. O. Howis, W. H. Ball, R. J. Wilson, J. W. Rome, W. Ray, A. H. Richardson, H. J. King, H. Hemmings, F. J. Winter, J. W. Marsh, W. A. Lewis, J. T. Piper, G. H. Brown, and those truly hard hitters Messrs. R. H. Nuttall, J. J. Oliver, and T. Kennard; but especially must a word of thanks be given to Messrs. C. H. Ball and E. H. U. Pickering (this latter one of a great cricketing family) for the help and assistance they have always given through the medium of the Press in forwarding in every way the interests of cricket in Hastings and St. Leonards.

EASTBOURNE CRICKET

In the early days when Eastbourne was a small fishing village, the game was played at a spot called 'Paradise' cradled at the foot of Beachy Head, and at this rural place by the Down on occasions the whole village assembled to support their side.

As the village grew so did its cricket club, and a field called 'Elphies,' being nearer home, was requisitioned. This was used for a few years, until the village began to develop into a seaside town, when, in the year 1858, it was arranged to move to a field in what was called the Marsh, and the club soon increased in numbers and popularity. At this period some of the most

prominent players were Messrs. Thomas Morris, C. Haines, James Towner, Charles Simmons, and O. Wenham, to mention only a few names. Under the careful treatment and hard work of Harry Gardener, the ground man, the field was converted into a cricket ground second to none in England.

Two first-class county players, by name Reed and Shoesmith, both Sussex men bred and born, helped the club with their services. William Osocroft, the noted Notts cricketer, was also introduced into the club, and under the tuition of these three fine players many young men who later on made names for themselves were instructed in the rudiments of the game.

But soon again another change was to take place, for Eastbourne was now rapidly growing and developing, and the Duke of Devonshire (the ground landlord) was advised to cut up the ground for building purposes. The splendid old turf was relaid on land afterwards called the Devonshire Park, nearer the sea, and a limited liability company was formed to carry on the club, which was converted into a fashionable athletic and cricket club, under a paid secretary. All went well for a few years; but soon the cricket dropped from good to bad, and from bad to worse; until in 1903, when no matches were arranged, it received its *coup de grâce* so far as Devonshire Park is concerned.

In the year 1878, some two or three seasons after the transfer of the Eastbourne Club from the ground in the Marsh to Devonshire Park, another club came into existence, the playing ground being one of the south fields called 'The Gildridge,' nearer the old town. Mr. Thomas Cooper was the originator of the Gildridge Club, and a good working committee was formed with Mr. A. S. Hurst as the hon. secretary. The club grew and cricket thrived, and as a result it was most successful for some ten years.

The ground was however required in 1888 for other purposes, and under the supervision and superintendence of professional cricketers, imported from Lord's Ground, the old Saffrons farm field was rapidly converted into an up-to-date cricket ground. The Saffrons ground is some 13 acres in extent, and surrounded by beautiful large elm trees, and is practically in the centre of the town.

Before closing this brief account of the start and growth of cricket in Eastbourne we may perhaps mention just one peculiar cricket incident out of many that have happened during recent years. In a match at the Devonshire Park between a visiting club and the home team, one of the opposing batsmen hit a ball to square-leg which smashed the globe at the top of one of the high electric lamps. The following year the same match was in progress, when the same visiting batsman hit another ball to square-leg, bowled by the same home member who had

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bowled the previous year, and smashed a globe on the same lamp!

BRIGHTON AND DISTRICT

Cricket has long flourished at Brighton. The old Brighton Club, which enjoyed royal patronage, was formed in 1791. In the following year Brighton played the M.C.C. at Lord's and won by nine wickets, the totals being Brighton 155, 131 (for one wicket); M.C.C. 180, 105.

In July the same season Brighton tried conclusions with Hampshire at Windmill Down but suffered defeat, the once invincible Hampshire team claiming the victory by six wickets. The actual scores were: Brighton 71, 77; Hants 71, 78 (for four wickets). In the return fixture at Brighton the tables were turned, the home side proving victorious for seven wickets. The Hants team, however, was far from being strongly represented, inasmuch as the two Smalls, Scott, Purchase, Taylor, Harris, and Freemantle were absent.

The return match against M.C.C. was played on the Prince of Wales's Ground at North Brighton. Brighton won this contest by three wickets, the following being the totals: Brighton 51, 80 (for seven wickets); M.C.C. 68, 62.

The present Brighton Club was established in 1848 by the late Mr. G. W. King, who for many years acted as hon. secretary for the Sussex County Club. In 1887, in order to celebrate the opening of the Preston Park cricket ground, the late Mr. Alderman Saunders successfully organized the Brighton Cricket Association, and to encourage and improve local cricket he presented to the association a handsome silver cup for competition among clubs in the borough. The following year (1888) the proprietors of the *Argus* newspaper presented a challenge cup to be competed for among junior cricket clubs.

Two matches were played against Middlesex in September 1792, Brighton winning the first engagement at home by five wickets, while in the return at Lord's the match, owing to bad weather, was unfinished.

Cricket was flourishing very considerably in the early years of the nineteenth century in many parts of Sussex. Storrington with the assistance of the Hammonds was particularly strong, in fact the village actually challenged and played with success the Rest of Sussex.

In 1816 Lewes Priory Club boasted a strong combination. The club had in its ranks several local celebrities, notably the two Baxters, Raynes, Martin, Verrall, Rider, Green, and Lambert. An engraving of the famous Priory cricket ground is given in the first edition of Lambert's *Cricket Guide*, issued in 1816.

Chichester, too, has ever been a cricketing centre. In the early days the cathedral city had

the assistance of the redoubtable Daniel King and William Ayling. The present Priory Park Club was organized in 1830 and is one of the best clubs in the county. Two of the most prominent players in connexion with Chichester cricket are James Lillywhite and Charlie Howard.

Petworth and North Chapel were alike famous for cricket talent, playing matches against the M.C.C. and other strong clubs.

Midhurst too could lay claim to a powerful side. William Hooker was the Midhurst crack player in the days of old. Although not quite so flourishing at the present time the Midhurst Club is still an institution. It is interesting to record that in the long period of eighteen years during which Mr. John Packham was connected with Midhurst cricket, the club played 213 matches, in all but one of which Mr. Packham took part. He commenced batting in 270 innings and obtained 5,563 runs, having an average of just over 23.

The Henfield Cricket Club was established 3 May, 1837. One of the original rules of the club states:

In all practice matches every Member not fetching five runs each innings, should forfeit one penny, and the same in missing a fair catch, these fines all to be paid to the general fund.

Rule XIII is explicit:

That any Member degrading himself and party by getting in liquor before the match is played out he is under the forfeit of two shillings and sixpence.

Henfield was the home of Mr. Alfred Smith, a great supporter of the game. Subsequently Mr. Charles H. Smith of Whaphams became captain of the Sussex County Eleven in the sixties, while of late years Mr. C. L. A. Smith, his son, has represented his county. Henfield too claimed Richard Fillery, one of the best all-round players in the Sussex eleven.

The little village of Chalvington to the east of Lewes was a famous nursery of county cricket fifty to sixty years ago. The brothers Picknell, the Greys and other prominent Sussex players came from this district; in fact Chalvington was one of the strongest local clubs in Sussex. The renowned Fuller Pilch, of Norfolk and Kent county fame, assisted Chalvington in a few matches, one of his best batting feats being a three-figure innings of 114 for Chalvington against Brighton in 1839.

SCHOOL CRICKET

Sussex has always been a cricketing county, and it is not surprising to find that so many boys from Sussex schools have become great men in the cricket-field in after life. Brighton College must feel proud of having educated such men as S. M. J. Woods, captain and secretary of

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Somerset County Cricket Club; G. L. Wilson, G. H. Cotterill, N. C. Cooper, L. H. Gay, and C. L. A. Smith. Of old Lancing College boys the most notable are O. P. Lancashire, who played for Cambridge in 1880, and afterwards did good service for Lancashire; E. D. Compton, of Oxford University and Somerset; F. W. Stocks, of Oxford University and Leicestershire; and T. H. Fowler, the Gloucestershire cricketer. The best cricketer educated at St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, was undoubtedly F. F. J. Greenfield.

After a long career at school, in which he was also distinguished as a footballer and an actor, he went up to Cambridge and played three years in the University Eleven, being captain in 1878. He was afterwards very well known with Sussex county.

W. L. Knowles was also an excellent cricketer, who has played for Kent. The best-known men at Eastbourne College were E. O. Ormerod, T. P. Hilder, H. E. Bouch, J. E. Adamson, and H. S. Poyntz, but none of them have played first-class cricket since they left school.

The history of cricket at St. Saviour's School, Ardingly, is somewhat nebulous until the year 1868, when can first be found an official record of the doings of the eleven, which, under the captaincy of F. K. Hilton, played ten matches; of those seven were won, two lost, and one drawn. The first eleven at Ardingly has always consisted of masters and boys.

Among notable cricketers educated at Ardingly we may mention: W. A. Bettesworth, who played for Sussex from 1878 to 1882. A fine all-round player, he was in 1881 one of the two most successful bowlers for his county, and in the same year headed the Sussex batting averages.

W. Newham, the present secretary for Sussex County Cricket Club is an old Ardingly boy. In 1882 he came out at the top of the Sussex batting averages with 30·4. Perhaps his best year was in 1885 when he averaged 46·9 with the bat, and represented the Gentlemen of England.

W. Blackman, who was also educated at Ardingly, made his entry into Sussex cricket in 1881, in which season he was particularly useful as a bowler. In 1884 he was second in the county batting averages with 28·6, and also took 40 wickets for 17. He died in Australia in 1885 at the early age of twenty-two.

G. Brann, another Ardingly boy, first played for Sussex in 1885, in which year he had a batting average of 20·7, with a highest score of 99. His subsequent career in county cricket is too well known to need repetition.

Cricket at Eastbourne College was a thing of small beginnings; it started with the brothers Podmore, Jesse Hide as coach, and a very few blades of grass. Shortly it became formidable, at least two of the Podmores showing strength and being backed up by W. E. and C. H. Pedley, the brothers Omerod, and others. Then came also a good keeper, E. J. Game, brother to the better-known W. H. During this period the M.C.C. match was arranged, which is still an annual fixture. The best performances in this, the test match of the season, have been by H. E. Bouch, F. M. B. Browne, and J. V. Young. For many years the matches with New College were regarded as the most important on the card, but for one reason or another they came to be discarded, and finally dropped out of the list of fixtures. While Dr. Crowden was head master the school field was found to be altogether unequal to the demand on it, and a spacious new ground was made on the Links faced by a serviceable pavilion. Later on it was found to be advisable to play a certain number of matches on the Saffrons, the magnificent ground of the Eastbourne Club.

Till about eight years ago the ground used for both cricket and football was at Lancing College on a level with the road going towards Bramber. The ground was generally considered a good one, but was hardly large enough or fast enough, and it certainly seems surprising that it answered its purpose for so long. Some time ago it was decided to lay out the ground just below the chapel as a cricket ground, and also for the use of the first football club, but at the same time to keep on the old field for football. The present ground is a very fine one, and it is hoped that it may be enlarged sometime in the future. Cricket at Lancing, as at most other public schools, is compulsory. When all clubs are playing the centre of the ground is set apart for the use of the first club; sufficient accommodation is also found for the lower clubs. One of the most excellent institutions in the interests of cricket is the Under Fifteen Club for those under fifteen years of age.

The M.C.C. have for the last twenty years arranged matches with all the Sussex schools, under the name of the M.C.C. Sussex College Tour. These tours do a lot of good from an educational point of view, and the boys enjoy the matches greatly. True, the club is generally successful, but not always; Ardingly College won for several years, and Brighton and Lancing have also been successful. Many other clubs make a tour among the Sussex colleges—the Stoics have done so for the last eighteen years—with much pleasure to themselves and the school boys.

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GOLF

The soil and the natural configuration of the land in Sussex lend themselves perhaps more favourably to the game than is the case with any other southern county. The chalky soil, the rich downland, the fine close turf, the swelling undulations of the ground, and the large areas of heath are just those natural features which the golfer seeks. Hence it is that golf has taken a very firm hold in Sussex. At the present time there are between thirty and forty clubs established, and new ones are being projected. The number of seaside courses in Sussex, however, is relatively small in comparison with the extent and variety of its coastline. One of the most beautiful is that of the Littlehampton Club, which was instituted in March, 1889, by Messrs. A. J. Constable, H. E. Harris, Upperton Lear, R. A. Blagden, J. Horn, and J. Osborne. The number of playing members is 250, and there are 26 lady members. The links are half a mile from the Littlehampton railway station, and the eighteen holes of which it consists are laid out at the mouth of the River Arun, on the old Delta of the river, and along the sand hills bounding the sea. The holes vary in length from 135 to 500 yards, and the soil is sandy and composed partly of old river beds. The natural bunkers consist of water, ditches, sand hills, rushes, whins, cart tracks, and gravel pits, and though the general lie of the course is somewhat flat, each hole has some characteristic feature to punish loose or bad play. James Beveridge, professional at Bembridge, laid out the original nine-hole course, which was extended later to eighteen holes. In October, 1899, the late Tom Dunn was consulted as to the possibility of utilizing some fresh ground, and he planned the course practically as it exists to-day. Owing to the character of the soil play is practicable all the year round, though the best golf is obtained in the winter, spring, and autumn months. Sunday play is allowed, but the club house is not open.

The Royal Ashdown Forest Club, instituted in 1889, has a membership of 427. The links are situated 1 mile from Forest Row, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from East Grinstead, and 12 miles from Tunbridge Wells. The course of eighteen holes, varying in length from 120 to 400 yards, is one of the most charmingly situated inland courses in the country. The holes are laid out over undulating ground situated about 400 ft. above sea level, in one of the most beautiful districts of Sussex. The soil is light, is never heavy even after prolonged rain, and the lies are in every respect excellent. The course abounds in natural hazards, which consist of brooks, disused sand

pits, and heathery hillocks. The turf has all the fine texture of superior downland, and one of the characteristic features of the golf here is the rich variety of lie and sporting situation to test the skill of the player. There is no monotony about any of the holes. By the general consensus of opinion from far and near the 'Island' hole is one of the very best short holes on any course. It has the distinction of having been selected by an old golfer, impressed with its natural charms and playing difficulties, for endowment with a capital sum of £5, the accumulated interest of the money to become the property of the player who is fortunate enough to hole out in one stroke at either the Easter, Whitsuntide, or Autumn competition meetings of the club. This endowment scheme has been in force for many years, and the interest still awaits a claimant. J. Rowe is the professional of the club; Sunday play, without caddies, is allowed. The Ashdown Forest Ladies' Club, organized in 1889, is a branch of the men's club, but the ladies have a separate nine-hole course of their own. The length between the holes varies from 100 to 350 yards. The Cantelupe Club has also been organized in the district, but the membership is confined to working men.

The Battle Club, instituted in 1893, has a course of nine holes beautifully natural in character, and surrounded by very pretty scenery, situated in the Park. The links are about ten minutes' walk from Battle Abbey, and 6 miles from Hastings. The number of members is between forty and fifty.

The eighteen-hole course of the Bexhill Club, founded in 1890, is finely situated close to the sea, about half a mile distant from Bexhill. Six holes have been laid out on the sea side of the L. B. and S. C. Railway, and twelve holes on the north side of the railway. The course is a very sporting one, and the hazards are a combination of artificial and natural bunkers, wherein sand-pits and ditches lend variety to the play. Earl De La Warr, who owns the ground, is president of the club, and Douglas Rolland, one of the leading professional players before severe illness handicapped him in competitions, is the professional and green-keeper. There is a ladies' club, with ninety-five members, as a branch of the men's club.

The Crowborough Beacon Club, which was instituted in June, 1895, mainly through the efforts of Mr. G. T. Langridge, Mr. H. H. Goldfinch, J.P., Dr. Mackintosh, Mr. L. Dennis and Dr. Watson Griffin, has now a membership of 360. The course of eighteen holes was originally laid out by Mr. G. T. Langridge,

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first honorary secretary and treasurer of the club, the expert professional advice of Taylor, Braid, Rowe, and Rawlings being subsequently taken for alterations and improvements. One interesting feature of this club is that the excellent club-house, with its four or five bedrooms, and the links themselves, are the freehold property of the members. The holes, which vary in length from 93 to 500 yards, are laid out on forest land, belonging to the Manor of Alchornes, the property of Earl De La Warr. The numerous hazards, which are natural, are varied. The turf is always in fine condition, and as the course is situated on high ground, with an admirable light sandy soil, the game is playable all the year round, even after the heaviest rains. The links are situated on Crowborough Beacon, 600 to 700 ft. above sea-level. There is also a ladies' club as a branch of the men's club, and the ladies use the same course. In 1897 the De La Warr Club was founded; its membership is confined mainly to the local community in the village. Sunday play is allowed at Crowborough Beacon.

The Worthing Club, founded in 1905 by the efforts of Messrs. W. Field, F. C. Gates, E. C. Patching, and W. S. Simpson, has a membership of 210 gentlemen and 150 lady associates. The courses of eighteen holes for men, and nine holes for the ladies, are situated on the Downs, Broadwater. The round of holes was originally planned by H. Vardon, but a great many improvements were grafted on the scheme of the professional by Dr. O. Gethin-Jones, one of the local hon. secretaries. The course is laid out over downland, presenting a fine variety of hill and valley. One of the charms of this course is the picturesqueness of the views obtainable from almost every hole in the round, including glimpses of the Channel and the Isle of Wight. As the subsoil is of chalk the course is never heavy, even in rainy weather, and it is therefore essentially a winter as well as a summer course. The holes vary in length from 106 to 530 yards, the total length being 6,136 yards, or very nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles round. The hazards are both natural and artificial, and in addition to cut bunkers there are whins and bushes, a ravine, and pit-like hollows. Douglas McEwan, late of Musselburgh, is the club professional.

The Royal Eastbourne Club, founded in 1887, is one of the most important golfing organizations in the county. It has a membership of 450, and its links are leased from the Duke of Devonshire. The holes vary in length from 120 to 488 yards. The round has lately been considerably lengthened by the inclusion of some 25 acres. A new club-house, costing about £4,000, has lately been erected, and from it can be had a commanding view of the picturesque undulations of the course. The last hole is immediately in front of the club-

house. The Royal Eastbourne Ladies' Club, instituted in 1888, has a membership of 250. The ladies play over a course of nine holes, the lengths of which vary from 105 to 310 yards. The restricted character of the ladies' course is found by the players to be a great drawback, but ladies with handicaps of ten or under are allowed to play on the men's links on certain days.

The Willingdon Club, instituted in 1897, play over a very interesting eighteen-hole course, on the Ratton Park estate at Willingdon, 2 miles from Eastbourne. The number of members is 250 gentlemen and 75 ladies, and those members who were mainly instrumental in establishing the club were Mr. A. G. Paterson, the first honorary secretary, and Mr. Freeman Thomas, M.P., president and landlord of the ground. The links consist of undulating chalky land close under the Downs, and there are plenty of natural hazards. The principal natural bunkers are a chalk pit and a plantation, but a good deal of diversity has been imported into the play by the construction of artificial hazards. Though the spring and the autumn are the best seasons for the game here, golf is perfectly feasible all the year round. When the club was originally started the round consisted of nine holes, and these were designed by J. H. Taylor, the subsequent nine holes being added by him several years later. The honorary secretary is Mr. John Cuming, M.A. A good new club-house has been built. The club-house and links are open on Sundays. A ladies' club was instituted in 1897.

The Brighton and Hove Club was instituted in 1888, and has now its full limit of playing members, namely, 375. The eighteen holes are laid out upon the Hangleton Downs, and the club has a private platform on the Dyke Railway close to the club-house. It has a course which has all the varied characteristics of the Sussex Downs; the quality of the turf is very fine, and the greens are excellently kept. The second hole, nearly 500 yards in length, is a very interesting one to play, the approach being over a pond on to the putting green, which is well guarded by whins. The hazards are both natural and artificial, consisting mainly of whins, ponds, banks, and sand ditches. The natural undulations of the ground, notably at the 'Down the hill' hole, whose putting green, 323 yards away, may be reached in one shot, afford severe tests of skill. The Brighton and Hove Ladies' Club, instituted in 1892, plays over a course of nine holes, varying from 92 to 352 yards. These links are near the Devil's Dyke. The Southdown and Brighton Ladies' Club, formed in 1891, plays over a course at Burgess Hill, about 9 miles from Brighton.

The course of the East Brighton (late Kemp Town) Club, which was instituted in October,

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1893, consists of eighteen holes, on the road to Rottingdean. The down land has been utilized to form an interesting course, and though the soil is clay, play is feasible all the year round. The bunkers are a combination of natural and artificial, but the prominent features are grass-grown pits, a pond, and whin bushes. The membership is 400. A ladies' club, forming a branch of the men's, plays over the same course. The professional attached to the club is S. Peck. It is a good sporting course.

In 1904 the Pilt Down Club was formed, with the Master of Rollo as the captain. The membership is 115, and the course of eighteen holes is on Pilt Down Common, three miles from Uckfield railway station. The course has the fine natural characteristics of the Sussex Down land, and the golf is in all respects varied in character.

The Rye Club, founded in January, 1894, has now a membership of 470, with sixty lady associates. It is one of the best and most interesting golf courses, not only from the playing point of view, but from the natural beauty of its situation, on the south coast. It is essentially a seaside course laid out among the Camber sand hills on the north side of Rye Harbour, and about two miles from the town. The sand hills and dunes make capital hazards. The majority of the tee shots are beset with many difficulties, and the intermediate play towards the green involves surmounting natural and artificial bunkers. It is without doubt a course that rewards sound and accurate play, while punishing the loose and erratic driver. The soil being sand, the short crisp turf does not suffer in any degree from the heaviest rainfall.

The Hastings and St. Leonard's Club, founded in 1893, has a picturesque course of eighteen holes situated on the East Cliff, overlooking the town. The links overlook the sea, and fine views can be obtained of Fairlight and Ecclesbourne Glens. The course is a thoroughly sporting one, and the natural features of the ground have been used in connexion with a judicious combination of artificial bunkers to make the play a really good test of golf. The number of members is 183. The ladies' club, formed in 1895, has sixty members, and as a branch of the men's club the ladies play on the same course.

The Newhaven Club, founded in 1894, plays over a nine-hole course, about fifteen minutes' walk from the town. The turf of the links is excellent, and the natural hazards consist of sand pits, whins, and rough grass. Among the charms of golf at Newhaven are the magnificent views to be obtained of the English Channel on two sides of the course. Sunday play, with caddies, is allowed here.

The St. Leonard's and East Sussex Club, founded in 1903, has a membership of 250. Its

course of eighteen holes lies not far from the Marina and West St. Leonard's. Here, too, Sunday play is allowed. There is a ladies' club as a branch. With its natural and artificial bunkers, the course is very interesting and sporting.

The eighteen-hole course of the Seaford Club, founded in 1887, is over three miles in length. The hilly nature of the course, which is situated largely on the cliff and the neighbouring slopes overlooking the Channel, involves a good deal of hill climbing. There is a variety of natural and artificial hazards which makes the round extremely interesting, and the fine close turf forms admirable putting greens. There is a membership of 300. The ladies' club, founded in 1895, is a branch of the men's, and plays on the same ground. The course consists of nine holes, varying from 100 to 231 yards. The number of lady members is 135.

The Lewes Club, which was instituted in November, 1896, has 190 members and sixty-three lady associates. The course of eighteen holes is well laid out on the South Downs at Cliffe Hill, one mile from the town, and commands an extensive view over the greater portion of East Sussex. The round is nearly three miles, and the holes vary in length from 95 to 500 yards. The turf is good, the greens are well kept, and the hazards are both natural and artificial, the clumps of whins lending diversity and interest to the play. All the bunkers are well placed, and the chalky soil admits of play throughout the year, for the lies both in dry and wet weather are invariably good. The amateur record for the course is held by Mr. Spencer Gollan, with 74, and the professional record by F. E. Penfold, with 69. There is no Sunday play.

The Pyecombe Club, which was instituted on 7 August, 1894, owes its existence mainly to Mr. W. H. Champion, C.B., the Rev. F. H. Champion, and Mr. A. J. Bridge. Its membership numbers 150, and the links are situated 2 miles from Pyecombe, and 5 miles from Brighton. The course consists of eighteen holes for men, and nine holes for ladies. It was originally laid out by the Rev. F. H. Champion in 1902, but a year or two afterwards the advice of Braid was taken as to whether any alterations could be made. Braid suggested several alterations, and advised an extension of some of the holes, with the result that the course has been considerably improved. It lies upon a portion of the South Downs, and is suitable for play all the year round, the soil being porous chalk. The hazards, which are partly natural and partly artificial, include whins, roads, and a sand pit.

The twelve-hole course of the West Park Club is at Handcross, within $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Crawley railway station. The club was instituted at the close of

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1896, mainly through the efforts of General Maxwell Campbell, Major Bigg, and Messrs. L. Messel, S. A. Hermon, V. L. Tapling, and H. Gibbs, and now numbers about sixty players. The holes are laid out on the southern slope of Handcross Hill. The round is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and to complete a full round of eighteen holes the first six holes are very conveniently played over again. The hazards are both natural and artificial. The soil is sandy loam over sand rock, and though it is quite possible to play all the year round, the course plays best in spring and autumn. In laying out the course the committee were advised by J. Rowe, the professional attached to the Royal Ashdown and Forest Row Club. The amateur record for the round of eighteen holes is held by Mr. Norman Loder, with a score of 73.

There is a nine-hole course situated on Sharpenhurst Hill belonging to the staff of the Christ's Hospital Club. This was instituted in 1902, and the playing members number 32. The course is within the Christ's Hospital grounds, 2 miles from Horsham. The holes are laid out over hill land on a clay soil, and the hazards are both natural and artificial; play is feasible all the year.

The Cuckfield Club owed its foundation, in October, 1906, to Captain Sergison, Mr. J. Cow, and the Rev. Lewis Evans. The membership consists of 100 gentlemen and 75 ladies. The eighteen-hole course, one mile from the station of that name, and one mile from Hayward's Heath, was laid out by Willie Park in 1905, is situated on high ground sloping south, affording grand views of the South Downs and the Weald of Sussex. The holes are laid out over rough and pasture land, whose subsoil consists of a mixture of sand, sandstone, clay, and loam. The hazards include pits, ravines, hedges, and artificial bunkers, and though the best periods for play are the spring, summer, and autumn months the course is generally in excellent playing condition, except during very wet winters. Bernard Sayers, junior, from North Berwick, is the club professional.

The Horsham Club, which was founded in April, 1906, has 160 members. Mr. E. J. Bostock, Mr. P. Chasemore, Mr. C. J. Lucas, and Mr. F. A. Jukes, were principally instru-

mental in establishing the club. At present the round is nine holes, and James Braid, who laid out the course, took full advantage of the natural features of the ground. A large proportion of the hazards consist of trees, and natural features have been supplemented by the cutting of bunkers to guard the holes. The course is on pasture land, which belongs to Mr. C. J. Lucas, of Warnham, president of the club. The soil is light clay, which dries quickly even after continued wet weather.

In September, 1902, J. H. Taylor laid out the eighteen-hole course of the Southdown Club, whose institution was largely due to the initiative of Mr. R. B. Dell, junior. The club had been started in the previous June, and now there is a playing membership of 220 gentlemen and 75 ladies. The holes have been laid out over chalky down land, and the hazards consist of rough grass, chalk pits, and artificial bunkers. The course, which is situated 1 mile from Shoreham, and 5 miles from Brighton, is playable at any time of the year, and is almost equally good in summer and winter.

At Chichester there are two clubs, the first founded in 1892, and the Summersdale Club, with a membership of 130, founded in 1905. The Chichester Club has its course of eighteen holes on the property of the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, and only members are allowed to play, except by special permission. The Summersdale Club has a nine-hole course about a mile from the Market Cross on the road to Lavant. It was laid out by James Braid.

The Copthorne Club was founded in 1903, and a course of fourteen holes, which will eventually be extended to eighteen, has been laid out on the Common, with the consent of the Commissioners and Lord Abergavenny, the lord of the manor. The course is a mixture of heather and grass, and the natural hazards consist of old pits, a brook, and ditches, while some artificial hazards have been cut to guard the holes and the line of play. The holes vary in length from 140 to 444 yards. In 1904 a working men's club was formed.

The Selsey-on-Sea Club, founded in 1904, plays over a nine-hole course lying close to the sea. The length of the holes varies between 200 and 530 yards.

ATHLETICS

Although Sussex does not rank so high in the Athletic world as some other counties in England, yet there are several athletic clubs in the county which hold athletic meetings annually and cater generally for the wants of the athlete.

Among the chief of those holding open meetings may be mentioned the Horsham Athletic

Club, dating from 1871, which has a meeting every year on the August bank-holiday. The Chichester Athletic Club, dates from 1879 and holds a meeting every Whit Monday. The Eastbourne Rovers have held an annual meeting since 1895, but the running section of this club have, since 1905, left the Rovers and, under the

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title of the Eastbourne Athletic Club, hold a meeting annually in August. The Crawley Athletic Club dating from 1897, the Hayward's Heath Athletic Club dating from 1888, the Worthing, Hastings, Littlehampton, Bexhill, and Cuckfield Athletic Clubs also hold annual meetings.

All the above clubs include events in their programmes which are open to all amateurs and attract numerous runners from various parts of the country.

Among cross-country clubs the Brighton and County Harriers is the oldest. This club was formed from the Brighton Athletic Club, which was founded in 1877, and it assumed its present title in 1894, and holds a prominent position among cross-country clubs in the south of England.

The Eastbourne Athletic Club and the Crawley Athletic Club are also cross-country clubs, and the same applies to the Horsham Blue Star Athletic Club, which deserves mention in any notes on athletics in Sussex if only for the fact that this club was instrumental in bringing to the fore one of its members, the celebrated runner Alfred Shrubbs, who, after a remarkably successful career as an amateur, became a professional runner in 1906. As an amateur he won several of the championships held by the Amateur Ath-

letic Association from 1901 to 1904, and beat all records for distances varying from 2,000 yards to 11 miles, as well as winning the National and Southern Counties Cross-Country Championships for several years. Shrubbs also won several races and championships in Australia and New Zealand.

Brighton has seen the finish of many interesting walking races, the walk from Westminster Bridge, London, to Brighton Aquarium, about 52 miles, having been a popular test of endurance amongst athletes for many years past.

In the olden days many a wager has been lost and won over this route, and during later years it has been the custom for athletic clubs to manage walking races from London to Brighton.

In 1903 the London Stock Exchange held a race over this distance, open to its members, and which attracted widespread attention, the winner, E. F. Broad, and those behind him having to literally force their way through the crowd on their arrival at Brighton. The winner's time in this race was 9 hours 30 minutes 1 second. A second race promoted by the Stock Exchange was held in 1905.

At present the record from London to Brighton, made by J. Butler on 22 September, 1906, is 8 hours 23 minutes 27 seconds.

